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Contents :

Page.

Frontispiece—SITA AND LAKSHMANA (coloured)—SARADACHARAN UKIL 1
Coloured Supplement—THE CROW MESSENGER—FROM AN OLD PAINTING 37
Pictorial Supplements—
(1) "ALAS! THAT BANYAN TREE IS NO MORE!"—GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE.
(2) "OUR INNER GARDEN WAS MY PARADISE; IT WAS ENOUGH FOR ME."—GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE.
(3) SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.
(4) THE LATE MR. U. RAY.
My Reminiscences (illustrated)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D. LITT., AND SURENDRANATH TAGORE, B.A. 1
Rajgir or Rajagriha (illustrated)—MRS. MABEL HOLMWOOD 8
The Cost of Administration in India, Japan and The United States of America—LALA LAJPAT RAI 19
Co-operative Credit and Taccavi—KRISHNADAS ... 22
Indian Industries and the War—NARAIN DAS, B.A. ... 24
Snake Worship in Eastern Bengal, and Western and Southern India—SARATCHANDRA MITRA M. A., B. L. 26
Zeb-un-nissa's Love-affairs—PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M. A., P. R. S. 33
The Evolution of Japan—LALA LAJPAT RAI ... 37

Page.

Life's Functions—WILFRED WELLOCK 39
The Pincushion (short story)—WILLIAM LE QUEUX 46
The Religion of Humanity and Sir Henry Cotton—W. F. WESTBROOK 51
The Indian Theistic Movement and its Problems—THE HON'BLE DR. NIL RATAN SIRCAR, M.A., M.D. 57
Reviews and Notices of Books—PROF. NIRANJAN NIYOGI, M. A.; PANDIT SITANATH DATTA TATTWABHUSHAN; G. S. MONGIA, M.A., LL.B., BARRISTER-AT-LAW; D. V. KIRTANE; K. M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B.; M. S. 69
Two Panjabi Plays (illustrated)—MRS. NORAH RICHARDS 76
Round the World with my Master (illustrated)—BY A DISCIPLE OF PROF. J. C. BOSE 81
Syed Mazhar-al-Haq (illustrated)—X. 86
Gleanings (illustrated)—
(1) FROGS WITH HAIR; (2) MOVIES AND THE EYES; (3) SKILL IN HANDLING ARTIFICIAL ARMS; (4) HOLDING BREATH TO BEAT THE RECORD ... 88
Indian Periodicals 90
Foreign Periodicals 96
The Late Mr. U. Ray 103
The Co-operative Movement in India—RAICHARAN MUKERJEA 106
Notes (illustrated) 111

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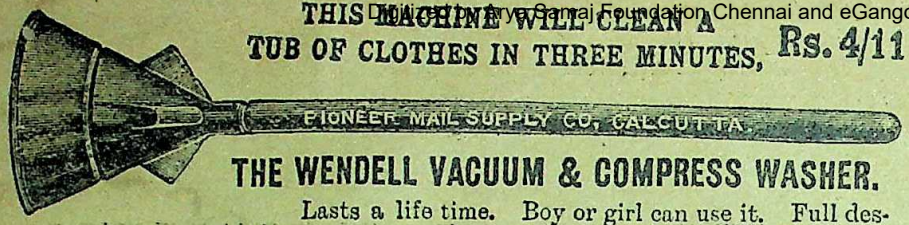

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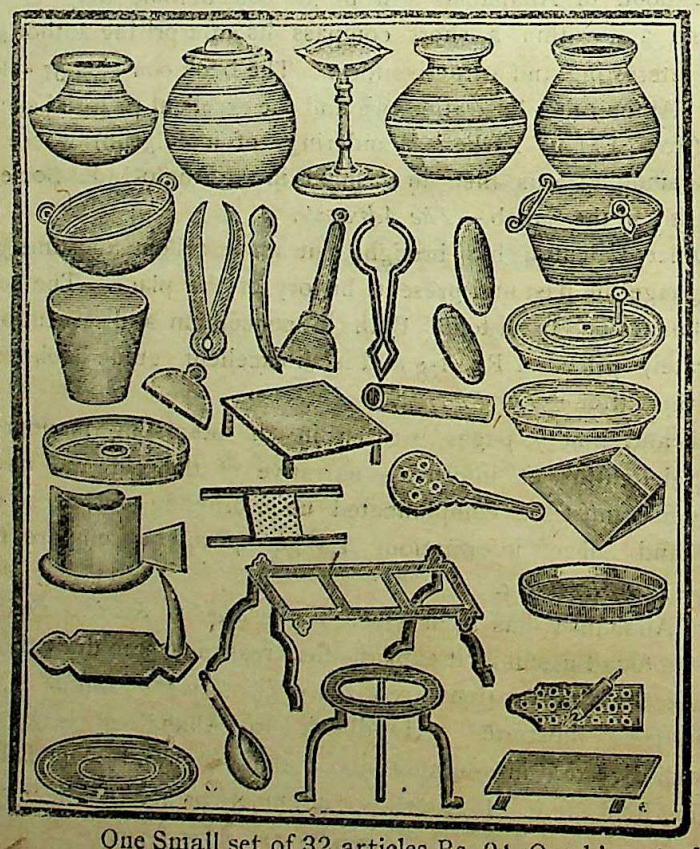

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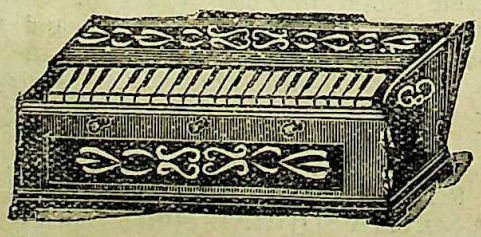

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XIX No. 1 | JANUARY, 1916 | WHOLE No 109

MY REMINISCENCES

By Rabindranath Tagore.

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(1)

I know not who paints the pictures on memory's canvas; but whoever he may be, what he is painting are pictures; by which I mean that he is not there with his brush simply to make a faithful copy of all that is happening. He takes in and leaves out according to his taste. He makes many a big thing small and small thing big. He has no compunction in putting into the background that which was to the fore, or bringing to the front that which was behind. In short he is painting pictures, and not writing history.

Thus, over Life's outward aspect flow the series of events, and within is being painted a set of pictures. The two correspond but are not one.

We do not get the leisure to thoroughly view this studio within us. Portions of it now and then catch our eye, but the greater part remains out of sight in the darkness. Why the ever-busy painter is painting; when he will have done; for what gallery his pictures are destined;—who can tell?

Some years ago, on being questioned as to the events of my past life, I had occasion to pry into this picture-chamber. I had thought to be content with selecting some few materials for my Life's story. I then discovered, as I opened the door, that Life's memories are not Life's history, but the original work of an unseen Artist. The variegated colours scattered about are not reflections of outside lights, but belong to the painter himself, and come passion-tinged from his heart; thereby unfitting the record on the canvas for use as evidence in a court of law.

But though the attempt to gather precise history from memory's storehouse may be fruitless, there is a fascination in looking over the pictures, a fascination which cast its spell on me.

The road over which we journey, the wayside shelter in which we sojourn, are not pictures while still travelling—they are too necessary, too obvious. When, however, before turning into the evening rest-house, we look back upon the cities, fields, rivers and hills which we have been through in Life's morning, then, in the light of the passing day, are they pictures indeed. Thus, when my opportunity came, did I look back, and was engrossed.

Was this interest aroused within me solely by a natural affection for my own past? Some personal feeling, of course, there must have been, but the pictures had also an independent artistic value of their own. There is no event in my reminiscences worthy of being preserved for all time. But the quality of the subject is not the only justification for a record. What one has truly felt, if only it can be made sensible to others, is always of importance to one's fellow men. If pictures which have taken shape in memory can be brought out in words, they are worth a place in literature.

It is as literary material that I offer my memory pictures. To take them as an attempt at autobiography would be a mistake. In such view these reminiscences would appear useless as well as incomplete.

(2) Teaching Begins.

We three boys were being brought up together. Both my companions were two years older than I. When they were placed

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under their tutor, my teaching also began, but of what I learnt nothing remains in my memory.

What constantly recurs to me is "The rain patters, the leaf quivers *". I am just come to anchor after crossing the stormy region of the *kara, khala*† series; and I am reading "The rain patters, the leaf quivers", for me the first poem of the Arch Poet. Whenever the joy of that day comes back to me, even now, I realise why rhyme is so needful in poetry. Because of it the words come to an end, and yet end not; the utterance is over, but not its ring; and the ear and the mind can go on and on with their game of tossing the rhyme to each other. Thus did the rain patter and the leaves quiver again and again, the live-long day in my consciousness.

Another episode of this period of my early boyhood is held fast in my mind.

We had an old cashier, Kailash by name, who was like one of the family. He was a great wit, and would be constantly cracking jokes with everybody, old and young; recently married sons-in-law, new comers into the family circle, being his special butts. There was room for the suspicion that his humour had not deserted him even after death. Once my elders were engaged in an attempt to start a postal service with the other world by means of a planchettee. At one of the sittings the pencil scrawled out the name of Kailash. He was asked as to the sort of life one led where he was. Not a bit of it, was the reply. "Why should you get so cheap what I had to die to learn?"

This Kailash used to rattle off for my special delectation a doggerel ballad of his own composition. The hero was myself and there was a glowing anticipation of the arrival of a heroine. And as I listened my interest would wax intense at the picture of this world-charming bride illuminating the lap of the future in which she sat enthroned. The list of the jewellery with which she was bedecked from head to foot, and the unheard of splendour of the preparations for the bridal, might have turned older and wiser heads; but what moved the boy, and set wonderful joy pictures flitting before his vision, was the rapid jingle of the frequent rhymes and the swing of the rhythm.

These two literary delights still linger in my memory—and there is the other, the infants' classic: "The rain falls pit-a-pat, the tide comes up the river."

The next thing I remember is the begining of my school-life. One day I saw my elder brother, and my sister's son Satya, also a little older than myself, starting off to school, leaving me behind, accounted unfit. I had never before ridden in a carriage nor even been out of the house. So when Satya came back, full of unduly glowing accounts of his adventures on the way, I felt I simply could not stay at home. Our tutor tried to dispel my illusion with sound advice and a resounding slap: "You're crying to go to school now, you'll have to cry a lot more to be let off later on." I have no recollection of the name, features or disposition of this tutor of ours, but the impression of his weighty advice and weightier hand has not yet faded. Never in my life have I heard a truer prophecy.

My crying drove me prematurely into the Oriental Seminary. What I learnt there I have no idea, but one of its methods of punishment I still bear in mind. The boy who was unable to repeat his lessons was made to stand on a bench with arms extended, and on his upturned palms were piled a number of slates. It is for psychologists to debate how far this method is likely to conduce to a better receptivity of mind. I thus began my schooling at an extremely tender age.

My initiation into literature had its origin, at the same time, in the books which were in vogue in the servants' quarters. Chief among these were a Bengali translation of Chanakya's aphorisms, and the Ramayana of Krittivasa.

A picture of one day's reading of the Ramayana comes clearly back to me.

The day was a cloudy one. I was playing about in the long verandah* overlooking the road. All of a sudden Satya, for some reason I do not remember, wanted to frighten me by shouting, "Policeman! Policeman!" My ideas of the duties of policemen were of an extremely vague description. One thing I was certain about, that a person charged with crime once placed in a policeman's hands would, as

* A jingling sentence in the Bengali Child's Primer.
† Exercises in two-syllables.

* Roofed colonade or balcony. The writer's family house is an irregular three-storied mass of buildings, which had grown with the joint family it sheltered, built round several courtyards or quadrangles, with long colonades along the outer faces, and narrower galleries running round each quadrangle, giving access to the single row of rooms.

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sure as the wretch caught in a crocodile's serrated grip, go under and be seen no more. Not knowing how an innocent boy could escape this relentless penal code, I bolted towards the inner apartments, with shudders running down my back for blind fear of pursuing policemen. I broke to my mother the news of my impending doom, but it did not seem to disturb her much. However, not deeming it safe to venture out again, I sat down on the sill of my mother's door to read the dog-eared Ramayana, with a marbled paper cover, which belonged to her old aunt. Alongside stretched the verandah running round the four sides of the open inner quadrangle, on which had fallen the faint afternoon glow of the clouded sky, and finding me weeping over one of its sorrowful situations my great-aunt came and took away the book from me.

(3) Within and Without.

Luxury was a thing almost unknown in the days of our infancy. The standard of living was then, as a whole, much more simple than it is now. Apart from that, the children of our household were entirely free from the fuss of being too much looked after. The fact is that, while the process of looking after may be an occasional treat for the guardians, to the children it is always an unmitigated nuisance.

We used to be under the rule of the servants. To save themselves trouble they had almost suppressed our right of free movement. But the freedom of not being petted made up even for the harshness of this bondage, for our minds were left clear of the toils of constant coddling, pampering and dressing-up.

Our food had nothing to do with delicacies. A list of our articles of clothing would only invite the modern boy's scorn. On no pretext did we wear socks or shoes till we had passed our tenth year. In the cold weather a second cotton tunic over the first one sufficed. In never entered our heads to consider ourselves ill-off for that reason. It was only when old Niyamat, the tailor, would forget to put a pocket into one of our tunics that we complained, for no boy has yet been born so poor as not to have the wherewithal to stuff his pockets; nor, by a merciful dispensation of providence, is there much difference between the wealth of boys of rich or poor parentage. We used to have a pair of slippers each, but not always where we had our feet. Our habit of kicking the slippers on ahead, and catching them up again, made them work none the less hard, through effectually defeating at every step the reason of their being.

Our elders were in every way at a great distance from us, in their dress and food, living and doing, conversation and amusement. We caught glimpses of these, but they were beyond our reach. Elders have become cheap to modern children; they are too readily accessible, and so are all objects of desire. Nothing ever came so easily to us. Many a trivial thing was for us a rarity, and we lived mostly in the hope of attaining, when we were old enough, the things which the distant future held in trust for us. The result was that what little we did get we enjoyed to the utmost; from skin to core nothing was thrown away. The modern child of a well-to-do family nibbles at only half the things he gets; the greater part of his world is wasted on him.

Our days were spent in the servants' quarters in the south-east corner of the outer apartments. One of our servants was Shyam, a dark chubby boy with curly locks, hailing from the District of Khulna. He would put me into a selected spot and, tracing a chalk line all round, warn me with selemn face and uplifted finger of the perils of transgressing this ring. Whether the threatened danger was material or spiritual I never fully understood, but a great fear used to possess me. I had read in the Ramayana of the tribulations of Sita for having left the ring drawn by Lakshman, so it was not possible for me to be sceptical of its potency.

Just below the window of this room was a tank* with a flight of masonry steps leading down into the water; on its west bank, along the garden wall, an immense banyan tree; to the south a fringe of cocoanut palms. Ringed round as I was near this window I would spend the whole day peering through the drawn venetian shutters, gazing and gazing on this scene as on a picture book. From early morning our neighbours would drop in one by one to have their bath. I knew the time for each one to arrive. I was familiar with the peculiarities of each one's toilet. One would stop up his ears with his fingers as he took

* An artificial pond usually oblong in shape.

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his regulation number of dips, after which he would depart. Another would not venture on a complete immersion but be content with only squeezing his wet towel repeatedly over his head. A third would carefully drive the surface impurities away from him with a rapid play of his arms, and then on a sudden impulse take his plunge. There was one who jumped in from the top steps without any preliminaries at all. Another would walk slowly in, step by step, muttering his morning prayers the while. One was always in a hurry, hastening home as soon as he was through with his dip. Another was in no sort of hurry at all, taking his bath leisurely, followed with a good rub-down, and a change from wet bathing clothes into clean ones, including a careful adjustment of the folds of his waist cloth, ending with a turn or two in the outer* garden, and the gathering of flowers, with which he would finally saunter slowly homewards, radiating the cool comfort of his refreshed body, as he went. This would go on till it was past noon. Then would the bathing places be deserted and become silent. Only the ducks remaining, paddling about after water snails, or busy preening their feathers, the livelong day.

When solitude thus reigned over the water, my whole attention would be drawn to the shadows under the banyan tree. Some of its aerial roots, creeping down along its trunk, had formed a dark complication of coils at its base. It seemed as if into this mysterious region the laws of the universe had not found entrance; as if some old-world dream-land had escaped the divine vigilance and lingered on into the light of modern day. Whom I used to see there, and what those beings did, it is not possible to express in intelligible language. It was about this Banyan tree that I wrote later:

With tangled roots hanging down from
your branches, O ancient banyan tree,
You stand still day and night, like an
ascetic at his penances,
Do you ever remember the child whose
fancy played with your shadows?

Alas! that banyan tree is no more, nor the piece of water which served to mirror the majestic forest-lord! Many of those who used to bathe there have also followed into oblivion the shade of the banyan tree.

* The men's portion of the house is the outer; and the women's the inner.

And that boy, grown older, is counting the alternations of light and darkness which penetrate the complexities with which the roots he has thrown off on all sides have encircled him.

Going out of the house was forbidden to us, in fact we had not even the freedom of all its parts. We perforce took our peeps at nature from behind the barriers. Beyond my reach there was this limitless thing called the Outside, of which flashes and sounds and scents used to momentarily come and touch me through its interstices. It seemed to want to play with me through the bars with so many gestures. But it was free and I was bound—there was no way of meeting. So the attraction was all the stronger. The chalk line has been wiped away today, but the confining ring is still there. The distant is just as distant, the outside is still beyond me; and I am reminded of the poem I wrote when I was older:

The tame bird was in a cage, the free bird was in the forest.

They met when the time came, it was a decree of fate.

The free bird cries, "O my love, let us fly to wood."

The cage bird whispers, "Come hither, let us both live in the cage."

Says the free bird, "Among bars, where is there room to spread one's wings?"

"Alas," cries the cage bird, "I should not know where to sit perched in the sky."

The parapets of our terraced roofs were higher than my head. When I had grown taller; when the tyranny of the servants had relaxed; when, with the coming of a newly married bride into the house, I had achieved some recognition as a companion of her leisure, then did I sometimes come upto the terrace in the middle of the day. By that time everybody in the house would have finished their meal; there would be an interval in the business of the household; over the inner apartments would rest the quiet of the mid-day siesta; the wet bathing clothes would be hanging over the parapets to dry; the crows would be picking at the leavings thrown on the refuse heap at the corner of the yard; in the solitude of that interval the caged bird would, through the gaps in the parapet, commune bill to bill with the free bird!

I would stand and gaze.....My glance first falls on the row of cocoanut trees on the further edge of our inner garden.

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"ALAS! THAT BANYAN TREE IS NO MORE."
From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

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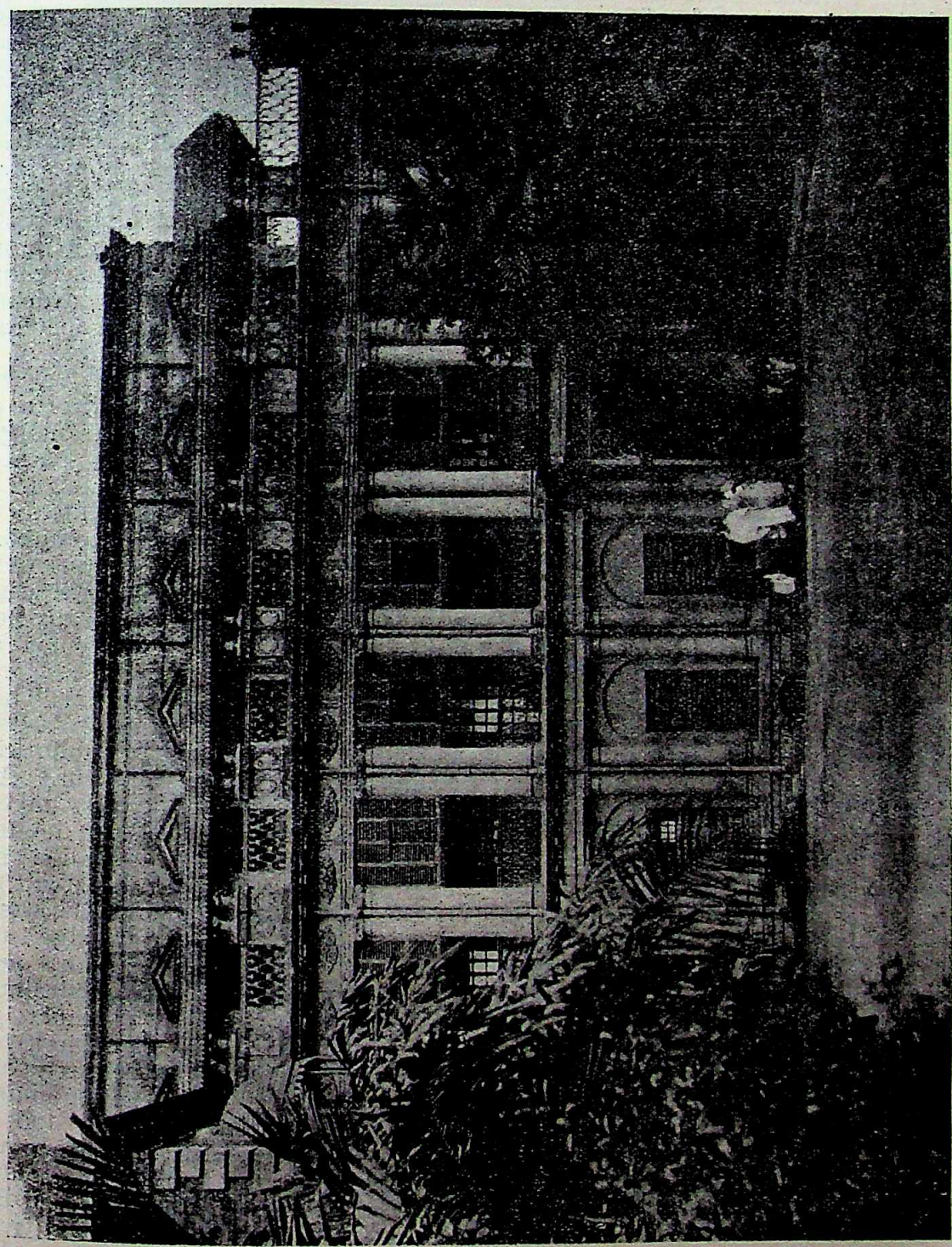

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S ANCESTRAL HOUSE.

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Through these are seen the 'Singhi's Garden' with its cluster of huts* and tank, and on the edge of the tank the dairy of our milkwoman, Tara; still further on, mixed up with the tree-tops, the various shapes and different heights of the terraced roofs of Calcutta, flashing back the blazing whiteness of the midday sun, stretch right away into the grayish blue of the eastern horizon. And from some of these far distant dwellings stand forth their roofed stairways leading upto the terrace, as if with uplifted finger and a wink they are hinting to me of the mysteries of their interiors. Like the beggar at the palace door who imagines impossible treasures to be held in the strong rooms closed to him, I can hardly tell of the wealth of play and freedom which these unknown dwellings seem to me crowded with. From the furthest depth of the sky-full of burning sunshine overhead the thin shrill cry of a kite reaches my ear; and from the lane adjoining Singhi's Garden comes up, past the houses silent in their noonday slumber, the sing-song of the bangle-seller—*chai choori chai*...and my whole being would fly away off the work-a-day world.

My father hardly ever stayed at home, he was constantly roaming about. His rooms on the third storey used to remain shut up. I would pass my hands through the venetian shutters, and thus opening the latch get the door open, and spend the afternoon lying motionless on his sofa at the south end. First of all it was a room always closed, and then there was the stolen entry, this gave it a deep flavour of mystery; further the broad empty expanse of terrace to the south, glowing in the rays of the sun would set me day-dreaming.

There was yet another attraction. The waterworks had just been started in Calcutta, and in the first exuberance of its triumphant entry it did not stint even the Indian quarters of their supply. In that golden age of pipe water, it used to flow even upto my father's third storey rooms. And turning on the shower tap I would indulge to my heart's content in an untimely bath Not so much for the comfort of it, as to give rein to my desire to do just as I fancied. The alternation of the joy of liberty, and the fear of being caught, made that shower of municipal water send arrows of delight thrilling into me.

It was perhaps because the possibility of contact with the outside was so remote that the joy of it came to me so much more readily. When material is in profusion, the mind gets lazy and leaves everything to it, forgetting that for a successful feast of joy its internal equipment counts for more than the external. This is the chief lesson which his infant state has to teach to man. There his possessions are few and trivial, yet he needs no more for his happiness. The world of play is spoilt for the unfortunate youngster who is burdened with an unlimited quantity of playthings.

To call our inner garden a garden is to say a deal too much. Its properties consisted of a citron tree, a couple of plum trees of different varieties, and a row of cocoanut trees. In the centre was a paved circle the cracks of which various grasses and weeds had invaded and planted in them their victorious standards. Only those flowering plants which refused to die of neglect continued to uncomplainingly perform their respective duties without casting any aspersions on the gardener. In the northern corner was a rice-husking shed, where the inmates of the inner apartments would occasionally foregather when household necessity demanded. This last vestige of rural life has since owned defeat and slunk away ashamed and unnoticed.

None the less I suspect that Adam's garden of Eden could hardly have been better adorned than this one of ours; for he and his paradise were alike naked; they needed not to be furnished with material things. It is only since his tasting of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and till he can fully digest it, that man's need for external furniture and embellishment is persistently growing. Our inner garden was my paradise; it was enough for me. I well remember how in the early autumn dawn I would run there as soon as I was awake. A scent of dewy grass and foliage would rush to meet me, and the morning with its cool fresh sunlight would peep out at me over the top of the Eastern garden wall from below the trembling tassels of the cocoanut palms.

There is another piece of vacant land to the north of the house which to this day we call the *gólabari* (barn house). The name shows that in some remote past this must have been the place where the year's

* These Bustees or settlements consisting of tumble-down hovels, existing side by side with palatial buildings, are still one of the anomalies of Calcutta. Tr.

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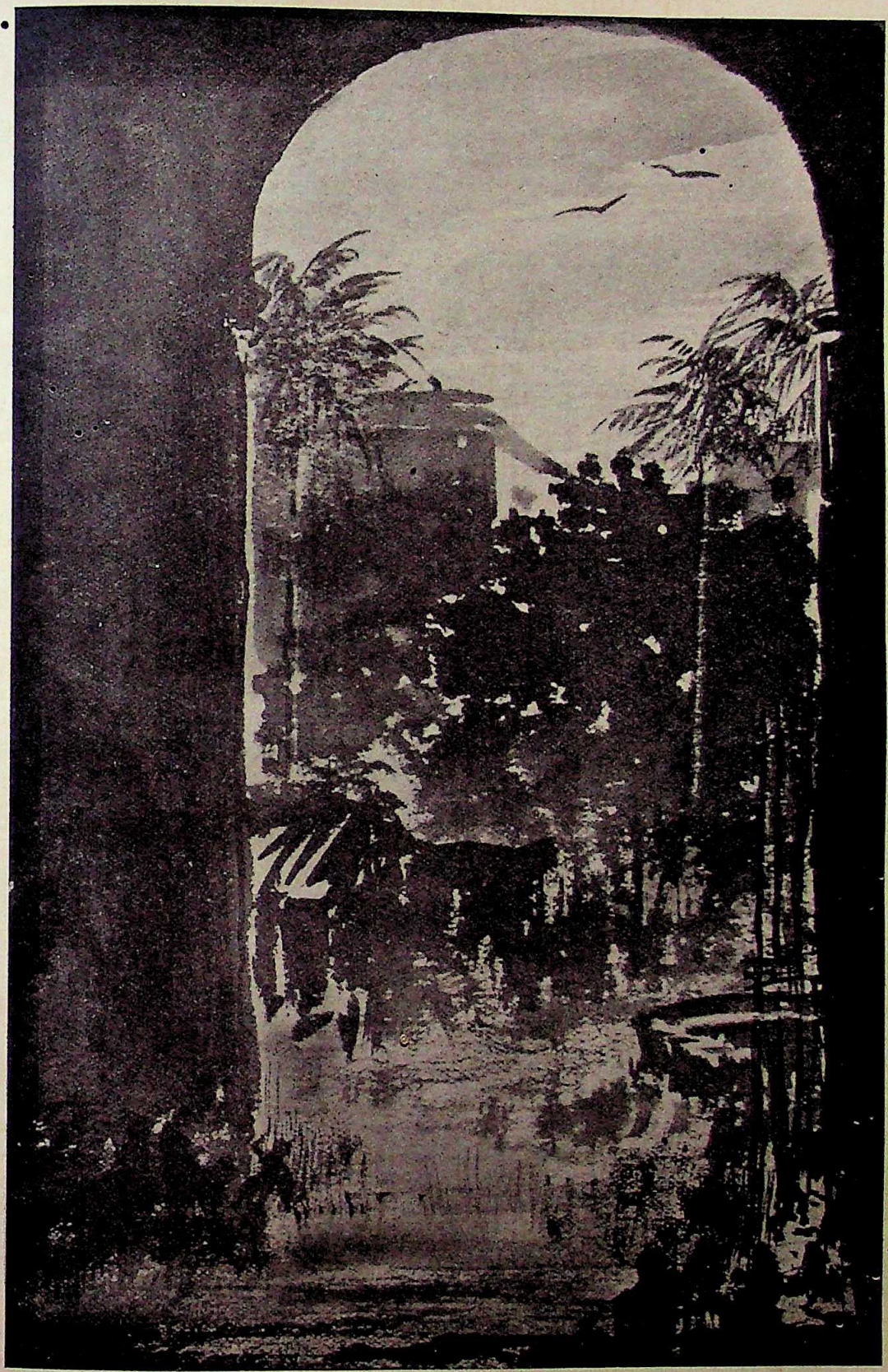

"OUR INNER GARDEN WAS MY PARADISE; IT WAS ENOUGH FOR ME."
From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

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store of grain used to be kept in a barn. Then, as with brother and sister in infancy, the likeness between town and country was visible all over. Now the family resemblance can hardly be traced. This *golabari* would be my holiday haunt if I got the chance. It would hardly be correct to say that I went there to play—it was the place not play, which drew me. Why this was so, is difficult to tell: Perhaps its being a deserted bit of waste land lying in an out-of-the-way corner gave it its charm for me. It was entirely outside the living quarters and bore no stamp of usefulness; moreover it was as unadorned as it was useless, for no one had ever planted anything there; it was doubtless for these reasons that this desert spot offered no resistance to the free play of the boy's imagination. Whenever I got any loop-hole to evade the vigilance of my warders and could contrive to reach the *golabari* I felt I had a holiday indeed.

There was yet another place in our house which I have even yet not succeeded in finding out. A little girl playmate of my own age called this the "King's palace."* "I have just been there", she would sometimes tell me. But somehow the propitious moment never turned up when she could take me along with her. That was a wonderful place, and its playthings were as wonderful as the games that were played there. It seems to me it must be somewhere very near—perhaps in the first or second storey—the only thing was one never seemed to be able to get there. How often have I asked my companion, "Only tell me, is it really inside the house or outside?" And she would always reply, "No, no, it's in this very house." I would sit and wonder: "Where then can it be? Don't I know all the rooms of the house?" Who the king might be I never cared to inquire; where his palace is still remains undiscovered; this much was clear—the king's palace was within our house.

Looking back on childhood's days the thing that recurs most often is the mystery which used to fill both life and world. Something undreamt of was lurking everywhere and the uppermost question everyday was: when, Oh! when would we come accross it? It was as if nature held something in her closed hands and was smilingly asking us: "What d'you think I have?" What was impossible for her to have was the thing we had no idea of.

Well do I remember the custard apple seed which I had planted and kept in a corner of the south verandah, and used to water every day. The thought that the seed might possibly grow into a tree kept me in a great state of fluttering wonder. Custard apple seeds still have the habit of sprouting, but no longer to the accompaniment of that feeling of wonder. The fault is not in the custard apple but in the mind. We had once stolen some rocks from an elder cousin's rockery and started a little rockery of our own. The plants which we sowed in its interstices were cared for so excessively that it was only because of their vegetable nature that they managed to put up with it till their untimely death. Words cannot recount the endless joy and wonder which this miniature mountain-top held for us. We had no doubt that this creation of ours would be a wonderful thing to our elders also. The day that we sought to put this to the proof, however, the hillock in the corner of our room, with all its rocks, and all its vegetation, vanished. The knowledge that the schoolroom floor was not a proper foundation for the erection of a mountain was imparted so rudely, and with such suddenness, that it gave us a considerable shock. The weight of stone of which the floor was relieved settled on our minds when we realised the gulf between our fancies and the will of our elders.

How intimately did the life of the world throb for us in those days! Earth, water, foliage and sky, they all spoke to us and would not be disregarded. How often were we struck by the poignant regret that we could only see the upper storey of the earth and knew nothing of its inner storey. All our planning was as to how we could pry beneath its dust-colored cover. If, thought we, we could drive in bamboo after bamboo, one over the other, we might perhaps get into some sort of touch with its inmost depths.

During the *Maghi*† festival a series of wooden pillars used to be planted round the outer courtyard for supporting the chandeliers. Digging holes for these would begin on the first of *Magh*. The preparations for festivity are ever interesting to young folk. But this digging had a special

* Corresponding to "Wonderland."

† January-February.

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attraction for me. Though I had watched it done year after year—and seen the hole grow bigger and bigger till the digger had completely disappeared inside, and yet nothing extraordinary, nothing worthy of the quest of prince or knight, had ever appeared—yet every time I had the feeling of the lid being lifted off a chest of mystery. I felt that a little bit more digging would do it. Year after year passed, but that bit never got done. There was a pull at the curtain but it was not drawn. The elders, thought I, can do whatever they please, why do they rest content with such shallow delving? If we young folk had the ordering of it, the inmost mystery of the earth would no longer be allowed to remain smothered in its dust covering.

And the thought that behind every part of the vault of blue reposed the mysteries of the sky would also spur our imaginings. When our Pundit, in illustration of some lesson in our Bengali science primer, told us that the blue sphere was not an enclosure, how thunderstruck we were! "Put ladder upon ladder," said he, "and go on mounting away, but you will never bump your head." He must be sparing of his ladders, I opined, and questioned with a rising inflection, "And what if we put more ladders, and more, and more?" When I realised that it was fruitless multiplying ladders I remained dumbfounded pondering over the matter. Surely, I concluded, such an astounding piece of news must be known only to those who are the world's schoolmasters!

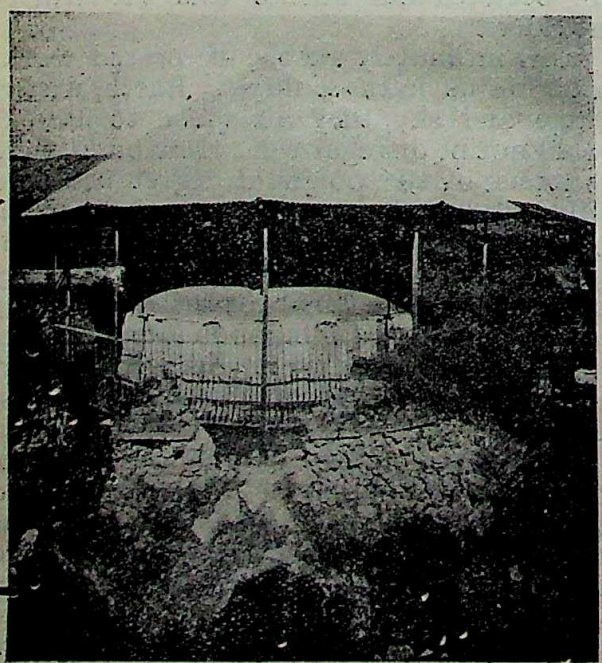
(To be continued.)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

RAJGIR OR RAJAGRIHA.

MRS. MABEL HOLMWOOD.

RAJAGRIHA is the most interesting place known to us of ancient Magadha, after Bodh Gaya and Gaya. Pataliputra is at present but a name and its excavation is only now commencing. Rajagriha is a valley of ruins, but the hills localize interest and we are able to trace the positions of the old cities and of many of the sites connected with the stories handed down by the Buddhist writers. The history of the hills goes back into the dim distance of the days recorded in the Mahabharata. We can imagine Krishna arriving there with the two Pandavas, the divine Arjuna (fabled as son of the god Indra) and that strongest of princes, Bhima, all ready to wreak their vengeance on the king of Magadha. In later days when the Buddha came with his message of good will to all men, the mountain city was still the capital of Magadha and Bimbisara of the Saisunaga dynasty was then its ruler. His son, Ajatasatru, built the "new city" of Rajagriha and made it his capital.* It is now in absolute ruins, even the inner walls can hardly be traced. It lay just outside, on the north of the hills, while in the valley which they encircled was the old city commonly known as old Rajagriha. Hwen Thsang calls it "Kusagarapura," the city of the lucky grass, and describes it as "the palace city" as well as "the mountain stronghold." The name



Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

MANYAR MATH, RAJGIR.

* Beal, Buddhist Records, II. 166.

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HINDU KUNDS BELOW VAIBHARA, RAJGIR.

"Girivraja," (the "mountain-girt" city) is the earliest found in its history, when it was the impregnable fortress of Jarasandha of the Danava race, the great king of Magadha.* The Mahabharata gives a long account of his conquests over neighbouring kings, and refers to his wickedness in making human sacrifices of his captives to Siva. Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, being desirous of showing his power as a Charkravartin monarch, is told that he will never be able to fulfil the Rajasuya sacrifice while Jarasandha lives. Krishna, the prince of Dwaraka† and Arjuna and Bhima, two of the Pandava brothers, go to Girivraja, and with the object of killing Jarasandha challenge him to mortal combat. Jarasandha after placing his son on his throne, chooses Bhima as his opponent. The struggle was long, they wrestled—

"these tigers among men, these heroes of great prowess, with their bare arms their only weapons, cheerfully engaged in the encounter each desirous of vanquishing the other. And seizing each other's arms and twining each others legs, they slapped their armpits causing the enclosure to tremble at the sound ...they grasped and struck each other like two mad elephants encountering each other with their trunks... and the sound the wrestlers made by the slapping of their arms, the seizing of each other's necks for bringing each other down...became so loud that it resembled

* "The bull of the Danavas...became that bull among men noted as Jarasandha"—Mahabharata, Adi Parva, LXVII. Dr. B. Spooner in J. R. As. S. B., July 1915, considers "Danava" equivalent to "Persian". He traces Danava as a synonym of Dasyavah, the Sanskrit form of "Danghavo" (the only name used by Zoroastrians of themselves) which Manu used to describe the peoples of Behar, Bengal and Orissa as well as the Kambojas, the Paradas and the Pahlavas, all of whom are recognised as of Persian origin. This would explain the enmity between Jarasandha and the Aryans of Northern India as well as the contemptuous allusions to Magadha and its people even before the growth and success of Buddhism produced friction. Dr. Haug in "Language Writings and Religion of the Parsis," p. 279 4th Ed. writes "The name Danava is given, both in the Vedas and the Zend-Avasta, to enemies with whom war is to be waged." Compare Yr. V. 73 and Atharvaveda, IV. 24-2. In the Rigveda it is often the name of the archdemon Vritra, with whom Indra is fighting."

† Krishna is represented as related to some of the captive kings. He was accepted as a partial incarnation of Vishnu and his brother, Balarama, as an epiphany of Sesha, the serpent (also part of him). Their sister was Subhadra ; and the three are now worshipped in the Jagannath triad at Puri. They appear as a protest against Buddhism and the Buddhist triad whose worship in Kalinga (which includes Orissa) they superceded. Arjuna, the special friend of Krishna and bravest of the Pandava Brothers, was said to be an incarnation of Indra, while Bhima was of Vayu, the god of the wind.

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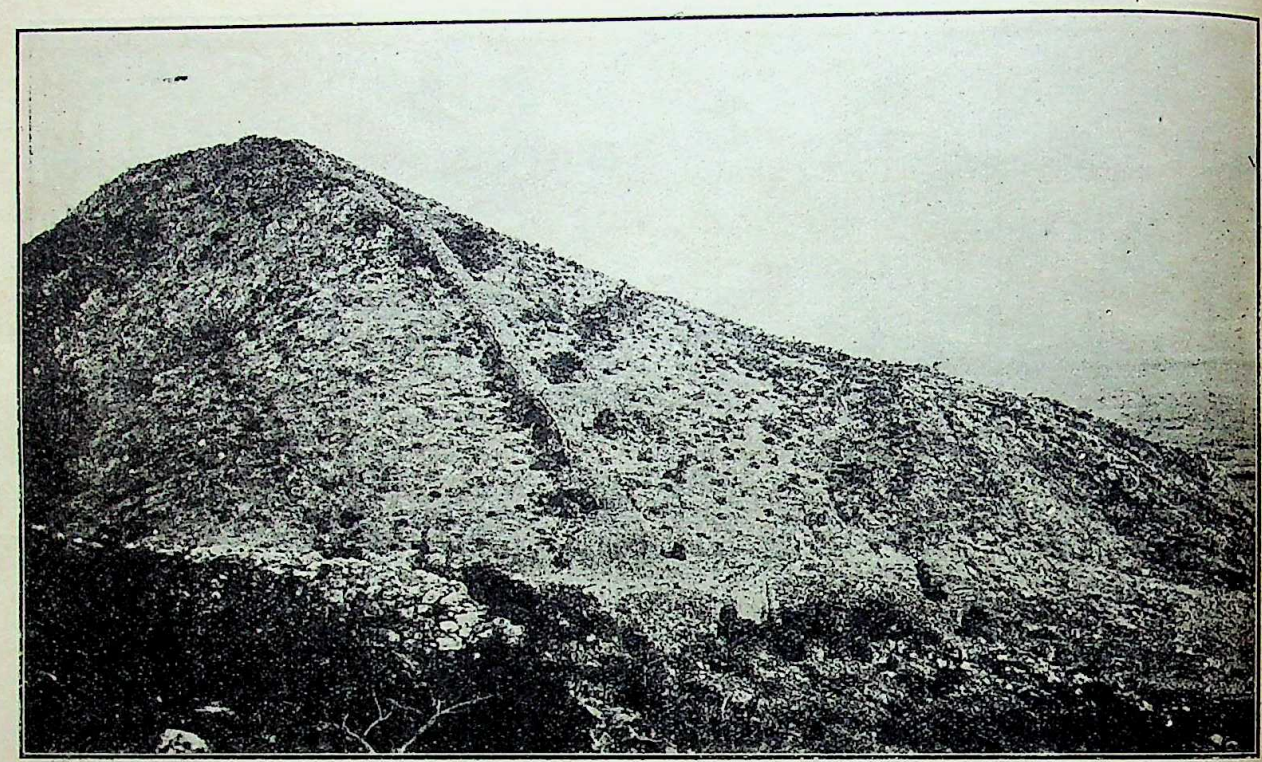

THE OLD WALLS ON SONAGIRI, RAJGIR.

the roar of thunder or of falling cliffs. Both of them were foremost of mighty men and both took great delight in such encounter."*

Bhima conquered, and their historic fight on the Ranabhumi (fighting ground) outside the city walls is remembered to this day. In fact the spot is still pointed out where this great wrestling match is supposed to have taken place. The site comprises a considerable area that had evidently been carefully levelled and prepared with a special kind of fine white earth; and wrestlers from different parts of India may still be seen at times taking away supplies of this fine earth, which they use to rub over their bodies before wrestling. They believe it contains some special virtue to give additional strength and aid from the magic of the name of the strongest of the Pandava brothers, Bhima.

Not the least interesting part of the Mahabharata story is the description of the city "full of cheerful and well-fed inhabitants belonging to all the four orders, where the festivities were perennial." The shops had "every kind of wealth that man desires." There were "handsome houses," and we can realize them from those depicted on the oldest basreliefs at Barhut and Sanchi and from the entrance facades of some of the great caves. The lower story was built up strongly in clay or stone, while above rose wooden verandahs and turrets elaborately designed. Wood was used alike in palace and hovel. Probably the more important buildings were made partly of stone, as great mounds of prepared stones are found and we know that the most skilful use was made of stone in the fortification walls, many of which can still be seen on the hills. That wood played the most important part in the construction of the city buildings is evident from the account Hwen Thsang gives of Bimbisara's self-inflicted banishment. The houses of the people were so close together that "when one house was in flames, it was impossible to prevent the whole neighbourhood from sharing in the calamity and consequently the whole was burnt up. Then the people made loud complaints and could not rest quietly in their dwellings." The king, on the advice of his ministers, to make the people more careful, passed a law exiling to the forest north of the hills those in whose dwelling a fire should originate." His own palace was the next to be burned, so to uphold his law he retired to the forest, leaving his son

* Mahabharata. Sabha Parva, XXIII. It gives quite a "scientific" account of the wrestling which must have been a highly developed art even then.

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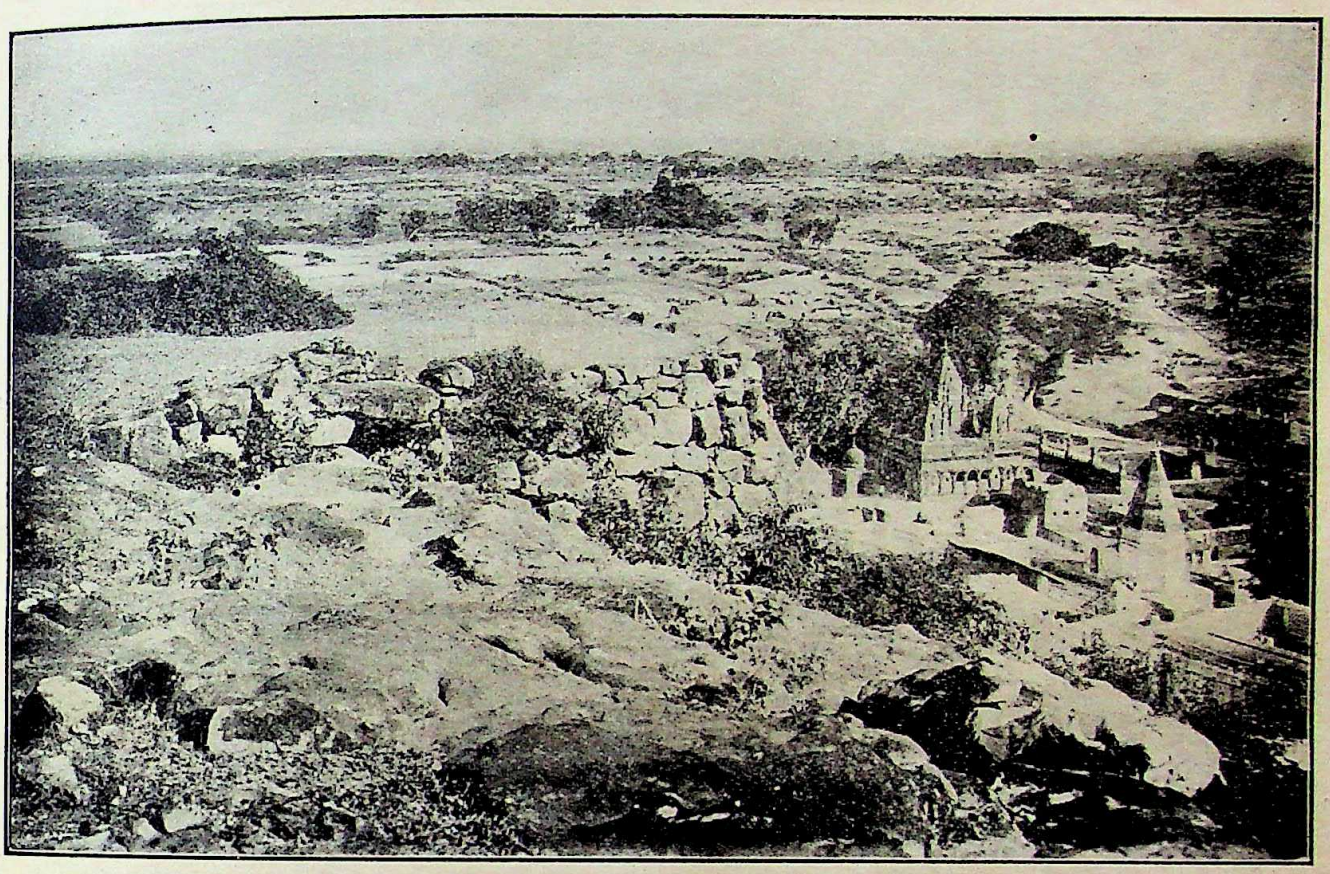

Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

THE PIPPALA STONE-HOUSE FROM THE SOUTH, RAJGIR.

to reign in his place.* There would be great difficulty now in obtaining wood for buildings, but in those days Hwen Thsang says the roads were bordered with Kanaka trees†, giving a delicious perfume, and the forests in the spring were all golden in colour. In the Mahabharata, too, we read the hills were covered with forests of Lodhra‡ and Pippala. It goes on to say the valley was "full of flocks and herds, its stock of water never exhausted." To-day, of all this prosperity nothing remains but dense undergrowth and short thick scrub, among which masses of stone mark the sites of old buildings and temples and the outlines of the city's inner walls. Still its five hills encircle the deserted valley "like the walls of a city" as Fa-Hian describes them. "Vaibhara, Varaha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri and the delightful Chaitya all high peaks and over-grown with tall trees...seem jointly to protect the city of Girivraja" are the words of Krishna in the Mahabharata*. Considering them as peaks rather than distinct mountains these are easily traced as Vaibhara-giri, Vipula-giri, Ratna-giri, Uday-giri and Sona-giri †. For about 25 miles along these hills run the outer circumvallation of the immense ancient fortifications, joined where necessary across the plains by high bandhs (embankments). "The Jarasandha bandh" joins Vaibhara and Sonagiri on the west. About a quarter of a mile east of this, another bandh leaves the foot of Vaibhara and joins the inner wall

The Hills and Fortifications.

* Hwen Thsang gives Bimbisara's retirement to the forest as the reason for calling the site Rajagriha or the king's house. Beal. B.Rec. II. 166. History accepts the fact of the murder of Bimbisara by his son Ajatasatru.

† Pterosperum acerifolium, or Kanak-champa, Katha-champa, is planted for ornament, the leaves are used for plates and tobacoo packing, the flowers as a disinfectant. Watts. Dic. Econ. P.

‡ Symplocos racemosa a small tree found in dry forest, on lower hills and plains. The bark is used medicinally and in dyeing. It gives a yellow colour, and is much prized as producing good red shades. Watts. Dic. Econ. Products.

* Mahabharata, Sabha Parva, XXI. In Pali annals the hills are called, Webharo, Wepulo, Isigili, Grijjikuta, and Pandawo

† Broadley. Bihar in Patna. Arch. S. T. 1905-6; Bengal Circle, 1901-02.

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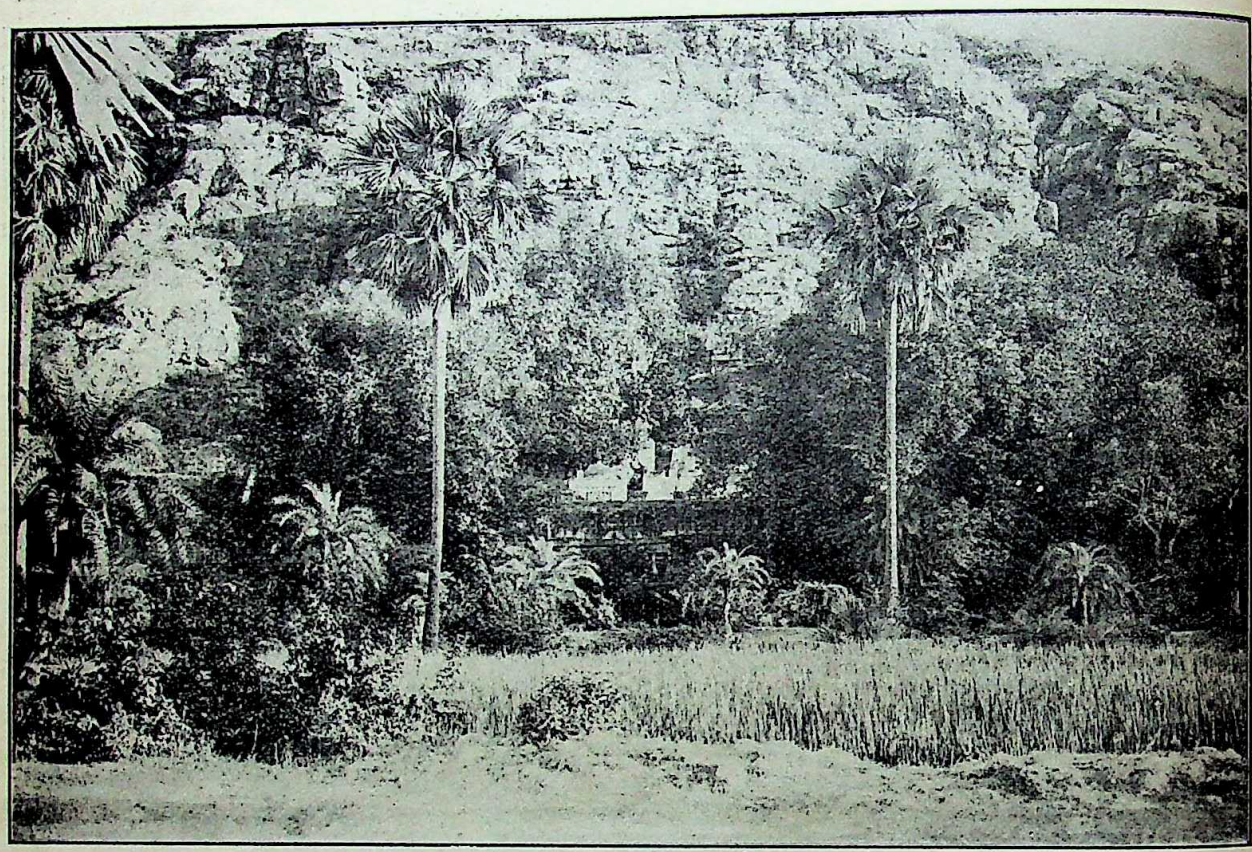

Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

MUKDUM KUND FROM THE NORTH, RAJGIR.

of the city. One runs from Ratnagiri across to Udayagiri, while joined to it is the wall from the Gridhrakuta hill which comes down to the Nakve or Nakpai embankment. The inner walls have a radius of about four miles. The outer fortification walls to the south are specially well preserved. Here the Banganga stream leaves the valley in a narrow defile, only a few feet wide, between Sonagiri and Udayagiri making a picturesque contrast with the old forts and mighty walls of ancient days. These two hills have an easy ascent, and hence were so strongly fortified. On both, the massive stone walls climb up the hill-sides attaining even now 17 feet in width and 12 in height, strengthened by solid bastions at intervals. Steps on the inner side are built into the walls to give access to the summit. The walls are made of an outer casing of large stones, some nearly 5 feet long, carefully fitted without cement, and filled in with smaller stones. These walls are probably the oldest stone work extant in India.

The very fact that these walls have weathered so many centuries and are still in such a wonderful state of preservation in places speaks well for the builders of those days of long ago.

When Krishna and his friends, disguised as "Snataka Brahmans"* came to Jarasandha's capital, they did not enter by the gates but pierced with their arrows and with "their mighty arms . . . broke down the Chaityaka peak" which was the glory and pride of the Magadhas, worshipped alike by king and people, where were kept the three great drums of Vrihadratha, whose sound when struck resounded for a month.† This act of defiance announced to the king, they came as foes, claimed no hospitality and accepted nothing in his city. The king demands their reason for coming by an "improper gate." Krishna explains that the vow of the Snataka Brahmana may be taken by Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas. "These are the rules of the ordinance, namely, that an enemy's abode should be entered by a wrong gate and a friend's by a

* Snataka or student who has completed his course of religious studies.

† These were made from the hide of the Cannibal Rishabha.

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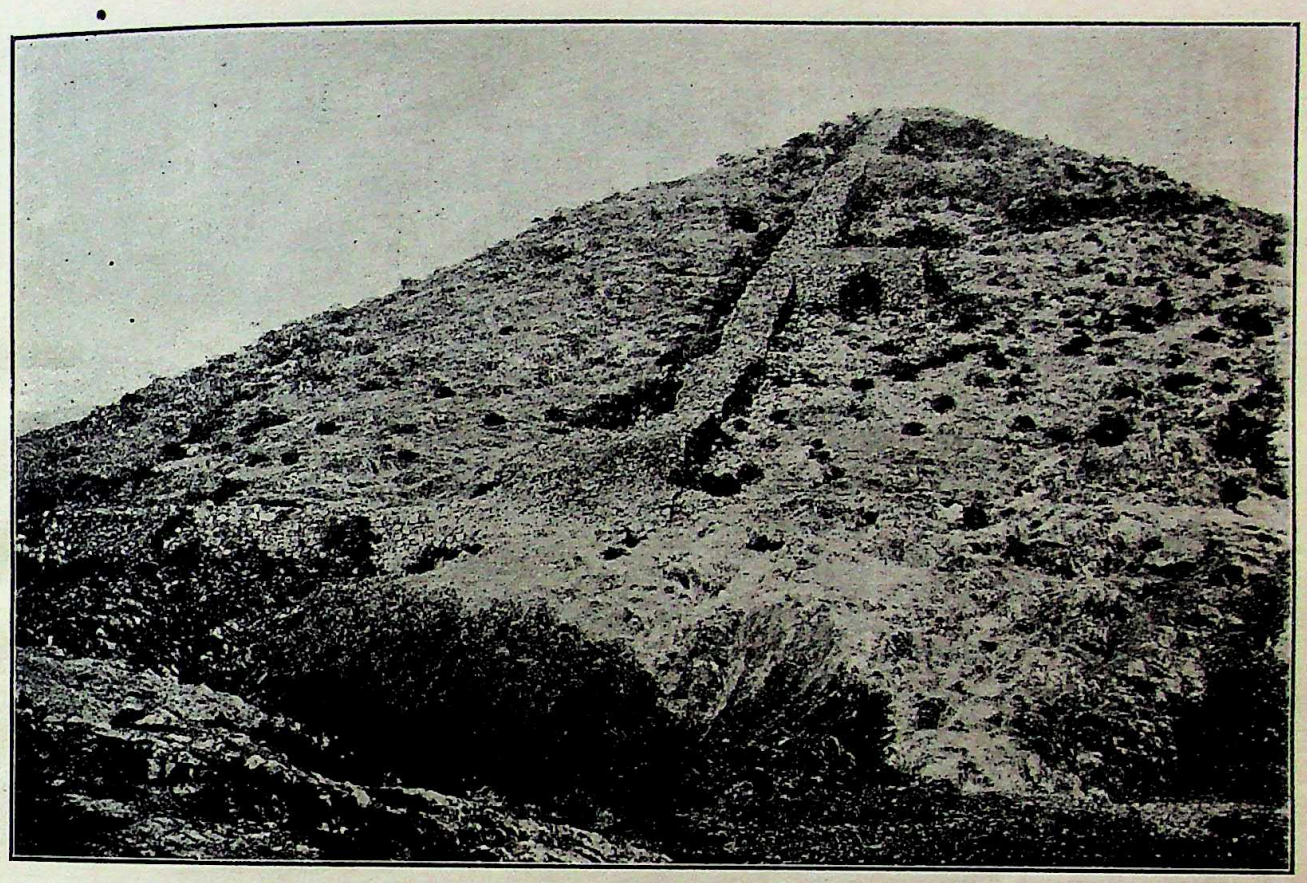

Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

OLD FORTIFICATION WALLS ON UDAYAGIRI & BANGANGA PASS, RAJGIR.

right gate."* Thus they held themselves free from all blame of treachery. What the Chaitya peak represents and where it was is impossible to say. At the north and south gates the fortifications were too strong to be evaded. The heroes came from the north-west. "They crossed the Ganges and the Sone and went towards the east."† Hwen Thsang tells us that the city "on the west . . . is approached through a narrow pass." The rocky off-shoot of Mount Vaibhara, commonly called Chhata or Chakra according to Mr. Broadley, is only separated from Sonagiri by a narrow ravine and may possibly be "the proper gate," referred to by the incensed king. On the east is another Chhata-giri, the hill identified by Mr. Broadley as the sacred Gridhrakuta peak of the Buddhist annals. It is a high and rugged peak, not easily accessible from the outer (northern) side of the hills. Still there may have been a tradition of sanctity still haunting it when the Buddha chose it for his favourite abode. Viharas and stupas arose on all the hills but this hill is specially associated with the Buddha himself. The ancient folk-lore of the land was preserved by the Magadhas and Sutas, the chanters of the deeds and legends of the kings and national heroes of the land as well as of the praise of the gods. * Thus it may well be that by degrees celestial honours were given to the popular favorites. To discover the human element underlying this mass of legend and myth is a truly fascinating study, but the result can never be regarded as altogether reliable. Here we have an actually existent geographical foundation in the hills of Rajagriha ; and tradition is an obstinate guardian of many forgotten truths.

The Gridhrakuta.

Of all spots among these hills the Gridhrakuta peak appeals most to Buddhists. There the Tathagata spent most of his time towards the end of his ministry, and preached many sutras. The Mahayanists say the Saddharma Pundarika and the

* Mahabh. Sabha Parva, XXI.

† Mahabh. S. P. XX. It says further that they arrived at Magadha in the heart of Kushamva and reaching the hills of Goratha they saw the city of Magadha. It is possible from an inscription lately found that the Goratha hills are those of Barabar in the Gaya district.

* Vishnu Purana Book I. Ch. XIII. Pargiter—Dynasties of the Kali Age, II.

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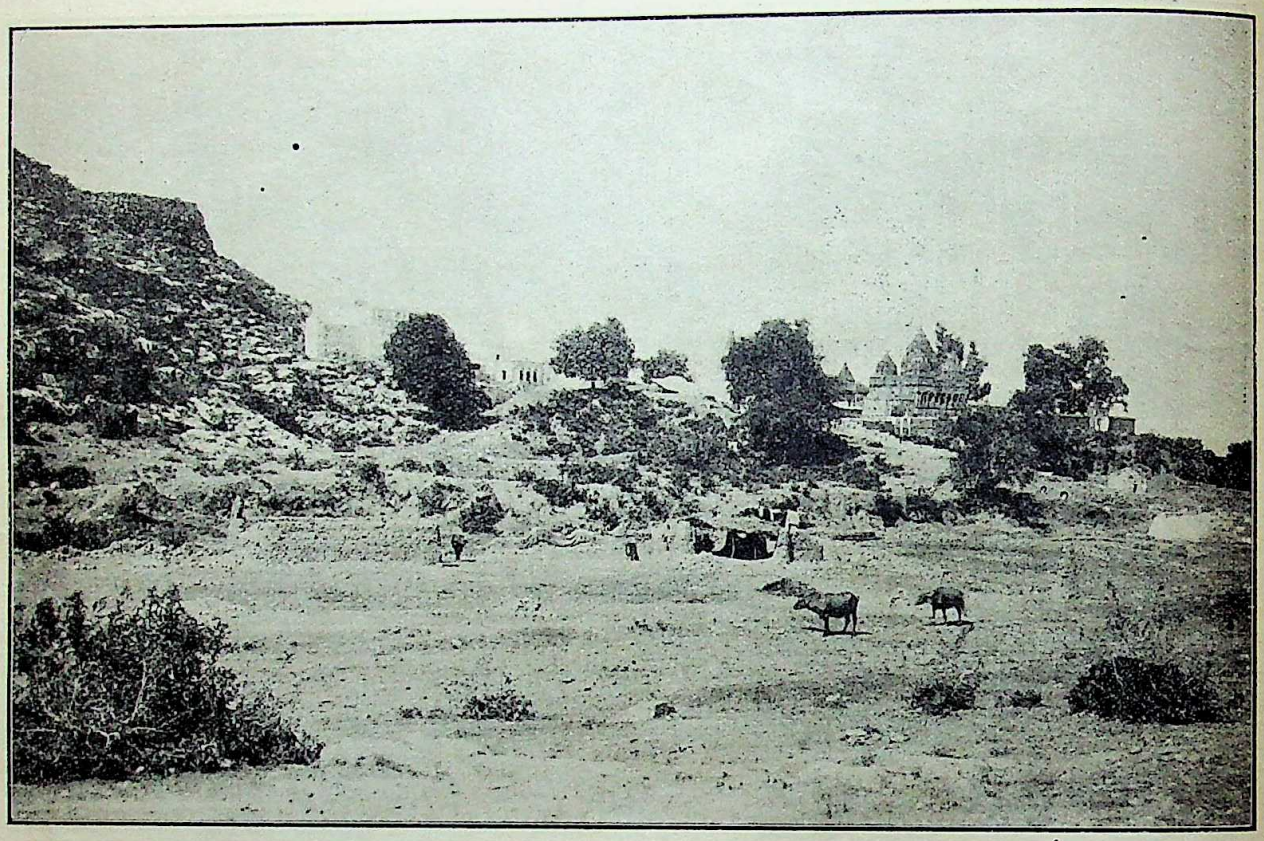

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JAIN TEMPLES AT NANAN KUND, RAJGIR.

Prajna Paramita were both delivered here, where the Buddha ever resides: "it is only an illusion when men imagine they have seen him in other places."* The hill has been easy to identify from descriptions handed down to us of its appearance and position, "touching the southern slope of the northern mountain, it rises as a solitary peak to a great height," "long from east to west and narrow from north to south." † But most decisive of all was Mr. Broadley's discovery of the actual roadway King Bimbisara is said to have made from the city up the mountain side to enable him to go and hear the Buddha preach. The two stupas he erected on the route were also found as described, one where the king dismounted and walked called the "Dismounting from the chariot"; the other where the people following were ordered to return called "sending back the crowd". On the western face of the mountain there was a vihara where the Buddha preached; and close by, where he walked up and down, is said to lie the stone that Devadatta threw at him. South of the vihara was the stone house where the Buddha had entered Samadhi in a previous birth, and where Ananda alarmed by Mara was re-assured by the Buddha who passed his hand through the wall and patted him on the head. Traces have been found of all these structures, corroborating the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims.* The ruins of a large Sangharama and Vihara, where now a Jain temple stands, on the top of Sonagiri, are now identified as probably marking the place to which the Emperor Asoka retired in his old age, and thus another great name is added to the interesting story of these hills. Dr. Fleet traces from the last recension of the edicts the history of the last days of the Great Monarch. After the 37th year of his reign, the 255th year having expired since the death of the Buddha, Asoka having placed his grandson on the throne retired to

Sonagiri

* Kern. M. 2.

† Beal. B. Rec. 152,153. Fa-Hian calls it "the loftiest of the five mountains." It is 1147 ft. above sea level, the same as Vaibhara, but its striking ridge makes it more imposing. Sailagiri further to the east is higher, 1253 ft. See map of Rajgir Hills, A. S. I. 1905-6.

* Beal B. Rec. II, 153, I. 55, 58. Broadley, Bihar in Patna, A. S. I. 1905-6, B. S. R. 1901-2.

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INTERIOR OF SON BHANDAR CAVE, RAJGIR.

Suvarnagiri (Sonagiri),* where he spent the next 256 nights in worship. The edict repeats "nights spent in worship two hundred and fifty-six 256", this gives a night of worship for every year since the Parinirvana.†

Maniyar Math.

Almost in the centre of the plain between Sonagiri and Vaibhara, within the wall of the old city, was an ancient tumulus on which a small and neglected Jain temple stood which was known as the Maniyar Math. Mr. Broadley found by its side fragments of brick and granite pillars and the pieces of a cornice covered with "Buddhas and Nagas." Later Dr. Bloch excavated the tumulus finding at its base stucco images mostly figures, six with snake hoods, one which he thinks is meant for the Banasura whose hands were cut off by Krishna, also a dancing Siva, a Ganesha and a garlanded linga. This connection of the worship of Siva, Vishnu and the Nagas is specially interesting, because in the Mahabharata Krishna points out to his companions where "dwelt of old those Nagas Aruvuda and Shakravapin as also the Naga Swastika and that other excellent Naga Mani."* It may be in honour of the latter that the site received the name of Maniyar. An old tale of buried wealth is told, and might connect the worship here with "Manibhadra, the king of the Yakshas,"* as well as with the Nagas who are gurdians of treasure, and protectors from drought. "Manu had himself ordered the kingdom of

* Suvarna and Sona both mean "gold."

† See J. R. A. S. of Gt. B. 1911, XXXII.

* Hopkyns, Religions, p. 358 note. Manibhadra is another name for Kuvera, the God of wealth.

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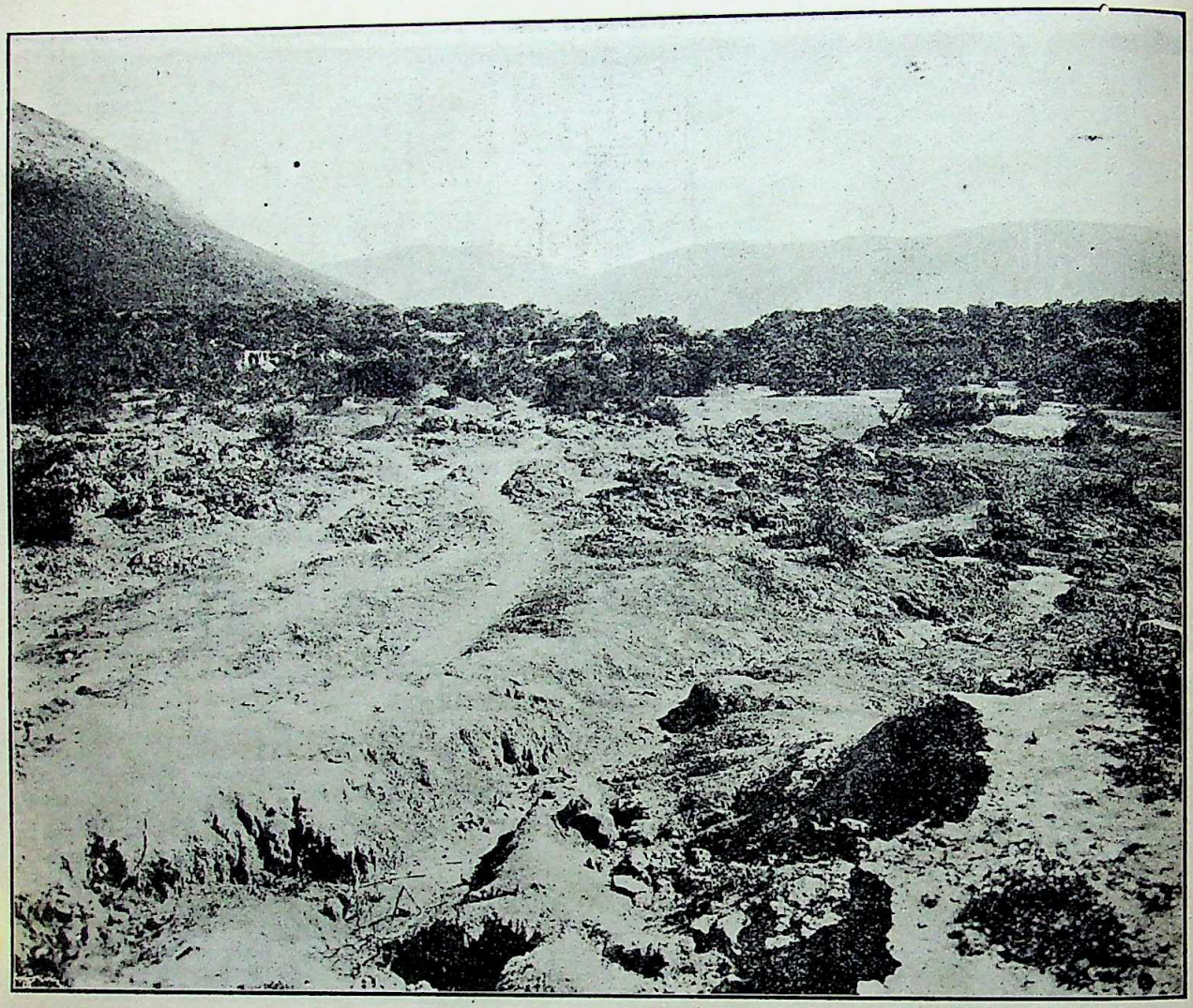

Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

SUPPOSED SIGHT OF WRESTLING GROUND, RAJGIR.

the Magadhas never to be afflicted with drought."*

The Mahabharata not only tells us of Krishna's connection with the mountain stronghold but of the worship of Siva established there. It records that Jarasandha kept his 86 captive kings waiting till he obtained 100, "in the temple of Siva, devoted unto that god and offered as sacrifice unto him like so many animals.....as soon as he obtaineth those fourteen, he will begin his cruel act."

Not only does the epic tell us that Vishnu and Siva (Siva-Girika, the mountain Lord) were worshipped in Girivraja but that the fetishism of earlier days continued in snake worship and the festival in honour of the Rakshasi Jara, the dynastic Grihadevi of Vrihadratha's race.†

Sonbhandar cave.

About one mile S.W. from the hot springs, at the foot of the southern slope of the Vâibhara hill, the cave known as the Sonbhandar is found. At first this cave was identified with the Sattapanni hall, the large "stone house" which was shown to Hwen Thsang as the place where the first Buddhist Council was said to have met. The cave is 33 ft. long, by 17 ft. wide and 16 ft. high. Inside there is a stone stupa

* Mahabharata. Sabha Parva. XXI.

† The marvel of Jarasandha's birth is told in Sabha Parva, XVIII. Vrihadratha desirous of offspring obtained from a Muni a magic mango. Each of the king's wives ate half the fruit, each bore half the child. The two parts were joined by the Rakshasi Jara. She describes herself as "created of old by the Self-Created and named Grihadevi." Hence came the name bestowed on the child "Jara sandha", "united by Jara", and the festival instituted in her honor. J. F. Hewitt explains the myth as symbolizing the union of the Magadhas, Kushikas and Gotamas under one king. See Ruling Races, pp. 21, 75, 146, 431.

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with four sides each carved with a standing figure on a lotus, below which are a pair of animals and the wheel. They are presumably the Dhyani Buddhas, each with his own chihna, or emblem, and attendants. Dr. Bloch considers that the inscription by the door of the 3rd or 4th century A. D., shows that the cave was made by Muni Vairadeva for the Jains. It says he "made two caves for the images of the Arhats." A roughly drawn figure by the side of the inscription is presumably meant, therefore, for a Tirthankara.

The Sattapanni Hall.

The Sattapanni has been more successfully located by Dr. Bloch at the foot of the northern face of Vaibhara about a mile from Karanda-Venuvana on a small low spur of the hill. Here are definite remains of a large platform and the foundations of a wall of huge unhewn blocks similar to those used in the Pippala stone house, giving evidence of a large ruined structural building.

The Northern Gates.

The Vaibhara and Vipula hills form the northern rampart of the valley. Here the inner gates are indicated by the line of the city walls, about 160 feet south-east of the meeting of the two streams which pass out through the defile between the hills. Both streams are called Sarasvati, the one coming from Ratnagiri and the other from the south-west of Vaibhara. * The gates of the outer fortifications were 250 feet further north. † It appears from what remains exist that they were protected by massive walls and bastions. By following the Chinese pilgrim's measurements from the northern gates of "the mountain-girt city" we may trace sites of interests outside the limit of the hills.

The New City.

Of "New Rajagriha" little can be seen except the outline of the inner ramparts, which average 14 feet in thickness. Between it and the hills lay the Karanda-Venuvana, the bamboo woods and gardens presented to the Sangha by Karanda, and a Vihara. All that now remains is a mound of debris surmounted by a Muhammadan tomb. Dr. Bloch dug some trial trenches in the mound but only a few small miniature clay stupas were found. The Karanda-hrada (tank) was north of the Vihara, and there Mr. Broadley found an image with an inscription of dedication to the tank. The old Smasana (burning ground) was probably, where the present burning ghat is. Of the two stupas the pilgrims mention, one is possibly the mound at the foot of Vaibhara and the other that at the foot of Vipula, now surmounted with a temple of Mahadeva. *

The Kunds.

On the banks of the Sarasvati are the celebrated hot springs, 7 or 8 at the foot of Vaibhara and 5 under Vipula near Makhdum Shah's Hujra. † A largely attended fair, known as the "Lawan Mela," is held at the hot springs every three years, i. e., in the Hindu leap year when an extra or intercalary month (called "lawan" or "mala mas") is added to make the lunar year keep pace with the solar year. Some Hindu temples have been constructed near the hot springs but these are of no special interest.

Jarasandh-ka-Baithak.

Above the kunds are two large platforms built up of huge stones. Dr. Bloch thought these were the watch towers of the northern entrance and formed part of the fortifications. The upper one is called "Sitamarhi." About 800 feet lower on the hill side, and some 270 feet above the Markanda kund, is the other platform. It is about 28 feet in height forming a rough square of 70 to 80 feet. It is commonly

* Broadley, Bihar in Patna, 28.

A. S. I. 1905-1906 "Rajgir."

* Broadley, Bihar in Patna, p. 36.

† The Brahmakund is the principal of the hot springs below Vaibhara. Others are the Ananda-Rikhi, Markande, Vyas and the Ganga-Jamuna nearest the hill. The latter has carved stone shoots for the spring water as described by Hwen Thsang, "carved stones sometimes shaped like lions, and at other times as the heads of white elephants, while below there are stone basins in which the water collects like ponds. Here people of every region come and from every city, to bathe." The temperature of theSatdhara-kund is about 105 degrees Fahr. Seven streams enter from the western side, and at the southern end is a small cave temple with modern images of the 7 Rishis. The last kund is the Kashi-tirth through which the waters of the spring pass into the Sarasvati. Further north is a Pakka ghat on both sides of the Sarasvati, where "gau-dan and pinda-dan are performed by the pilgrims. At the foot of Vipulagiri are also hot and cold springs, called Nana-kund. Sita-kund, Soma-kund, Ganesha-kund and Rama-kund. About a quarter of a mile further on, in an enclosure, is a celebrated well called Sringgi-rikhi-kund by Hindus and Makhdum-kund by Muhammadans and equally prized by both. A flight of about 80 steps lead up to the stone cell known as the "hujra" of Makhdum Shah Shaikh Sharf-uddin Ahmad, a great Muhammadan saint specially revered in Bihar. It was the scene of his 40 days' meditation and fast. The platform above it, is where his morning and evening prayers were said." (Broadley, Bihar in Patna.)

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known as "Jarasandh-ka-Baithak." Local legend tells how in a single day Jarasandha built this and the broad stone roadway which goes right over the hill (probably the foundations of the old fortification walls), to assemble his troops on the hill tops in defence of Girivraja against his enemies from the west. In the lower part of the platform are several small cells, and a cave has been found behind it.* This platform is specially interesting as it has been indentified with the "Pippala stone-house" described by Hwen Thsang as west of the hot springs, where the Tathagata stayed in the heat of the day. The deep cavern which is behind the walls of this house is the palace abode of an Asura." † There are three Muhammadan tombs on the top of the platform, one of which is thought by some to be that of Kamdar Khan Mayi, one of the most important Muhammadan chiefs in South Bihar during the first half of the 18th century, whose warlike achievements are still the theme of many a local ballad.

The Buddhist day has passed, but dim memories of the great Sage still haunt these hills. It is not to the Muhammadans or the Hindus, though each claim a sacred place in Rajgir, but to the Jains that the heritage of the hills has come. It is their shrines we see to-day shining white on each crest and spur. To them Rajgir ranks with Parasnath and Pawapuri. The latter village is not far off, on the banks of the Panchana river, south of the town of Bihar. Here Mahavira Vardhamana, their greatest and last Jina (conqueror saint) died. Large numbers of Jain pilgrims come to all three places from every part of India and their subscriptions keep the shrines in good repair. These shrines, however, are all comparatively modern and have been built mostly with materials taken from older temples and stupas. Carved fragments and pillars are used freely in their construction, and Buddhist statues are often found in them. Every shrine contains the "charana paduka" of a Tirthankara. On Vaibhara there is a Jain shrine below the Pippala stone house. Above on the hill are six or more temples. One dedicated to the 15th and 16th Tirthankaras, Dharmanatha and Shantinatha, is interesting from the tradition connecting it with that of the Maniyar Math. Mr. Broadley says it contains two images and a charana with an inscription about 200 years old. The pujari (temple priest) has corrupted the names to Dhanaji and Sathadraji and describes them as two wealthy bankers who lived in the house at the Nirmal kund, i. e., the house that stood on the mound in the south-east corner of the ancient city. This is identified with the mound on which stands "the Maniyar Math." Mr. Broadley was also told that it was in honour of these two wealthy bankers, Dhanaji and Sathadraji, that the Math was built. A little to the north of this on Vaibhara Mr. Broadley found among the ruined Buddhist shrines one that he describes as "the most perfect building of its kind." The cupola had fallen and there was no image of the Buddha left, but one had been carved in the centre of the lintel of the entrance doorway. Above the stupa mound on which the Mahadeva temple stands on a spur of Vipula, are two Jain temples, one of which is dedicated to the great Mahavira. On the summit of Vipula are extensive Buddhist remains as well as a platform about 130 feet long, 30 wide and 6 feet above the rocks made of the materials from the Buddhist mounds including 30 pillars. On this stand four modern Jain temples with fine pieces of Buddhistic carvings inset. There are also two fine slabs, one of the Navagraha (nine planets) and another of the Das Avatar (Vishnu's ten incarnations). From the top of this hill, the view from which is very fine, one can cross to Ratnagiri by a rocky defile. Here is another temple in which some carved pillars have been used. Udayagiri has also debris of Buddhist buildings, and now five Jain temples crown it, each with its Buddha statue engraved with the Buddhist formula "Ye dharma hetu" etc. Over the ruins of the Vihara on Sonagiri is also a Jain shrine. So all the hills are claimed for the Buddha's greatest rival, and only the Gridhrakuta is left. Buddhist pilgrims might well take steps to raise a rest-house there for those who, like Fa-Hian, would pass the night and meditate. "Here it was in by-gone days Buddha dwelt. . . Fa-Hian, not privileged to be born when Buddha lived, can but gaze on the traces of his presence and the place which he occupied."

* Broadley, p. 31, B.S.R. 1901-2.
† Beal B. Rec. III, 56.

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THE COST OF ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA, JAPAN, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By Lala Lajpat Rai.

It is admitted by all competent observers that India is one of the poorest countries in the world; the average income of an Indian being only 2 pounds a year (10 dollars of American money and 20 Yen of Japanese) according to the official estimate made in Lord Curzon's time. A comparison of the salaries paid to the Indian administrators with those paid to men in similar positions in Great Britian, the United States of America and Japan will show that the Indian administration is the most costly in the world.

Before we quote the actual figures we would like to point out that although the exchange value of the Indian Rupee is equal to 33 cents of American money and about 66 sens of the Japanese money, (i.e. the American dollar is equal to Rs. 3 and the Japanese Yen equal to Rs. 1½), the economic value of the rupee, judged from the prices of necessaries of life and from the wages of labour, is about equal to that of the American dollar and the Japanese Yen. It is a fact which I know from my personal experience. The purchasing value of the Rupee has gone down much of late, but still it is as good as that of a dollar in America and a yen in Japan.

Central Government.

The President of the United States of America, who ranks with the great royalties of the world in position, gets a salary of 75,000 dollars without any other allowance. The Prime Minister of Japan gets 12,000 yen. The Viceroy and Governor-General of India gets Rs. 2,50,800 besides a very large amount in the shape of allowances. The Cabinet Ministers of the United States get a salary of 12,000 dollars each, that of Japan, 8,000 yen, and the Members of the Viceroy's Council 80,000 Rs. each.

In the whole Federal Government of the United States there are only 3 offices which carry a salary of more than 8,000 dollars a year. They are given below:—

The President of the General Navy Board	... 13,500
Solicitor General	... 10,000
Assistant Solicitor General	... 9,000

All the other salaries range from 2,100 to 8,000 dollars. In the State Department all offices, including those of the secretaries, carry salaries of 2,100 to 5,000 dollars. In the Treasury Department the Treasurer gets 8,000, and 3 other officers get 6,000 each. All the remaining get from 2,500 to 5,000 dollars. In the War Department there are only two offices which have a salary of 8,000 each attached to them, viz., that of Chief of Staff and of Quarter Master General. The rest get from 2,000 to 6,000. In the Navy Department, besides the president of the General Board mentioned above, the President of the Naval Examination Board gets 8,000 and so does the Commandant of the Marine Corps. All the rest get from 6,000 downwards. In the Department of Agriculture there is only one office carrying a salary of 6,000. All the rest, from 5,000 downwards. The Chief of the Weather Bureau (an expert) gets 6000. In the commerce Department 4 experts get 6000 each, the rest from 5000 downwards. These are annual salaries.

In Japan the officials of the Imperial Household have salaries ranging from 5500 to 8000 yen, officials of the Higher Civil Service from 3700 to 4200 a year, Vice-Ministers of State 5000, chief of the Legislative Bureau 5000, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet 5000, the Inspector General of Metropolitan Police 5000.

President of the Board of Audit	... 6000
President of the Administrative Litigation Court	... 6000
President of the Railway Board	... 7500
President Privy Council	... 6000
Vice-President of the Privy Council.	... 5500

and so on. All the salaries are per annum.

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INDIA.

Prisident of the Railway Board gets 60,000 or 72,000 Rs.
Two Members of the Railway Board ... 48,000 each
Secretaries in the Army, Public Works and Legislative Departments ... 42,000 each
Secretaries in Finance, Foreign, Home, Revenue and Agriculture and Commerce and Industry Departments ... 48,000
Secretary in the Education Department ... 36,000
(The Chief Commissioner of Education in the United States gets only ... 5,000 Dollars).
Joint Secretary 30,000
Controller and Auditor General ... 42,000
Accountants General from ... 27,000 to 33,000
Commissioner of Salt Revenue ... 30,000
Director General of Post and Telegraph from ... 36,000 to 42,000
(In the United States the Post Master General is a Cabinet Minister and gets 12,000 Dollars). Post Masters General from 18,000 to 24,000.

Among the officers directly under the Government of India there are only a few who get salaries below Rs. 20000, most of the others get from Rs. 20400 to 36000. The fact that the population of the United States of America consists of people of all races from the world and that there is a constant flow of immigration makes the work of administration very difficult and complex; otherwise also the administrative problems handled by the United States administration are even more complex and difficult than those faced by the administration in India.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIONS.

The United States Government have under it 54 States, some of which are as big in area, if not bigger, as the several provinces of India. The Governors of these States are paid from 2500 dollars a year upto 12000 dollars a year. There is only one State, that of Illinois, which pays 12000 to its Governor, five others, amongst them California and New York, pay 10000; only two, Massachusettes and Indiana pay 8000 and only one pays 7000; 3 pay 6000; the rest all 5000 or less. There is only one territory under the United States Government, viz., that of the Phillipines, which pays a salary of 20000 to its Governor General. In India the Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, each receive 120000 Rupees per year besides large amounts for allowances. Lieutenant Governors receive Rs. 100000. each besides allowances. The Chief Commissioner receives 62000 in Assam, 62000 in Central Provinces and Berar, 36000 in Delhi, and so on. The Political Residents in the Native States receive from 33000 to 48000 besides allowances. In Japan the Governors of Provinces are paid at the rate of, from 3700 to 4500 yens per year besides allowances varying from 400 to 600 yen per year. The provincial services in India are paid on a similarly lavish scale. In Bengal the salaries range from 4800 Rs. a year allowed to an Assistant Magistrate and Collector to Rs. 64000 allowed to members of council, and the same may be said of the other provinces also. Coming to the judiciary we find that the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States get a salary of 14,500 dollars each, the Chief Justice getting 15,000; the circuit judges get a salary of 7000 dollars each, the District Judges $ 6000 each. In the States of New York, the Judges of the Supreme Court belonging to the General Sessions get 17500 each and those of the Special Sessions get from 9000 to 10000 each, City Magistrates get a salary of 7000 to 8000 each. In India the Chief Justice of Bengal gets 72000, the Chief Justices of the Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces get 60000 each. The Chief Judges of the Chief Courts of the Punjab and Burmah get 48000 each and the Puisne Judges of the High Courts the same amount, the Puisne Judges of the Chief Courts getting 42000. In the Province of Bengal the salaries of the District and Sessions Judges range from 24000 to 36000 a year. The salaries of the District Judges in the other major provinces range from 20000 to 36000 and so on. The Deputy Commissioners in India get a salary according to different scales in different provinces varying from 18000 to 27000 a year; the Commissioners getting from 30000 to 36000 a year. In Japan the Appeal Court Judges and Procurators get salaries varying from 1200 to 5000 yen per year. Only one officer

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that of the President of the Court of Cassation getting 6000. The District Court Judges and Procurators are paid at the rate of 750 to 3700 yen per year.

It is needless to compare the salaries of the minor offices in the three countries. The fact that the Indian taxpayer has to pay so heavily for the European Services engaged in the work of administration makes it necessary that even the Indian officers should be paid on a comparatively high scale, thus raising the cost of administration to the highest pitch and telling very injuriously on the condition of the men in the lowest grades of the Government service. The difference between the salaries of the officers and the men forming the rank and file of the Government offices in the three countries mentioned above shows how the ordinary Government servant in the lowest rank in India suffers from the fact that the officers have to be paid at such high rates. We will illustrate what we mean.

The Police.

Police Force of New York City. The Chief Inspector gets $3500 a year, Captains $ 2750 each, Lieutenants $ 2250, Sergeants 1750, Patrol men, corresponding to our Constables, 1400 each. The Commissioner of Police gets $ 7500. In Japan the Inspector General of the Metropolitan Police gets 5000 yen. The figures for the lower offices are not available but the minimum salary of a constable, is 13 yen per month, besides which he gets his equipment, uniform and boots, &c., free. In India the Inspectors General get from 24000 to 36000, Deputy Inspectors General from 18000 to 21600, District Superintendents of Police from 8000 to 14400, Assistants from 3600 to 6000, Inspectors from 1800 to 3000, Sub-Inspectors from 600 to 1200, Head Constables from 180 to 240, *Constables from* Rs. 120 to 144 per year. We have taken these figures from the Indian Year Book published by the Times of India Office, Bombay. We know as a fact that the Police Constables in the Punjab are paid from 8 to 10 rupees a month, that is, from 96 to 120 rupees a year. The reader would mark the difference between grades of salaries from the highest to the lowest in India as compared with the United States and Japan. While in India the lowest grade servants are frightfully underpaid, the highest grade officers are paid on a lavish scale. In the other countries of the world this is not the case.

Educational Department. In the United States (we quote the figures of the New York City) the lowest school teachers get a salary of 720 dollars a year rising to 1500. In the upper grades the maximum salaries are 1820 to 2260. *Principals of Elementary Schools* receive 3500 and Assistants 2500. In High Schools salaries range from 900 to 3150 dollars. In Training Schools from 1000 to 3250 dollars. Principals of High Schools and Training Schools are paid 5000 dollars and the same salary is paid to the District Superintendents. The salary of the Commissioner of Education in New York is 7500 dollars. In Japan the Minister of Education, who is a Cabinet Minister, gets a salary of 8000 yen per year and the lowest salary of a teacher ranges from 16 yen to 18 yen per month. In the United States the highest salaries allowed to College Professors are from 5000 to 7000 dollars a year. In Japan they range from 600 to about 4000 yen per year. Coming to India we find that while the administrative officers and even the Professors get fairly high salaries, the teachers in the schools are miserably underpaid. We do not believe there is a single country in the world where the difference between the remunerations allowed to the highest and the lowest of the state servants is so disproportionate as in India, yet there is a tendency to still further increase the salaries of the high officials, European and Indian, while even very insignificant increases to the salaries of the lowest servants of the State are very grudgingly allowed. Then the high officials get so many kinds of allowances that sometimes the amount of those allowances equals their salaries, which is not the case in the case of the lower grade servants. The fact is that the Government in India does not attach sufficient importance to the ordinary man. His needs are often overlooked in the desire to please the higher services and to keep them contented. Considering that every man in India is supposed to have a family, the condition of the lowest official is extremely miserable and justifies corruption in their ranks. The Government of India must know it, yet they have not done anything to remedy this state of things. A rise in the prices is claimed to be a good ground for raising the salaries of the highly paid

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civilians, but the same weight is not attached to it when the question of a rise in the salaries in the lower grades arises. In the latter case the unfeeling argument of the market rate is freely applied, and it is argued that it will be unbusinesslike for Government to pay more for services which can be secured cheaper.

The figures relating to military services in India are not available but we know that the above remarks have as much force in the case of military services as in that of the civil.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT AND TACCAVI

THE taccavi and co-operative credit are two systems that are working side by side in the United Provinces, and possibly in other provinces as well. The two modes of helping a poor tenant are radically different in their scope, and differ again in essentials from private banking as between a tenant and the village money-lender. The taccavi is the rural banking enterprise conducted by the Government, its collection has all the force, and not unoften the rigour, of a state creditor. The advance, though made in the presence of highly responsible officers, is inevitably linked with the petty *amla*—the Patwari, the Kanungo and a host of clerks, a class of public servants that unfortunately has not a very clean record to show. The collection is associated with more corruption, as it is the business of petty officials in outlying places. Taccavi has the advantage of low interest, a little more than six per cent. per annum being the rate. The one predominating feature of this system, however, is that whatever the rate of interest, it enriches the state, it means a substantial addition to the resources of the state, the profit being the difference between the rate of interest the Government can borrow at and that charged from the tenant. The taccavi presupposes that in fiscal matters the foreign government in its bureaucratic form is strictly national, that the profits of the state represent the increasing national stock from which the tenant will borrow with increased facility. Taccavi is rigid, mechanical and inelastic.

The co-operative credit system is strictly the people's concern under the guiding care of the government. The profits are entirely separate from state revenues, they swell the common wealth, and are free from corrupting influences. It is a national enterprise as apart from state activity, and its success is measured by the amount of enterprise put forth by the people. The rate of interest is comparatively high, being about 12 p.c., and therein lies the chief handicap as against the easier taccavi. It cannot compete with the taccavi on the score of interest, it covers only an insignificant ground for want of capital. It is a new plant involving co-operation in a land where combination in business was an unknown feature, and where individual action comprised the whole national activity. The loan is safe-guarded with good security, widening the operation of its liability on a group of persons, and as such is as rigid and unfailing as the taccavi. So far as human calculations go, and even beyond them, the "bad debt" is an unknown element in both the systems, taccavi and co-operative credit. Not only the actual borrower pays but failing him the so many sureties are liable for the debt.

The village money-lender recalls many bitter memories. If the vast mass of official literature represents any truth, he was the author of a lot of agricultural misery in the land, the one functionary who did more to undermine the agricultural prosperity than did the annual settlements of the alien trading company and the unsettlement of many agricultural interests. Such an evil system could no longer hold its own against the taccavi and co-operative credit; but the fact that it survives calls for an analysis of the system. The village loan is for the most part a mere wild speculation, a gamble depending on the moral sense of the debtor and the freaks of nature, the rains. The tenants have no ownership in land and they have no better security to offer than the prospects of a good harvest. The rate of interest is exorbitant, but the

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forces of time are bringing it down. Every village usurer, however uncompromising, has to write off bad debts. He may play Shylock at times, but he is at the mercy of his debtors, he is amenable to the voice of the village elders, and his life and business depend on a fair spirit of tolerance and fair-play, as morality goes in the villages. How many exacting village money-lenders have had the bitter experience of having their houses broken into at night and the petty hoards of a life-time despoiled by angry debtors in a moment. But a creditor who does not transgress all bounds of fairplay, who is not guilty of flagrant dishonesty and who is not dead to all sense of compromise, need not fear such consequences whatever his usury. The village Panchayat, though bereft of its time-honoured functions and no longer a self-contained republic and a tribunal invested with great executive and judicial powers, has yet some voice left. It is a common experience in the villages to see a debt of several hundred rupees discharged for a couple of cows only at the instance of the Panchayat, if the debtor be really in narrow circumstances. If the Sahukar defies the common verdict of the village elders, he has no chance of better success in a court of law, he loses all moral support.

Money-lending in a village does not prosper for any length of time. If it did, an usury at 25 p. c. compound interest would soon result in big hoards, in palatial houses with marble floors. But the money-lender remains a man of ordinary means, himself in a less struggling condition than the debtor. His earnings are spent in the village, fructify agriculture and increase the common stock. The current practice of land taxation in the provinces does not leave a sufficient margin to increase the source of national wealth, and the tenant and his village banker have no chance of making a hoard.

There can be no question that co-operative credit is the best system suited to agricultural operations, if sufficient funds are forthcoming to meet the requirements of a big rural population as one finds in a district. The needs of tenants find a very imperfect recognition ; and the rules prescribing hard limits to the maximum credit leave no room to carry out improvements on the co-operative credit system, which should be more prospective like private banking. The really needy tenant, having no well or canal to irrigate his fields in a year of severe drought, has to beg, borrow of a village banker or go on starvation wages to a relief work. The taccavi and co-operative credit both leave him in the cold. For all that, the co-operative system is the best. Its great competitor is the taccavi, the State banking. A co-operative concern has little chance to prosper against the organised cheap finances of the State. Is it advisable to run two parrallel systems, the one going counter to the other ? If the co-operative system is a thing that need be fostered, if cheap capital to the tenant be a necessity, one would think that taccavi were better merged into co-operative credit. The normal credit of Government is 3½ p. c., and so long as private money is shy to come forth in sufficient quantity, Government may advance funds to the credit societies at reasonable interest.

State monopoly, of whatever description, comes in conflict with the free business of a people. State landlordism is a verity in most of the provinces in India, it is no mere academical sentiment. Government claims all unearned increment in land. If prices of foodstuffs go up, if world forces improve the value of land, that is considered a very reasonable ground to claim more revenues and rents. Canals are very paying concerns and are a source of direct profit to the state. Water rates just enough to cover the initial costs and expenses of upkeep of a canal, are a real aid to agriculture, any profit over and above this is a tax on land. There are authentic records to show that the old Indian land policy held the State responsible to keep the reservoirs and canals in good repairs within reasonable limits, and this was a practice that continued down to a hundred years back. The modern big irrigation schemes could not be kept up without a special tax, but that would not justify commercial gains. Describing the decay of many sources of income, Mr. Romesh Dutt has observed :

"In going over this list of the principal trades and professions of India, a hundred years ago, one sees how greatly these sources of income have been narrowed within this period. Weaving and spinning are practically dead, as most of the thread and cloth used by the people are supplied by Lancashire. Paper manufacture has also declined ; skins are now sent to Europe for all the better kinds of leather work, the dyes of the country have been replaced by aniline dyes. The Beparies and their pack-bullocks have become things of the past, and the profits of the carrying trade are now earned, not by boatmen,

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but by railways owned by foreign capitalists. Agriculture has become virtually the sole means of subsistence for the people with the loss of their many trades and industries."

The fear is that taccavi, though now a sporadic palliative movement of no very great import, bids fair to develop into an all-powerful rural State Credit before which the co-operative credit or private enterprise will have little chance. It may become a monopoly to further cripple the rural resources.

KRISHNADAS.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND THE WAR

ALWAYS conscious of great shortcomings in the matter of industries, and not a little resentful of the political conditions that contribute their share to those shortcomings, India would often make a spasmodic effort to clutch at the good things that other more happily placed countries enjoy. The European war, paralysing for the moment the gigantic manufacturing capacity of Europe, has given fresh impetus to the demand in India for the creation of new industries and manufactures. Speaking rationally, war is a passing distemper, in spite of what gigantic proportions it may have assumed for the time; and the world may not be surprised to hear one morning that the belligerent countries had readjusted their little differences. The machinery of trade and manufacture will resume its wonted grinding with all the force of a pent-up activity and with all the self-interest that the wasteful war could dictate. Preservation or regeneration of Indian industries forms no side issue of the war; rather with the settling of the European differences, the countries of Europe will at least aim all the more at grasping the world trade. German militarism is as aggresive as German commercialism; and British navalism rightly earned the title of "shopkeepers" to the British people, and secured for them the dominion over the sea centuries ago. India, now the home of Free Trade, what chance has she to withstand the onrushing avalanche of European trade?

It would appear that India in her industrial dotage has lost the sense of true perspective in industrial matters. Button-making is said at one time to be able to retrieve the economic fortunes of this vast country. The manufacture of matches on a commercial scale is often held out as a very potent economic remedy. Boot laces are said to be able to add materially to the national wealth. Every small article of foreign import, however insignificant its annual value, now forms a subject of dessertation in the columns of newspapers, as if the fate of the country hung on their successful manufacture. Good things in themselves, but what place do they occupy among the big articles of import—cloth, sugar, metals? The steady import of cloth has drowned the once shrill cry of Swadeshim—preference for home manufacture. The drain on this head alone amounts to over 40 crores a year. The foreign textile import has been veritably built on the ashes of the once flourishing industry in the country. Imported sugar has borne down the native sugar in spite of the religious qualms of a conservative people. This absorbs another 15 crores a year, and the trade has an expanding prospect before it. The younger generation living in large towns do not know what peculiarly appetising flavour the Indian sugar has, the marble white tasteless foreign stuff is so satisfying to the eye, if not to the palate. Iron, metals and machinery account for crores; and a host of minor things, none of which is too trifling to be sedulously produced in India, come to a very colossal amount indeed.

It may be assumed for all practical purposes that for decades to come the present trade and fiscal policy of Britain towards her great dependency may not undergo any material change; that the angle of vision so far as trade interests are concerned may remain constant; whatever administrative reforms may take place here and there. It therefore seems to be a waste of energy to

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ask the authorities to set up our industries with their active co-operation. In regard to a few articles which are the exclusive exports of countries other than Great Britain, the Indian Government, with their limited authority in these matters, may take courage to satisfy the Indian sentiment. But is the proposal feasible as regards cotton piecegoods or any other article the manufacture of which is an important source of income to the British Isles or the colonies? The Indian politician knows this, and that is why he asks the Government to help his countrymen in the making of glass, paper, matches, buttons and the like, and why he silently ignores the more serious question of the cotton and the sugar industry. War often helps to shift over the centre of gravity of great industries, but the country that is really benefited the most is the one that can do something even in peace time. What is our peace record?

In a poor country like India, the victim of western aggressive commercialism, it is expected of statesmen and politicians that they would devote at least as much energy to the building up of her lost industries as to the reforms in administration. But if the truth were told, the Indian patriots seriously identified themselves with economic and trade matters only for the brief space of the Bengal Partition days. And leaving aside the question of the Partition, their achievement in the other sphere was solid and tangible indeed. By creating a love for home manufactures, they did as great a service as by unsettling "the settled fact." But where is that spirit now? It can not be supposed that the undoing of the Bengal Partition was a compromise, a bribe to give up the higher service of the country—a ceaseless propaganda to simplify the taste of the nation, to prefer a coarse homespun to the delicate foreign stuff. It is all very well to say that a sentimental war cannot be carried on against organised economic forces, and to some extent the contention is not groundless. But what can justify the reversion to the old apathy, the assumption of the role of a mere advocate as distinct from that of the pilot? Boycott may be bad, all violence applied to economics or politics is reprehensible; but where is any propaganda in the mildest form, a mere educative persuasion ceaselessly carried on in towns, villages and hamlets?

Much has been done of late years in the way of building up the weaving and spinning industries. Ahmedabad has become the Indian Lancashire on a smaller scale, and stray mills are found scattered all over the country. The home demand for the product of these mills, however, has not kept pace with the expansion of manufacture, and it is the Far Eastern countries, in the main, that are helping the mills to keep up a precarious existence. With the first touch of adverse circumstances, the mills close down, as some of the very big mills did at Bombay of late, or work at a reduced strength. Granting that the mills are labouring under the unjust excise duty and that fine fabrics to suit the altered fastidious taste of these people are hard to be made here, much can be done by informed sentiment persistently kept awake. Had it not been for the peasantry of Northeru India who have the practical sense to give preference to coarse and long-wearing cloths, the weaving mill industry in India would have made no headway. The leaders of public opinion in India can do much if they do not leave the industrial development of the country to run its sluggish course on mere economic lines. Even the slight fiscal reforms, short of heavy protective duties as Great Britain adopted early in the nineteenth century to exclude Indian manufactures by imposition of duties as heavy as 75 p.c., will not do much, though they will be an undoubted help. The abolition of excise duty on cotton manufactures will lead to some expansion of the trade, but it will be nothing to what a systematic constitutional propaganda may do in a few years. The effects of the Swadeshi movement, though that movement was short-lived, will outlive long years. It may be difficult to take a full stock of practical work done by that economic movement, but life-long votaries to home manufactures, converts to peaceful boycott of foreign articles, will be counted by millions, not so many perhaps in Bengal as in other provinces where the "great wrong" was not actually committed. But the uninformed, ignorant mass of the people have drifted away to an utter indifference. To them home manufacture and foreign manufacture mean the same thing, they are victims to the taste of the moment. But good intelligent people as they are, they await a vigorous informing propaganda to create a taste for home-made stuffs. Pend-

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ing the organisation of large capital and mills, the coarse and rude Indian manufacture can fairly meet their requirements.

Nobody would deprecate the systematic building up of industries on sound economic lines and to compete with foreign trade on a purely economic basis. Indian capital is already flowing in steadily increasing measure to the rearing up of several industries, and if the measure is at all stinted, a regular propaganda can alone stimulate it. Until a complete financial and fiscal autonomy is obtained by the Indian Government, it may be difficult to give any definite assurance to the Indian capitalist. He has to fight against organised cheap capital and expert knowledge of the West, and there is nothing to protect his nascent industries. He will invest according to his opportunity and his personal whim. That he invests at all against such odds is an evidence of his enterprise. That enterprise is nothing in proportion to this vast country and the grave interests involved, but it is something to be thankful for. What is required under the limited circumstances is the pushing on of home manufacture irrespective of their quality, and in some cases of price. State bounty of the West must take the form of national bounty in India, and reasonable profits should be assured to the manufacturer and artisan at a slight cost to the general consumer.

One hoped that the exploded myth that India is the home of agriculture alone and that manufacture and industry are exotics that find no congenial soil here, was a thing of the past. But we find that responsible administrators in high quarters still cling to the view. Sir James Meston is the latest exponent, if not advocate, of agriculture against industry in India. The least one would say is that if manufacture does not find a congenial home in India now, the uncongeniality began with the advent of European trade, and that for a long time the sturdy plant of Indian industry successfully withstood the withering winds of the foreign trading company. Was it not India that supplied to Britain and other countries for centuries the fine cotton and silk fabrics, sugar and many other articles? What India is specially suited for and what not we had better leave to time and opportunity alone to diagnose; the experts may rest assured that their opinion is not valuable in the now fast moving East. It is a wonder how the expert opinion which should have a scientific basis and liable to little change, has undergone a complete change during half a century. The following extract from a General Minute of 30th November, 1830, of Sir John Malcolm shows what the expert opinion on the capability of India as a possible field of industrial activity was;

"It is only by encouraging richer produce...and other articles besides grain, reviving commerce,..... that we can give heart to the country, and enable it to pay its revenue. There is no want either of talent or spirit among the native population subject to our rule and control to accomplish this object, but it requires to be drawn forth; and to effect this it is necessary to exert all the activity, energy and enlarged policy of a government which understands how to combine its own prosperity with that of the community subject to its authority."

NARAIN DAS.

SNAKE-WORSHIP IN EASTERN BENGAL, AND WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

ALTHOUGH there is no unimpeachable evidence of the prevalence of snake-worship in the time of the composition of the *Rig-Veda*, scholars have detected traces of its existence in a prayer which is contained in the 8th Ashtaka of this most ancient collection of Indian hymns and wherein the earth is addressed as the *Sarpa-rajni* or "the queen of the serpents or the queen of all that moves." The *Aitareya Brahmana* also refers to this *Sarpa-mantra*. But it is in the *Taittiriya* or the *Black Yajur-Veda* that we catch a distinct glimpse of the prevalence of snake-

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worship in those far-off times. For it embodies a goodlier number of prayers to serpents and a more definite account of serpent-worship than the Rig-Veda. In the *Samhita* of this Veda are to be found prayers to the *Sarpas* who are addressed as denizens of the heavens, the skies, the rays of the sun, the waters, the vegetables, &c, In the *Brahmanas* of this part of the *Yajur-Veda*, invocations are addressed to the said serpents, and sweet sacrifices are offered for their acceptance. The same work describes a battle between the gods and the giants, in the course of which the former are represented as offering curds and barleyflour to the *Sarpas* and the *Sarpa-devatas* and praying for their assistance in the subjugation of their cousins—the giants. Then we come to the *Sutras* or Aphorisms. In the *Grihya-Sutra* of Asvalayana, we find definite instructions laid down for offering sacrifices and making offerings to the *Sarpa-devas* or serpent-gods. The holding of *Sarpa-balis* or serpent-sacrifices is distinctly prescribed, and the ritual is set forth fully. The *Nagas* are also mentioned by Asvalayana.

Then we come to the Christian Era, about the beginning of the second century of which, or somewhat earlier, the *Institutes of Manu* was, according to Dr. G. Buhler, composed. We find that Manu—the ancient law-giver of the Hindus—also makes mention of the *Nagas* and the *Sarpas*.

The *Mahabharata* also mentions the *Nagas* and the *Sarpas*, as is also done by the *Bhagavadgita* wherein Krishna tells Arjuna that Vasuki and Ananta represent him amongst the *Sarpas* and the *Nagas* respectively.

The *Puranas* also mention the *Nagas* and the *Sarpas*. In the *Bhagavata Purana*, Vasuki and eleven other Nagas are mentioned as forming the string of the sun's chariot, one serpent being held to be sacred to each month. The *Markandeya Purana* embodies the well-known story of the marriage of Madalasa, a *Naga* princess of superb beauty, with King Kulvalasva.*

Then proceeding onwards through the earlier centuries of the Christian Era, we arrive in the fifth century A. D. wherein we come across more authentic evidence of the prevalence of snake-worship in the post-Vedic ages of Ancient India. This evidence is afforded by the apologue of *The Gold-giving Serpent* which is the fifth fable of the *Panchatantra*.

The gist of this apologue is to the effect that, once upon a time, a Brahman farmer named Haridatta, getting despondent over the unproductiveness of his field, was taking his mid-day siesta under the shadow of a tree. All of a sudden, seeing a great hooded snake creeping out of an anthill, he thought to himself: "Surely, this snake is the tutelary deity of my field, and yet I have never worshipped it. That's the reason why my field yields me a very poor return. I will go forthwith and worship it with libations of milk in a bowl." No sooner did he make up his mind to do this than he went to the anthill and offered the snake his propitiatory offering of milk. Next day he found a gold denar in the bowl of milk, and, every day, he received it after offering the libation. This shows that here we have the clearest evidence of the prevalence of snake-worship in Ancient India during the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. Although analogues of this fable exist in Phædrus and Babrius, Benfey has proved most ingeniously and conclusively (*Einl.* 1. 359) that this Indian apologue is the source of both the Greek and the Latin fables. This being so, we must now determine the probable date of the composition of the *Panchatantra* wherein this apologue occurs. It is now well-known to Indologists that this work existed in the first half of the sixth century A.D., inasmuch as it was translated, under the order of King Khosru Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.) into Pehlevi, the then literary language of Persia. Professor A. Macdonell, therefore, assumes that "it was known in the fifth century, for a considerable time must have elapsed before it became so famous that a foreign king desired its translation."* We are, therefore, in a position to come to the definite conclusion that the snake was worshipped in India prior to the sixth century A.D.

* For a fuller discussion of the evidence bearing on the prevalence of snake-worship in the Vedic and Puranika periods of Ancient India, *vide* Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik's paper on "*Serpent Worship in Western India*" in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., Pp. 188—193.

* *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. By A. A. Macdonell M. A., Ph. D. London: W. Heinemann, 1900. pp. 369 ff.

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Since then, the worship of the snake, either in its living form or in the shape of an image like the brazen serpent which Moses set up in the wilderness, has continued in India till the present day. We occasionally catch glimpses of its prevalence in Mediæval India, for that celebrated French traveller and pioneer of French trade with India—Jean Baptiste Tavernier, in the course of his visit to this country in the seventeenth century, saw the serpent worshipped in the form of an idol. He says :—

"While the men (Manaris) load their animals in the morning and the women fold up their tents, the priests who follow them elevate, in the most beautiful parts of the plain where they are encamped, *an idol in the form of a serpent, entwined about a staff of six or seven feet in height, and each one in file goes to make reverence to it, the girls turning round it three times.* After all have passed, the priests take care to remove the idol and to load it on an ox allocated for that purpose." *

Then again :

"*At the March full moon there is a solemn festival for the idol which has the form of a serpent,* of which I have spoken in the first Book of this account of India. *This festival lasts nine days,* and while it lasts both men and beasts remain idle ; the majority of the latter are ornamented with circles of vermilion aronnd the eyes, with which the horns are also painted, and, when there is any special love for the animal, leaves of tinsel are added. *Each morning the idol is worshipped, the girls dancing round it for an hour to the sound of flutes and drums, after which all eat together and enjoy themselves till the evening, when they again worship the idol and dance round it a second time.*" †

It is a pity that Tavernier has neither mentioned the name of the aforementioned snake-worshipping festival, nor has he left on record, for our enlightenment, further details thereof so that we might be enabled, at this distance of time, to identify it with the corresponding festival of modern times. It would appear that it corresponds with the Nagpanchami festival as it is observed throughout India at the present day.

I shall now describe and compare the various forms in which the *Nagpanchami* festival (or "The Dragon's Fifth") is celebrated in Eastern Bengal, Western India and the Southern Presidency. In Eastern Bengal, it is observed on the fifth day in the dark fortnight of the Bengali month of Sravana (July-August). At the advent of the rainy season, snakes leave their holes in the flooded fields and jungles and enter the habitations of men—thereby throwing them into great consternation. It is in the month of Sravana that the greatest number of deaths from snake-bite occur in Lower Bengal. The people of the country-side labor under the impression that the only way of obtaining immunity from snake-bite is by propitiating the snake-goddess Manasa. The villagers, at this time, live in such a great fear of the snake that their womenfolk do not rest content with worshipping her only in the dark fortnight of Sravana but they also pay devoirs to her on the last days (Sankranti) of the months of Asadh (June-July) and Sravana. The devout women, before turning in for the night, join the palms of their hands, repeatedly touch their foreheads with the outstretched thumbs thereof by way of doing obeisances to the snake-goddess Manasa—"the mother of sage Astika"—and then doze off into sleep. On awaking from sleep in the morning, they utter the name of the goddess Durga several times and then leave their beds. Among the illiterate folks, the story of Behula, as embodied in the *Padmapurana*, is recited to the accompaniment of the "rub-a-dub-dub-dub" of the tom-tom and the tinkling of the cymbal. On the last day of Sravana, hundreds of boats with claymade images of the "Eight Serpents" (अष्टनाग) placed on their decks, may be seen floating along the flooded water-ways of the villages and taking part in the rowing-matches.

On the day of the Nagpanchami festival, boiled rice may not be taken. Unboiled milk and five plantains form the main offerings to the goddess Manasa. No incense may be burnt at the time of worshipping her. She is worshipped with the mumbling of the following *mantra* :—

ओं देवीमम्बामहीनां शशधरवदनां चारुकान्तिं वदन्यां,
हंसारूढामुदारां सुललितनयनां सेवितां सिद्धिकामैः।
सारस्यां मण्डिताङ्गीं कनकमणिगणैः नागरत्नैरनेकैः,
वन्दे ग्रहं नाष्टनागां डरुकुचयुगलां भोगिनीं कामरूपां॥

The legend which is recited in connection with the celebration of this festival is as follows:—Once upon a time, a Brahman woman had three sons and three

* *Travels in India.* By Jean Baptiste Tavernier. Translated from the original French edition of 1676. 2 Vols. London : Macmillan & Co. 1889. Vol. 1., Page. 42.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., page 249.

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daughters-in-law, On a rainy day in the month of Sravana, the three daughters-in-law went to bathe in a tank. Addressing the youngest daughter-in-law, the eldest one said: "Had I been in my father's house, I would have, on such a rainy day as this, partaken of a meal of *khichri*." The second daughter-in-law, addressing her eldest sister-in-law, said: "Had I been in my father's house, I would have, on such a rainy day as this, partaken of parched rice and chick-pea mixed with melted ghee, roasted seeds of the jack-fruit and hot fried pan-cakes." But hearing the tall talk of her sisters-in-law, the youngest daughter-in-law held her tongue. Whereupon the former said to her: "Youngest sister, why haven't you said anything?" On this the youngest daughter-in-law heaved a heavy sigh and said: "Have I got anybody living in my paternal house? I had two elder brothers. Mother Manasa has taken them away. I have heard that, in their childhood, they died of snakebite. If you have a hankering for partaking of such delicious food on this rainy day, is it not practicable to have these dishes prepared with the permission of our mother-in-law? Do take your baths and go home. Let me see if I can catch two fishes from this tank and treat you to the same." On this, the eldest daughter-in-law said: "What will you get in the shape of fish from this ditch of a tank? It is true that nothing except *rui* (*Labeo rohita*) and *catla* (*Catla buchanani*) can be found in the two tanks in the outer compound of my father's house. But you will scarcely believe me if I tell you that climbing perches (*Koi* fish—*Anabas scandens*), one cubit long, abound in the tank in our backyard. Oh! how delicious eating they are!" The second daughter-in-law also said something "duchessy" in the same strain.

After the eldest and second daughters-in-law had left the tank, the youngest one found two *sol* fishes swimming about in the tank. She caught them and, taking them inside the kitchen, kept them covered up with a bell-metal vessel. Thereafter, when she took off the cover, lo! and behold her surprise on finding them not to be fish but two snakes. Then these two snakes, transforming themselves into two handsome young men, addressed her as follows: "Sister! Our names are Eyoraj and Muniraj. We are your elder brothers and living very happily under the wing of our mother-goddess Manasa. We feel very much pained in mind on seeing you look so very small at the tall talk of your sisters-in-law. Come and we will take you to her deityship. And we will again bring you back here after a week." Saying this, they went to her mother-in-law and broached to her the proposal of taking their sister home for a short visit. Hearing it, the Brahman woman expressed her surprise and said: "Good gracious! I did not know before that my youngest daughter-in-law's brothers were alive." On this, the two brothers replied: "True it is that, in our boyhood, we had gone to foreign parts and had been bitten by snakes there. But we recovered from the effects of the snake-bite through the blessing of the mother-goddess Manasa."

Accompanied by their sister, Eyoraj and Muniraj crossed the seven oceans and, entering an extensive forest, reached the residence of the snake-goddess Manasa. There the sister of the two brothers was received with open arms and entertained right royally—being treated everyday to the most delicious viands. One day the goddess, addressing her with the most loving caresses, said: "Daughter! To-day is the Nagpanchami. I am going to the earth in response to an invitation on the occasion of my worship. Please you, on my behalf, do the cooking and feed your brothers. Give some milk to the *nagas* (snakes) for their daily meal. These *nagas* have been spoilt by too much caressing and get angry at the slightest trifle. See that they do not want anything." Hearing her instructions, Eyoraj's sister said: "Mother! don't be anxious. I shall do everything as you desire." Thereafter the goddess Manasa went to the earth.

It was a rainy day in the month of Sravana. Eyoraj's sister, thinking that hot food would be very palatable on such a day, boiled the milk and poured it, boiling hot, into the snakes' holes. But horror of horrors! The hot milk burnt the face of some of the snakes, the mouths of some; and the bodies of some were wholly scorched. At this, the nagas foamed with rage, and exclaimed: "What! We are Kadru's progeny. Our anger knows no bound when we think that a human girl should come and insult us in this way." The two brothers, accompanied by Astika, went to their maternal uncle Vasuki and, with his assistance,

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tried to pacify the angry nagas. But the cobra and the *boda* snake could not be pacified in the least. They fiercely attacked Eyoraj's sister and bit her on the left hand and leg. Bitten by them, she fell down and died.

On her return, the goddess Manasa was surprised to see the tragedy that had been enacted in her absence and thought to herself: "At the time I left this for the earth, a doubt crossed my mind to the effect that, should the gods and human beings ever come together, something untoward would happen. I do not find that any fault rests with the human girl. She had acted from the best of motives. But, as her ill luck would have it, things have gone wrong." Then her deityship pronounced her blessing upon Eyoraj's sister whereupon she came to life again. she also restored her two brothers to their former human shapes. Then giving them a lot of wealth and a goodly quantity of ornaments and jewellery to their sister, she told them to go with the letter to their earthly habitation.

After their return to the earth, Eyoraj and Muniraj sent their sister to her father-in-law's place with a large number of valuable presents. Seeing her rigged out with a lot of valuable jewellery, her eldest and second sisters-in-law became jealous of her sudden influx of wealth and began to chaff her upon it. Whereupon a snake came out hissing and, with expanded hood and looking cross at her eldest and second sisters-in-law, bawled out :—

"He, who does not grudge another's good fortune,
Prospers in wealth and children.
He, who grudges another's good fortune,
Is burnt to ashes with the fire of jealousy."

Hearing these words, the eldest and second sisters-in-law abandoned their attitude of jealousy towards Eyoraj's sister and made friends with her. Thereafter a son was born to the latter. Eyoraj and Muniraj celebrated their nephew's rice-eating ceremony with great *eclat*.

Whosoever performs the Nagpanchami *vrata*, the mother-goddess Manasa preserves her children from all harm, whether they are in water or in the jungle. They also live happily ever afterwards.

With the recital of the undernoted *mantra*, obeisance should be made to the snake-goddess :—

आस्तीकस्य मुनेर्मातां भगिनी वासुकेस्तथा ।
जरत्कारुमुनेः पत्नी मनसादेवि नमोस्तु ते ॥*

We should now go to Western India and see how the Nagpanchami festival is held there. It is observed there on the fifth day of the bright half of the lunar month Sravana "which generally corresponds with August and September of the Christian year." The fifth day of this month is held sacred to the *Nagas* or serpents. Early in the morning of this day, each household gets a clay image of a snake made or has a brood of five, seven, or nine serpents painted on a wooden board or on a wall with sandalwood or turmeric paste. The vessels used in the worship of the snake-goddess on this occasion are all made of the horns of the wild buffalo and placed in front of the representations of the serpent. Flowers, sandalwood paste, turmeric, parched rice and beans, or parched gram, and jowari (*Holens sorghum*) are offered to these snake-images. Lamps are lighted and waved before them ; incense is burnt ; and eatables and fruits are offered to them. On this festival-day, the people take only boiled food. After the morning meals have been partaken of, a lamp is lighted and kept burning all the day long close to the representations of the snakes. Offerings of milk and eatables are also kept standing in close proximity to the images. In the afternoon, people go to some locality, generally to an anthill, which is popularly believed to be the habitat of these ophidian deities. To these places, also, come the snake-charmers with their reptilian pets and hold an exhibition of them. It is said that, even in the city of Bombay, these snake-charmers go their rounds from house to house in the Indian quarter, exhibiting their pets to whom the people offer different kinds of food. In the evening, offerings of flowers are again made; incense is burnt; lights waved; eatables placed before the representations of the snakes ; and one or more lamps are kept lighted throughout the

* The foregoing details of the Nagpanchami Festival as observed in Eastern Bengal, have been taken from a little Bengali book entitled "*Meyeli Vratakatha*" by Parameshprasanna Roy, B.A., and published by the Ashutosh Library No. 50-1, College Street, Calcutta.

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night. The worshippers sit out the whole night playing at some game or other. This vigil is designated as "keeping the serpents awake." Or, more appropriately, it is the worshippers keeping awake for fear of being bitten by the snakes. It is the female members of each household that worship these ophidian deities. On the conclusion of the ceremonies, the women and the children of each family assemble together; and the eldest or the most intelligent of the female members recites the following legend setting forth the origin of snake-worship in Western India:—

In a city called Manikpura (or Manipura) there lived a Gavada Brahman. He was ignorant of the Nagpanchami and did not know that no ploughing, digging, picking, burning or roasting should be done on this day. He, therefore, went to plough his field on the Nagpanchami day. Now there was a hole in his field which was tenanted by a female snake and her brood of young ones. Being cut up by the plough share, the latter died. The Nagin or female snake, who was absent from her hole at that time, returned and found that all her young ones had been killed. Hissing with rage, she went to the Gavada Brahman's house and, seeing his ploughshare besmeared with blood, at once came to the conclusion that it was he who had killed her young ones. She, therefore, bit the Brahman and all his family-members, who were asleep at that time; and all of them died. In order that his whole family might become extinct, she went to bite his daughter who lived in another village. But the Brahman's daughter had painted the Nagas (snakes) and, having worshipped and given them offerings, had, during the night, placed before them burning frankincense, lighted lamps, and eatables. The female snake was mightily pleased at the sight of all this and partook of the good things that were spread there. She then told the girl: 'O daughter! Your father killed all my youngsters to-day while he was ploughing the field. I have, therefore, bitten to death all the persons in your father's house, and have come here to bite you. But as you have remembered and worshipped me, I am highly pleased with you and will not, therefore, bite you." On hearing this, the Gavada Brahman's daughter replied: "You have killed all my kinsmen in my paternal house. Point out to me some remedy whereby they all may be restored to life." Whereupon the Nagin said: "Take this ambrosia and sprinkle it on their corpses. Thereafter all of them will come to life again." The Gavada Brahman's daughter did as directed by the Nagin and, thereby, restored all her kinsmen to life. Thereafter she informed her father of the circumstances under which he and his family-members had come by their deaths and of the means by which they had been restored by her to life. She, therefore, advised her father as follows: "Now, henceforth, when the month of Sravana comes, you should worship the Nagas (snakes) on the fifth day in the bright fortnight thereof according to the prescribed methods and should offer them, at night, frankincense, lamps and eatables, and should not dig and should not also kill anything on this day." Thenceforth, the Gavada Brahman began to act up to his daughter's advice, and all men began to observe the Nagpanchami *vrata* (or ceremony).*

We will now proceed to Southern India to investigate into the way in which snake-worship is done there. We find that, in the districts of Canara, the Nagpanchami festival is celebrated on the fifth day of the light half of the month of Sravana. But in the Telugu and Tamil districts, this festival is observed on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kartika, Vaisakha or Magha, and is, therefore, designated by the people of these parts as "Nagalu-chavati" or the Naga-chaturthi. The method in which the snakes are worshipped in the Southern Presidency is almost the same as that prevalent in Western India. In these parts also, the people go to the ant-hills popularly believed to be tenanted by the ophidian deities to make their offerings to them. In the districts of Canara, stone images of the Nagas are usually set up under the shadow of pipal trees (*Ficus religiosa*). Sometimes, images of snakes are made in metal and worshipped and then presented to the Brahmans. The ceremony of worshipping the snakes on the Nagachaturthi day is performed by women of the higher classes. In the same districts

* For a fuller account of the Nagpanchami Festival as observed in the Bombay Presidency, *vide* the late Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik's paper on "*Serpent-Worship in Western India*" in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, pages 169-200.

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also, an incarnation of Sesha, one of the nine great Nagas, is worshipped, under the designation of Subrahmanya, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Margasirsha (November-December). This day is, therefore, called Subrahmanya-shashthi. On the occasion of its celebration, thousands of Brahmans are treated to a sumptuous feast. People, who have not been blessed with children, take vows to devote themselves to the service of Subrahmanya, which they give effect to on the day of the festival by observing a strict fast and rolling themselves over the remnants of the food left on the platters by the Brahmans at the afore mentioned feast. On the day that the festival is celebrated, one of the officiating priests gloves one of his hands with a leathern bag and, by inserting this gloved hand into one of the holes believed to be tenanted by snakes, scoops out from it three handfuls of earth, known as the *mulamrittika* (the original earth) and doles it out to the assembled worshippers as a token of the deity's favours. *

In Malabar, the snake-god is worshipped by the Nambutiris on the *Nagarapanchimi* day which falls on the 5th of Sravana "when the star Asleshа is in the ascendant." The act of worship consists in bathing the god (most likely a stone or metal image of the ophidian deity) in milk. Mr. F. Faweett says that this festival is common in Southern India and that he has seen a cognate ceremonial in the Bellary district. †

It will be seen from what I have said above that, on account of the great mortality that annually occurs in India from snake-bite, the snake is much dreaded by the people throughout the length and breadth of this country, and that the goddess, who is popularly believed to preside over these deadly reptiles—"Fit warders in the gate of Death" as Heber has very aptly called them—is worshipped by all sections of the Hindu community, specially by the orthodox and illiterate members thereof. But the method and time of worshipping her varies in different parts of India. We will, therefore, now examine them and set forth the main points wherein they differ from and agree with each other :—

(*a*) In Eas ern Bengal, clay images of the "Eight Nagas" are made and worshipped; whereas in Western India either a clay image of the snake-goddess is made, or figures of five, seven, or nine snakes are painted on a wooden board or upon a wall. In Southern India, either metal images of snakes are made for purposes of worship, or stone images of snakes are permanently set up under pipal trees for the same purpose.

Similarly, on the occasion of the *Rikhi* or *Biruri Panchami* which corresponds to the *Nagpanchami* of the other parts of India and is celebrated in the submontane regions of the Himalayas, figures of snakes and birds are painted by the celebrants on the walls of their houses and worshipped with money and sweetmeats. * In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the *paterfamilias* paints on the walls of his sleeping-room two rude figures of snakes and makes offerings to Brahmans; while the womenfolk draw, with flour, a serpentine line round about the residential house by way of a magic circle through which no serpents can enter. † In Garhwal, the celebrants of the festival draw, with sandalwood powder or turmeric, rude representations of five, seven, or nine snakes upon the ground which has been previously smeared with a mixture of cowdung and mud. ‡ While, in Kangra, after the Diwali is over, a festival is celebrated the chief function whereof is to say farewell to the serpents, and in which an image of the Nag made of cowdung is worshipped. §

(*b*) The ophidian goddess is worshipped, in Eastern Bengal, on the fifth day of the *dark fortnight* of the Bengali month of Sravana (July-August) and the last days (Samkranti) of the months of Asadh (June-July) and Sravana. Curiously enough, she is worshipped in Western India on the fifth day of the *bright* half of the lunar month of Sravana which is said to correspond with the months of August and September of the Christian year. (?) In the

*. *Op. cit.*, pages 178-179.

†. *Vide the Madras Government Museum Bulletin* (Vol. III., No. 1.) Madras : Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press. 1900. pages 58 ; 84.

* *Himalayan Gazetteer*, By E. T. Atkinson. 2 vols. Allahabad : 1882-1884. Vol. II., page 851.

† *Eastern India*. By F. H. Buchanan. 3 vols. London : 1833. Vol. II. page 481.

‡ Atkinson's *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II. page 836.

§ Panjab *Notes and Queries*, Vol. III., page 75.

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districts of Canara in the Madras Presidency, the worship takes place on the same day as in Western India. But in the Telugu and Tamil districts thereof, it is observed on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the months of Kartika, Vaisaka or Magha, or, occasionally, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Agrahayana (November-December).

(*c*) In the absence of details, we must presume that the utensils used in the worship of the snake-goddess in Eastern Bengal are the ordinary ones—either made of brass or copper—used on this side of India. But a very curious feature of snake-worship in Western India is the use of vessels made of the horns of the wild buffalo. We have no means of ascertaining what sorts of utensils are used in Southern India.

(*d*) The partaking of cooked rice is forbidden in Eastern Bengal on the day of the worship. But in Western India, the celebrants of the worship may take boiled food. Perhaps the same practice is followed in Southern India.

(*e*) The burning of incense on the occasion of the worship of the snake-goddess is strictly prohibited in Eastern Bengal. But in Western and Southern India, as also in Garhwal, incense is burnt before her image.

(*f*) In Eastern Bengal, the principal items in the offerings made to the goddess are unboiled milk and five plantains. But in Western India (and most likely in the Southern Presidency also), flowers, fruits, sandalwood paste, turmeric, parched rice and grains and milk are offered up to her. In Garhwal, offerings of parched rice, beans, or gram, other kinds of edibles and fruit are offered to, and lighted lamps are waved before the figures of the snakes. *

(*g*) It does not appear whether the celebrants of snake-worship in Eastern Bengal ever go to an ant-hill or other locality believed to be tenanted by snakes to make their offerings to the latter. But they do so in Western and Southern India. In the eastern districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, milk and dried rice are poured into a snake's hole. *

(*h*) In Eastern Bengal, the people amuse themselves on the day of this festival with rowing-matches; whereas in Western India the celebrants of the worship keep awake and sit out the whole night indulging in games. We have no means of ascertaining whether or not this is done in Southern India. In Garhwal, the celebrants spend the night in hearing stories in praise of the Nag.

(*i*) Another distinguishing feature of snake-worship throughout India is that it is performed generally by the female members of the family. We have seen that, in Eastern Bengal, the womenfolk perform it. The same is the case also in Western and Southern India.

(*j*) A second noteworthy characteristic of this worship is that, at the conclusion of the ceremonies, a legend is recited generally by the eldest female member of the family. The legend, which is recited in Eastern Bengal, inculcates the necessity of observing the Nagpanchami festival for safeguarding the family-members from all sorts of harm and for ensuring the happiness and prosperity of the family; whereas the legend recited in Western India accounts for the origin of snake-worship. It does not appear whether any legend is recited in Southern India.

(*k*) A third feature of snake-worship is that no ploughing or digging can be done on the day of the Nagpanchami festival. This is especially the case in Western India.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

* Atkinson's *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II., page 836.

* *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III., page 38.

ZEB-UN-NISSA'S LOVE-AFFAIRS

AURANGZIB'S eldest child, Zeb-un-nissa, (b. 15 Feb. 1638), is the heroine of some love-tales current in Indian literary circles. She was a gifted poetess and is said to have claimed an artist's independence of morality. Similar discreditable legends about Kalidas's life have long circulated among our old school of Sanskritists, but are discredited by sober historians (*Ind. Antiq.*, 1878, 115.) We shall

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to-day try to ascertain whether the traditions about the Princess Royal of Delhi had a stronger basis in fact than those about the laureate poet of the court of Ujjayini.

No mention of Zeb-un-nissa's love-intrigue with Aqil Khan, or indeed any person whatever, is made in any work of her father's reign or even for half a century after his death. We can easily explain the silence of the court historians and other official writers, who would naturally suppress every scandal about royalty. But perfect freedom of speech was enjoyed by the private historians of the reign (especially the two Hindu authors, Bhimsen and Ishwardas), by Khafi Khan who wrote a quarter of a century after Aurangzib's death, and by the author of the biographical dictionary of the Mughal Peers (*Masir-ul-umara*), who lived a generation later still. The European travellers, Bernier and Manucci, wrote for the eyes of foreigners, and had nothing to fear from the wrath of Aurangzib or his posterity. Manucci, in particular, revelled in court scandals, so much so that his history of the Mughal (*Storia do Mogor*) has been well called a *chronique scandaleuse*. Would he have passed over Zeb-un-nissa's failings, if he had heard of any, as such a topic would have made excellent "copy" for his book? The gossipy and outspoken Khafi Khan does not assail Zeb-un-nissa's character, though he openly proclaims the shames of Jahangir and Nur Jahan. The story of our heroine's love-intrigues is modern,—a growth of the 19th century and the creation of Urdu romancists, probably of Lucknow. The pretended Urdu Life of Zeb-un-nissa that holds the field at present is the *Durr-i-Maktum* of Munshi Ahmaduddin, B.A., of Lahor, who quotes from an earlier work, *Haiyat-i-Zeb-unnissa* by Munshi Muhammad-ud-din Khaliq.

This story, in its most developed form is conveniently summarised in English (evidently from Ahmaduddin's Urdu work) in Mrs. Westbrook's introduction to her *Diwan of Zeb-un-nissa* in the "Wisdom of the East Series" (1913). She writes:

"In the beginning of 1662 Aurangzib was taken ill, and, his physicians prescribing change of air, he took his family and court with him to Lahor. At that time Aqil Khan, the son of his *wazir*, was governor of that city. He was famous for his beauty and bravery, and was also a poet. He had heard of Zeb-un-nissa, and knew her verses, and was anxious to see her. On pretence of guarding the city, he used to ride round the walls of the palace, hoping to catch a glimpse of her. One day he was fortunate, he caught sight of her on the housetop at dawn, dressed in a robe of *gul-anar*, the colour of the flower of the pomegranate. He said, *A vision of red appears on the roof of the palace.* She heard and answered, completing the couplet, *Supplications nor force nor gold can win her.*

She liked Lahor as a residence, and was laying out a garden there: one day Aqil Khan heard that she had gone with her companions to see a marble pavilion which was being built in it. He disguised himself as a mason, and, carrying a hod, managed to pass the guards and enter. She was playing *chausar* with some of her girl friends, and he, passing near, said, *In my longing for thee I have become as the dust wandering round the earth.* She understood and answered immediately: *Even if thou hadst become as the wind, thou shouldst not touch a tress of my hair.* They met again and again, but some rumour reached the ears of Aurangzib, who was at Delhi, and he hastened back. He wished to hush up the matter by hurrying her into marriage at once. Zeb-un-nissa demanded freedom of choice, and asked that portraits of her suitors should be sent to her: and chose naturally that of Aqil Khan. Aurangzib sent for him; but a disappointed rival wrote to him: 'It is no child's play to be the lover of a daughter of a king. Aurangzib knows your doings; as soon as you come to Delhi, you will reap the fruit of your love.' Aqil Khan thought the Emperor planned revenge. So, alas for poor Zeb un-nissa! at the critical moment her lover proved a coward; he declined the marriage, and wrote to the king resigning his service. Zebunnissa was scornful and disappointed, and wrote: '*I hear that Aqil Khan has left off paying homage to me*'—or the words might also mean, '*has resigned service*—'*on account of some foolishness.*' He answered also in verse, '*Why should a wise man do that which he knows he will regret?*' (Aqil also means, a wise man.)

But he came secretly to Delhi to see her again, perhaps regretting his fears. Again they met in her garden; the Emperor was told and came unexpectedly, and Zeb-un-nissa, taken unawares, could think of no hiding-place for her lover but a *deg* or large cooking-vessel. The Emperor asked, 'what is in the *deg*?' and was answered, 'only water to be heated.' 'Put it on the fire, then,' he ordered; and it was done. Zeb-un-nissa at that moment thought more of her reputation than of her lover, and came near the *deg* and whispered, 'keep silence if you are my true lover, for the sake of my honour.' One of her verses says, '*What is the fate of a lover? It is to be crucified for the world's pleasure.*' One wonders if she thought of Aqil Khan's sacrifice of his life.* After this she was imprisoned in the fortress of Salimgarh.' (Pp. 14-17.)

Now, examining the above account in the light of known history we at once find that the story of the smuggled lover being done to death in a *deg* in the harem has been transferred to Zeb from her aunt, Jahanara, of whom it is told by Manucci (*Storia*, i. 218) and Bernier (p. 13). The recorded facts of the life of Aqil Khan also

* This conjecture is incorrect. According to the conventions of Persian poetry the type of the perfect lover is the moth which consumes itself in the flame of a lamp without uttering a groan. Cf. Carlyle's 'Consume your own smoke'.

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contradict the story in all essential particulars.

Mir Askari, afterwards surnamed Aqil Khan, was a native of Khwaf (in Persia) —and not the son of a Delhi *wazir*. He entered the service of Aurangzib in Shah Jahan's reign and attended the Prince during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan (1652-1657) as his equerry (*jilaudar*). He had already made his mark as a poet and adopted the pen-name of *Razi* from the saint Burhanuddin Raz-ullah whom he venerated. When Aurangzib started from the Deccan to contest the throne, he left his family behind in the fort of Daulatabad (6 Feb.—Dec. 1658), and Aqil Khan acted as the governor of the city from 6th February and of the fort from August 1658 till near the end of 1659. Arriving at Delhi on 8th February 1660, he was, two months later, made *faujdar* of the land between the Ganges and the Jamuna (Mian Duab), but replaced by another officer in July 1661. In the following November he temporarily retired from service on the ground of ill-health and was permitted to reside at Lahor on a pension of Rs. 750 a month. When in November 1663 Aurangzib was passing through Lahor with his family, on his return from Kashmir, Aqil Khan waited on him (2nd November) and was taken into the Emperor's train and appointed Superintendent of the Hall of Private Audience, a position of very close contact with the Emperor, (January 1664). Evidently he continued to enjoy high favour, being promoted in October 1666 and given a royal present in May next. Later on he was made Postmaster General (Darogha of Dak Chauki), but resigned in April 1669 and seems to have lived under a cloud for the next seven years, as we find no mention of him till October 1676 when he was granted an allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month. In January 1679 he was taken back into service as Second Paymaster. Being appointed *Subahdar* of Delhi in October 1680, he held that office till his death in 1696.

Thus we find that the story of young Aqil Khan having been roasted to death in a cauldron by order of Aurangzib, is utterly false. No man below thirty could have been put in charge of a fort containing Aurangzib's wives and children on the eve of the war of succession, and, therefore, Aqil Khan must have reached the full span of human life at the time of his death.

From the life sketch of Aqil Khan we find that he was at the same place with Zeb-un-nissa first at Daulatabad in 1658 (some ten months), then at Lahor in 1663 for a week only, thenceforth with the Imperial Court at Delhi and Agra till his resignation in April 1669, again with the Court during the Rajput wars of 1679 and 1680, and finally at Delhi from January 1681 to 1696. It was only during the first and last of these periods that he could have been tempted to court the Princess by the absence of her august father.

The Khan's temporary retirement from service and residence at Lahor away from the court (Nov. 1661-Oct. 1663) could not have been due to Imperial displeasure as he was given a large pension all the time. But his long removal from the capital and Emperor's entourage for ten years (1669—1679) during the first seven of which he was denied any imperial bounty shows that he had for some reason, unknown to us, fallen under the Emperor's wrath.

Was it a punishment for making love to Zeb-un-nissa? A letter to her from her brother Prince Akbar, written in 1680, contains the statement, "As the Emperor has now ordered that no packet (*nalwo*) bearing the seal of Aqil should be admitted to the ladies' apartments of the palace, it is certain that papers will have to be now sent [by me?] after careful consideration."

Was this Aqil her alleged lover Aqil Khan Razi the poet? I think, not. There was at this time in Akbar's camp a Mulla named Muhammad Aqil, who afterwards signed a manifesto pronouncing canonical sentence of deposition on Aurangzib in favour of Akbar, for which the luckless theologian was imprisoned and severely bastinadoed when his patron's rebellion failed. Zeb being herself a Quranic scholar and a patron of new commentaries on the Muslim scripture, correspondence between her and a noted theologian like Mulla Muhammad Aqil would naturally pass unsuspected. The writer of the letter implies that his own confidential letters to his sister used to be sent under cover of Aqil's envelopes, which could reach her unchallenged, while packets bearing his own seal on the cover might have been intercepted by his enemies. This is quite clear from the concluding part of the letter: "The delay that has taken place in my

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writing to you is solely due to the fear lest my letters should fall into the hands of other people [lit., strangers, *i.e.*, enemies.]"

The theory that the Emperor stopped the poet and noble Aqil Khan's correspondence with his daughter on detecting an intrigue between them, is discredited by the fact that only a few months afterwards he was appointed to the highly responsible post of viceroy of Delhi, the very place where she was sent as a state-prisoner early next year.

Zeb-un-nissa was imprisoned by her father in January 1681, and the official history establishes beyond dispute the fact that it was in punishment of her complicity with Prince Akbar who had rebelled against the Emperor.

The letter from which we have quoted contains several passages showing how deeply engaged she was in her brother's interests. He says," What belongs to you is as good as mine, and whatever I own is at your disposal," and, again, "The dismissal or appointment of the sons-in-law of Daulat and Sagar Mal is at your discretion. I have dismissed them at your bidding. I consider your orders in all affairs as sacred like the *Quran* and *Traditions* of the Prophet, and obedience to them as proper."

When Akbar's rebellion frizzled out and his abandoned camp near Ajmir was seized by the imperialists (16 January, 1681), "Zeb-un-nissa's correspondence with him was discovered, she was deprived of her pension of four lakhs of Rupees a year, her property was confiscated, and she was lodged in the fort Salimgarh at Delhi." (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 204.) Here she lived till her death in 1702. It would be sweet to imagine that during this captivity our

High born maiden
In her palace-tower
Soothed her love-laden
Soul in secret hour
With music sweet as love, which overflowed her power,

and that she wrote at this time the pathetic laments which Mrs. Westbrook has translated on page 17:—

So long these fetters cling to my feet!
My friends have become enemies, my relations are strangers to me.
What more have I to do with being anxious to keep my name undishonoured,
When friends seek to disgrace me?
Seek not relief from the prison of grief, O Makhfi; thy release is not politic.
O Makhfi, no hope of release hast thou until the Day of Judgment come.

But history is silent on the point. On the other hand our ardour to weave a romance out of her captive life is chilled by the reflection that she was now an old maid of 43 and Aqil Khan was at least twelve years older.

Another legend makes her fall in love with Shivaji the Maratha hero at first sight on the occasion of his being presented to the Emperor at Agra on 12th May 1666. Fifty years ago a novel was written by Bhudev Mukherji in Bengali describing how the lovers exchanged rings and parted. But it is a fiction and nothing more. Not to speak of the Persian histories of the time, no Marathi life of Shivaji mentions that a Mughal princess interested herself in the fate of the captive chieftain in her father's capital. I have searched through the *Bakhar* of Sabhasad (Shivaji's earliest life) the *Shiva-digvijay* (supposed to have been written in 1718 and forming the fullest and best account of the hero), the inaccurate and legend-loaded *Bakhar* of Malhar Rao Chitnis (composed in 1810), the confused hotch-potch cooked at Baroda in 1829 and published in 1895,—*viz.*, the *Shivaji-pratap*,—and even the "Raigarh Life";—but none of them gives the smallest hint of the champion of Hindu revival having coquetted with a Muslim sweetheart in the enemy's den. Zeb-un-nissa's aesthetic sense, too, would have saved her from throwing her heart away to a rugged and illiterate Deccani. The whole story is not only unhistoric, but also absurd.

Her captivity at Delhi does not seem to have been relaxed during her life. The official history records her death thus, "The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Delhi that the Princess Zeb-un-nissa had drawn on her face the veil of God's Mercy and taken up her abode in the palace of inexhaustible Forgiveness, [26 May, 1702.] At the parting of his child, dear as his life, his heart was filled with grief and his eyes with tears. He could not control the weakness that overpowered him. [At last] he recovered self-possession [somehow], and ordered Syed Amjad Khan, Shaikh Ataullah, and Hafiz Khan to give away alms [at her funeral] and build a place of repose for her, as had been decided beforehand, in the Garden of Thirty Thousand [outside Delhi] which was a bequest from Jahanara." (*M-i-A.*, 462.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

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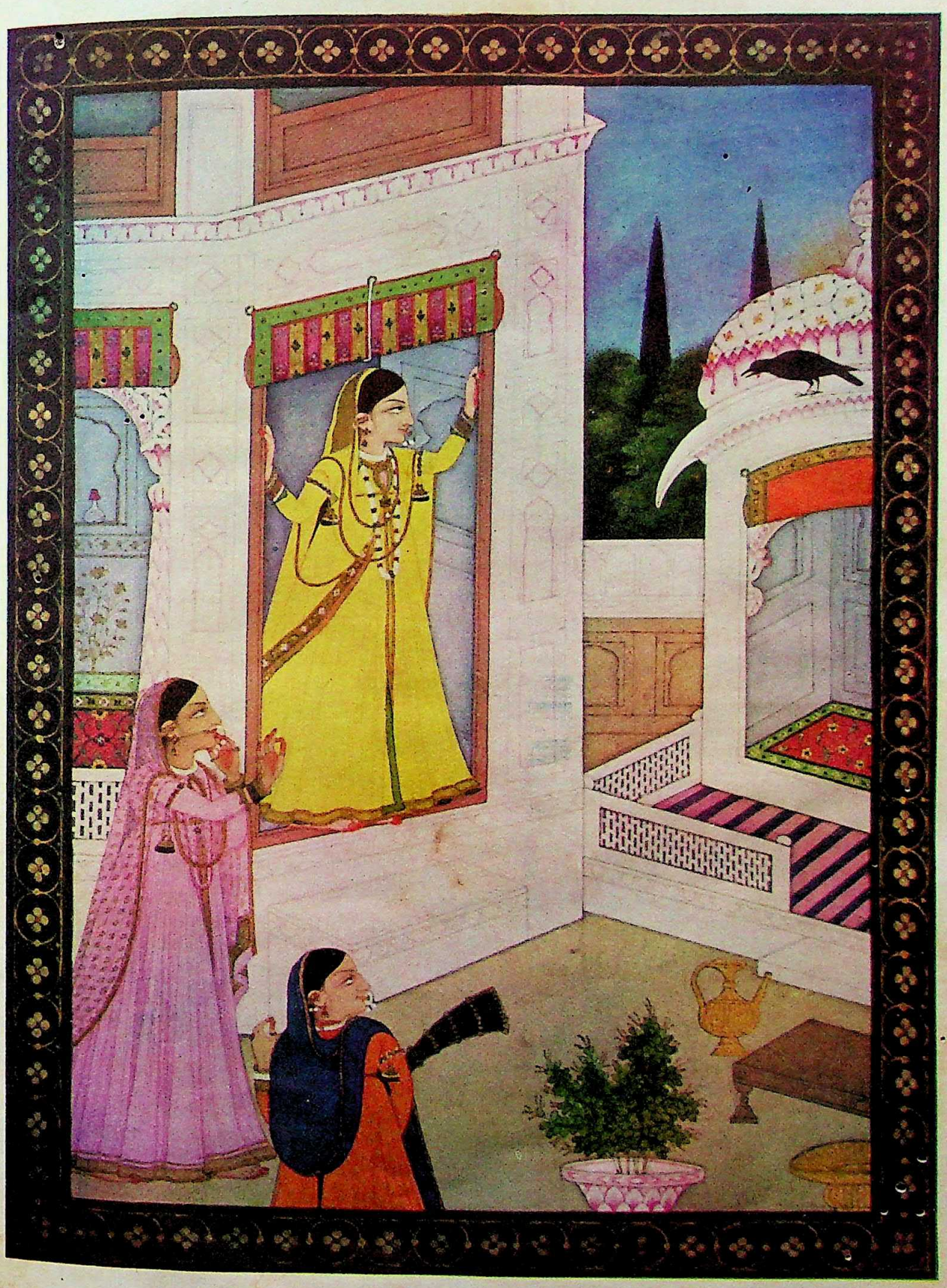

THE CROW-MESSENGER.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

From an old painting.

By the courtesy of the owner, Mr. Samarendranath Gupta.

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THE EVOLUTION OF JAPAN

By Lala Lajpat Rai.

III

THE third factor which has contributed to the free development of the industries of Japan is her merchant marine. Here again we find that it was the Government of Japan that took the initiative and gave material financial and other support to private enterprise in this line.

At the time of the Restoration in 1868 A.D., Japan had practically no merchant marine. In 1870 the Kaish Kaisha, the first Japanese Steamship Co., established the first regular service between Tokyo and Osaka, two coast-towns, *via* Yokohama and Kobe, also coast-towns, under instructions from Government, the lines leaving thrice a month. In 1875 another company opened the Yokohama Sanghai line and next year extended their service to other ports on the Chinese and Russian coasts. In 1876 Japanese licensed mariners numbered only 76 and of these *only 4 were Japanese subjects*. In that year there was only one Japanese pilot as against 15 of foreign nationality. In 1914 there were 26 Japanese pilots as against 6 foreign. In 1895 there were 4135 Japanese licensed mariners as against 835 foreigners. Ordinary seamen aggregated 38217 in 1900 and 202,710 in 1904.

In 1891 the volume of Japan's merchant vessels did not exceed 15000 tons gross, but by 1896 it had increased to 109,000 tons as a result of the purchase of foreign vessels by the Government. The total tonnage existing at the end of 1903 of 979000 tons jumped to 1,527,000 tons in 1905. The latest returns at the end of March 1914 represent the gross tonnage of steamers at 1,538,000 and that of sailing ships at 494,000.

In 1896 a legal provision was made for granting bounties to the builders or purchasers of vessels and for subsidising the shipping industry. It was in 1898 that the first large steamer was built in Japanese Dockyards. It was of 6000 tons. Since then the Japanese Dockyards have built steamers of 10000 tons displacement and two dreadnaughts of 27,500 tons. At the end of 1912 the private ship-yards numbered 228. The Government has been regularly giving a bounty on every ship since 1896. In 1912 the Japanese shipbuilding companies built 7 ships of 17,183 tons, in 1913, four of 34478 tons and in 1914 fourteen of 66,329 tons. In May, 1915, the Japanese shipbuilders had in hand orders for 51 vessels of total tonnage of 212,100 tons.

Besides bounties for shipbuilding the Government of Japan has been subsidising regular services. Under the law of 1896 the subsidies were of two kinds; a general subsidy granted on specified routes and another open to all steamers in conformity with the provisions of the law. In 1910 the law was modified abolishing the general subsidy and restricting it to over-sea navigation; for example, (1) The European route, (2) The North American route, (3) The South American route, (4- The Australian route. The latest addition is the Java route.

The vessels to be used in the subsidised navigation must be home-built vessels of over 3000 tons gross, not less than 15 years old and having a speed exceeding 12 nautical miles per hour. For foreign-built vessels under 5 years old and put on service with the sanction of the authorities one half of the subsidy is granted. For vessels built according to plans approved by competent authorities a specially high subsidy is allowed. 26 steamers of 5000 to 13500 gross tonnage with a speed of 13 to 20 knots were engaged in this over-sea subsidised service in June last. Since then the number has risen. Coasting trade in Japan is forbidden to steamers flying foreign flags. Besides, the Government subsidises the coasting and near sea services also liberally. The amount of the latter subsidy alone comes to about 2 million yens.

At the end of December, 1914, the num-

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ber of Japanese registered steamers reached the total of 1577 with a gross tonnage of 1,577,025 tons.

The five years term of subsidy contracts expired in 1914 and the Government had to renew contracts for one year on its own responsibility, as the bills could not be passed in time owing to the dissolution of the Parliament.

Under the new arrangement sanctioned by Parliament the European service gets a subsidy of 8,657,989 yen in five years, beginning with 1,832,806 yen in 1915-16. The North American Service gets 13, 855,010 yen, the South American 1,446,888 and the Australian 875,501 yen, which means that in the next five years the Japanese Government will pay a subsidy of about 40 million yen on these four High Sea services alone, equal to 60 million in Indian Rupees.

How the Japanese have eliminated foreigners from their marine will be clear from the following table. We give the figures for 1913 :

	Japanese.	Foreigners.
1st class Captains	1111	179
,, Chief Mates	681	31
,, Second ,,	1253	11
2nd class Captains	702	0
,, Chief Mates	1489	3
,, Second ,,	3248	1
3rd class Captains	92	0
,, Mates	11424	1
Chief Engineers	1022	79
1st class ,,	1883	43
2nd ,, ,,	1517	2
3rd ,, ,,	3745	2

I do not think your readers require it to be explained how national marine helps national industries and national trade. The thing is obvious.

IV. Customs Duties.

Reading Count Okuma's preface to a volume published in 1910 under the name of "Japan Industries" one might think that Japan was a Free Trade country but the following extracts from Count Okuma's Fifty Years of Japan, Volume I, p. 371, show that Japan has never been a Free Trade country.

Marquis Matsugata, the writer of the Chapter on "Japan's Finance" says :—

"The customs duties at the time when Japan's door was opened to the world, were fixed on an average, at the rate of 20 per cent. on imports. But as a result of interference on the part of foreign countries during the old *regime*, the actual customs duties both on imports and exports, which the new regime inherited from the old, averaged only 5 per cent. This system of 5 per cent customs duties had been rendered incapable of expansion by the treaties then existing, and therefore could not vary with the varying demands of the Imperial Treasury or with the condition of commerce and industry. In short it had no elasticity."

As a result of new treaties beginning with 1894 and in force since January 1899, duties on imports were fixed at 10 per cent, *ad valorem*, and those on exports were soon afterwards altogether abolished. The statutory tariff rates have since then been revised from time to time. The income from customs dues in 1899 amounted to less than 7 million yen. In 1913 the income was 73,580,000 yen and the average percentage of custom duty was 19.98. The actual scales at which duty is charged on manufactured goods are pretty prohibitive. Even an American writer calls them excessive.

Then there are other kinds of protection which the Japanese Government affords to some branches of the national commerce; for example, no foreigner can acquire the ownership of Japanese ships or even any shares in steamship companies, nor in the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, or the Agricultural and Industrial Bank. No foreigner can acquire "the right to work mines" or can "become a member of the Stock Exchange" or can "engage in the emigration business." Until recently the ownership of land was prohibited to foreigners, but when the Americans raised the question of Japanese acquiring rights of ownership in lands in California the Japanese Government abolished this prohibition "on the principle of reciprocity." The first article of the law relating to foreigners' right of ownership of land provides that "a foreigner resident or having domicile in Japan or a foreign juridical person registered in Japan is entitled to have ownership of land, if the law of his own country allows the ownership of land to Japanese subjects or Japanese juridical persons, *provided that the foreign juridical person must obtain the permission of the Minister for Home Affairs before acquiring the ownership of land.*"

Certain exceptions are made as to the lands in certain provinces on the ground

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that the same are necessary for national defence. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the protection which the Japanese Government extends to the industries and trade of the country.

There are subsidised organisations whose business is to give facilities to Japanese to go to other countries and settle there. The fact is that there is hardly any branch of industrial or commercial activity in Japan in which some kind of initiative has not been taken by the Government, or which was not subsidised by the Government at some stage of its evolution. That explains the wonderful progress made by Japanese industries in such a short time. Even at the present moment it is under consideration to start the manufacture of aniline dyes either as a wholly Government industry or as a subsidised one.

LIFE'S FUNCTIONS

(2) PLAY.

By Wilfred Wellock.

I have already defined play as activity which has for its immediate end one's own good, which good among other things, includes pleasure. In this, play differs from work, which often has for its immediate end the welfare of others, and frequently brings pain, weariness and suffering to oneself. In play the individual is free to follow his inclinations, whereas in work he has to be guided by demands and considerations which lie outside himself. Play is work's antidote, that wherein the restraint involved in work is relaxed; naturally, therefore, pleasure will always be one of the objects of play. Moreover, play is the complement of work, repairing what work has destroyed, both in a physical and spiritual sense. Thus play is the soul's as well as the body's feeding time; that in and through which the mind regains its self-mastery, recovers its lost possessions, its strength, enthusiasm and ideals and thus prepares itself for fresh conquest.

And because play is self-chosen, and has for its object the individual's own good, it always yields pleasure. Indeed it is its pleasure-yielding power which usually distinguishes play from work. Not that play has no utility except pleasure, but that in addition to ulterior ends, which may be many and various, pleasure is always an object of play. If an activity did not promise pleasure it could not in any sense be described as play.

Play, like work, is an integral and necessary part of life, and, like it again, is governed by a law, which can only be transgressed at the cost of well-being. Pleasure is a form of the Good, a mode of life. Moreover, that which yields true pleasure is always beneficial to the mind and spirit, a means of preparing one for finer experience and loftier attainment. And because the ulterior objects of play are numerous, one ought not to play indescriminately. It is possible to play too long just as it is possible to work too long; one may also play in the wrong way—with a wrong idea, and at the wrong thing. Play only gives true pleasure when it is in response to real need, need that has been created by labour, purposive effort. People who do not work derive scant pleasure from play; which explains why idle people are always being carried away by "crazes." Nothing really satisfies them, yet they are always living in hopes that something new they have heard of will give them that which they are seeking. But of course it never does.

Play has several functions and is of many kinds. Necessarily so, seeing that man has many needs. For play is the time when man replenishes his mind with new ideas, new truth, receives the inspiration which is to help him carry out his

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purposes. The higher a man rises in the scale of development and the deeper and more complex his spiritual nature becomes, the more numerous will be his interests and needs; from which it follows that he will require a more varied play life. Obviously, therefore, play ought to be thought about, regulated so as to satisfy all the soul's needs. Thus as it was our object in the two previous articles to reveal the meaning and function of work as well as the law of its regulation, so in the present article it will be our object to reveal the meaning and function of play, and also the law of its regulation.

Although the modes of play are innumerable they can all be subsumed under four functions. These are: (1) To give rest to body and mind; (2) To recuperate the animal spirits; (3) To refine; (4) To inspire. Perhaps a simple illustration will best serve to illustrate the nature of these functions.

A man has finished a hard day's work and goes home at even-tide. Too tired to speak he sits by the fire, with feet outstretched. His wife is aglow with smiles and cheery comments, his children relate their stories, the adventures of the day, while the fire maddens itself in the effort to give an uproarious welcome. The tired husband and father looks quietly on, a scarcely perceptible smile playing about his features: he is afraid to speak, lest he should break the spell, so sweet is the luxury of rest. And so he sits, revelling in the delicious sensation of perfect rest. His very tissues tingle. his heart swells, and the wine of life courses through his veins. He thinks of the day's work done, and then looks about him and feels what it all means; and he is satisfied. That is rest.

When the evening meal is over and the tea-things are put away, father and children romp together until the house rings with their laughter, while the mother looks on happy to see her husband and lover a boy again. Or if it be summer, they make for the fields, where they walk and frolic to their hearts' content. They breathe the cool evening air and feel revived as they do so, while Nature feeds them with the refreshing scents of earth, herb and flower. When they return home they feel strong, rejuvenated. What glorious exhilaration! Life is youth and energy!

Seated now before the fire, the man who a couple of hours before had been working at some craft or art, gives himself up to quiet musing. His heart rejoices as his eye wanders over things dear and familiar, and he drinks in the beauty that surrounds him. The shining fire-irons, the inviting chairs, the embroidered covers, the flower-vase on the table, the exquisite pieces of handiwork here and there, are almost living things to him, beings which smile at him through their beauty. And from these things his eye turns to the sharer of his joys and sorrows, to that form whose every movement is a grace, whose touch is language, and whose glance is a shaft of light. Then he watches his children play, notices their delicate movements, the dancing eyes, admires the electric, soul-permeated forms. And thus in the simple but overflowing beauty of his home he rejoices. How sweet and beautiful it all is! Life is a delight.

The children are asleep; friends have come and gone; there is still an hour to spare. A favourite book is unshelved, and the pair, husband and wife, read and commune together, meditate on the great problems of life. Thus do they come to grips with the deeper life of thought, see and feel the momentous issues and possibilities of life, and think upon the heroic and glorious achievements of men. They thus strengthen their hold upon life, and rise from their meditation stronger in spirit, refreshed, invigorated, inspired, full of a holy enthusiasm for spiritual conquest and attainment.

We will consider these four functions of play a little more closely.

(1). Rest is a universal need of man, and a form of pleasure; it is thus an essential function of play. The first requisite after hard work is rest; sheer rest: rest from the weariness of toil; rest from anxious thought; rest from every call of duty. The man neither understands himself nor does himself justice who, after heavy labour, does not seek complete rest. Few people know the luxury or realise the value of absolute rest, of throwing off every restraint and abandoning themselves to momentary oblivion. Hard work drains both mind and body, and subdues the spirit. It brings the strong man low, and transforms the indomitable hero of the morning into the passive citizen of the evening. In the hours of rest which follow

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toil, in the quiet of hearth and home, as well as in sleep, the strength and spirit that are spent in work are renewed. Thus the duty of taking rest is a very important one. It is in rest that one oftenest feels the sweetness and grandeur of toil, as it is only in rest that a man can come to himself; and it is all-important that every man should often do that. Unless a man rests, looks into his own soul, how can the deep truths of life come to him? Deep down in the abyss of the subconscious self there is a voice that would ever utter a clear and true judgment on the value of the life we are living, did we but give it the chance to do so. Thus rest has a spiritual as well as a physical significance, being an indispensable condition of moral and spiritual improvement. Man realises himself in work and in play; but it is only in rest that he becomes conscious of that realisation. If a man never stops to rest, but rushes on from one pursuit to another, how can he know if he is living truly? And what is sweeter or sublimer than to sit in one's home at eventide among the people and things one most loves, leisurely listening in the very tiredness of a hard day's work to the verdict of the heart, and to feel that life is good?

The beginning of good play is sweet and complete rest. But rest cannot be sweet unless work has been well and justly done. Satisfying rest is something of a sacrament, a testimony that our life is on right lines. The function of rest is to accomplish the first stages of physical and mental recuperation; to pervade the soul with satisfying peace; to carry home to the mind a sense of the infinite grandeur of life and so deepen the joy and love of living.

(2). In order completely to revive the animal spirits after the exhaustion caused by work, a more vigorous form of play is called for. What most people require after hard work, at any rate, periodically, is some sort of outdoor exercise, some form of sport, etc. And although sport requires a great amount of energy, because it is a form of play, is self-chosen and is thus entered into with gusto, it exhilarates even increases energy. The reason for this is apparent. Because sport is of short duration, and is undertaken for the pleasure it affords, the body is relaxed, whence, the veins and arteries being thrown open, the blood circulates freely through the system and produces a sensation of exhilaration, both mental and physical. Indeed it very often happens that a man who believed himself tired out, will after devoting an hour or two to some sport, feel more refreshed and energetic than he did before. Another réasen for this effect is that play causes to be put into operation parts of the physical machinery that work does not use, and that would otherwise grow stiff and useless. To quicken these parts gives one a new sense of power. In thus reviving the animal spirits, sport increases the sum of physical energy, stimulates the pulse, and thus quickens the mind, intensifies the consciousness of life, and makes one feel more alert and alive, mentally and physically vigorous. Moreover a quickened blood action tends to elevate the spirit and to produce an optimistic temperament. One generally finds that mental depression and reduced vitality go together. And it is a common experience to see thoughtless people continue in a state of lassitude for weeks together, when a little outdoor exercise would brace them up and turn them into new creatures.

A still further reason why sport stimulates is that one has generally to overcome obstacles and attain certain ends, such as to become victor in some game of force or skill, to lead, as in a race, to endure etc.

Then, too, sport has a direct social utility. Because most games are played by groups of individuals, they bring into operation many powerful social forces; while snobbery, class distinction and favouritism, etc., are the death of sport. Thus in play a spirit of comradery is generally manifested which, unhappily, is too often suppressed in the more serious occupations of life. When fashion and precedence enter the play-field sport leaves it. In play a man is at his best, and endeavours to put into his pursuits a spirit that ought to dominate his entire life. For play is life's training ground.

But there are other kinds of play that ought to be considered under this heading, such as pageantry, and many hobbies, as, for instance, gardening, model-making, etc. These usually require a certain amount of skill and muscular activity, but not nearly so much vigour as sport. Their chief merit is that they give scope to the imagination, and are specially beneficial in cases where work is of a

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stereotyped nature. Of course there is a certain amount of imagination required in all sport, as in football, for instance, the best player is bound to be the man who can keep in his mind a picture of the rapidly shifting field, who can "see" at a glance what will happen if a kick be made in this or that direction. But play ought always to be in some measure the complement of work, a means of developing those powers and faculties which are neglected or stifled in work. Work is restrictive; but human nature rebels against restriction, and thus seeks redress in play.

In play nature endeavours to win back the possessions that have been lost in work. Play is thus man's salvation, the means whereby he is rescued from the limitations and degradation of convention and routine, and enabled to develop the power wherewith to rise to the full status of manhood.

Then there is always a danger of play being turned into work. As soon as remuneration enters into play the tendency is for the object of one's effort to change; and thus for play to be converted into work. Professionalism is the death of play, so far as the "players" are concerned; their play having become their work they will have to turn in other directions for their play.

(3). In considering the third function of play, which is to refine, a distinction ought to be drawn between two kinds of art,—physical or aesthetic art and spiritual art; the art of form and the art of ideas, of character and conduct. The purpose of aesthetic art is to reveal the beauty of form; that of spiritual art to reveal the beauty of truth—the truth of life,—and of the human spirit, of noble conduct, etc. It is with the former that we are specially concerned in the present section. Aesthetic art, having reference to form and arrangement, line and colour, appertains to things physical; whereas what I have called spiritual art has special reference to man, to human life and character, to conduct, virtue. In a sense all art is spiritual, and has for its object the culture of the spirit; but there is a wide difference between the art which describes the beauty of physical, static things and that which describes the doings and achievements of the human spirit. Physical art depicts external beauty and shows us what we ought to love and admire; whereas spiritual art reveals truth and goodness and shows us what we ought to do and be. Thus the former delights and refines, while the latter inspires and ennobles.

Aesthetic art is represented to a greater or less extent by all the Arts. But architecture, sculpture and painting are almost wholly physical arts, being chiefly concerned with form, line and colour; that is, with the description of static objects, including Nature. Literature, music and the drama, on the other hand, admitting of a time series, are peculiarly fitted to deal with conduct, to reveal the moods, expressions, and experiences of man. At the same time literature is often used as a medium for describing inanimate objects, Nature, etc., while the stage depends to a very large extent, upon painting and statuary for its effects; and even music is frequently used to imitate physical sounds and to create sensuous pleasure.

But in distinguishing between physical and spiritual art it must not be thought that only the latter has moral value. Both forms of art carry with them a moral imperative, and tell us, the one what we ought to admire, the other what we ought to do and be. As is often said, the good is beautiful and the beautiful good, the one being implied in the other. Were we to look deep enough we should find that all our conceptions of beauty were based on a belief in utility. If beauty were not a sign of, and a guide to truth and goodness, it would be a positive snare, a false guide, a huge contradiction. Beauty is the promise of life, of pleasure and happiness, and in loving the beautiful we believe we shall reap a sure and certain good. Of course, false ideas of beauty exist just as false ideas of truth exist; but they are due to ignorance, to a mistaken idea of utility. If we believe that a thing is beneficial we shall come in time to think it beautiful; and if we believe that a thing is harmful we shall in time come to think it ugly. But I hope to deal more fully with this aspect of the subject in the next article.

Physical art delights and gladdens the soul because of beauty, for beauty is the sign and guarantee of the useful and the good. But not only does man love the beautiful, he craves for it, for the simple reason that he ever aspires after a more perfect life; and beauty is a fingerpost to such a life. Even the savage has an in-

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stinct for beauty, and adopts some form of personal decoration. But as we ascend the ladder of civilisation we observe a remarkable growth of the art instinct, a tendency to bring beauty into every department of life. The poorest peasant pays great attention to the art of dress and to the decoration of his home, which is often crowded with crude ornaments, beautiful specimens of his own handiwork or that of some member of his family. The more money people earn the more do they spend on beautiful things for the enjoyment of leisure hours. And in order to have beauty they will work infinitely harder than they would otherwise have need to. The love of beauty is instinctive, for art is the bread of life, the food of the spirit.

Art vitalises life and gives it new meaning, thus renewing the spirit, that buoyancy of mind which work tends to destroy. By means of beauty art delights and gladdens the mind, and thus creates new enthusiasm for fresh conflict. Necessarily so, for art, like faith, is the substance of things hoped for. When the true workman goes forth to his labour he does so with a sense of beauty permeating his soul, else how could he work well, put beauty into things? But by reason of long contact with the formless and ugly, labour tends to destroy the image and efficacy of beauty and thus to call for leisure in which the soul may again feast on beautiful works of art.

Beauty is an upward-moving force, the truth of things felt. Art is truth expressed in terms of feeling. Thus beauty is a fingerpost to life, the handmaiden of truth, man's fair guide to the good. Of its very nature beauty inspires man with a desire to reproduce it, and so help make the world a pleasanter place to live in.

To the man who lives truly, therefore, art is a daily necessity, as much a necessity as air and sleep. For to work is not simply to make things, but to make them well, to impart to them such beauty as they are capable of receiving. It is thus to add to the joy as well as to the beauty of life. All art gives pleasure; firstly because it is the transmission of beautiful feeling, and secondly because it is the promise of a more abundant life.

But to appreciate good art one must work as well as play, as without work one's ideas become unbalanced, divorced, from reality. Purposive work is what keeps one in touch with reality; and the man who does not work will have an abnormal appetite for art or so-called art, just as he will have an abnormal appetite for food. That is why in times of material prosperity, when there is a large idle class, art deteriorates. Nothing is so fatal to art as idleness; for to be idle is to divorce art from life, from every vital cause and every spiritual need. A man cannot appreciate beauty unless he is helping to it. Idleness gives rise to decadent, exaggerated art, which being unnatural, is devoid of all inspiring idealism.

On the whole we may say that what I have called physical or aesthetic art, corresponds to the Greek conception of art. To the Greeks beauty was an atmosphere to be breathed perpetually as one breathes air. But their art was chiefly the art of form, even in conduct it was the form rather than the purpose or essence of an act that they considered. The attraction of man was the attraction of physical and external rather than internal and spiritual characteristics. Indeed Greek art was for an aristocracy, a well-born and leisured class; consequently it was always more a means of aesthetic delight than of inspiration. The Greek conception of man and of virtue was far removed from the Christian conception. To the Greeks order and form were the primary things; goodness, gentleness, loving kindness, etc., being quite secondary things; to act rightly or virtuously was to act decorously. As it was with their temples, so it was with Government and with man: form, order, symmetry, beauty were the essential things. The true democratic spirit was never born in Greece, and in almost every state, slavery continued to the very end. Beautiful form was not simply a virtue, it was the virtue. To act undecorously was to act wickedly, a graceful act standing in far greater esteem than a kind one. To lose one's temper was to sin against art rather than against society. The ideal Greek was the man of noble bearing, in whose step was majesty and on whose brow was dignity; the man of proud spirit whose every resource was under perfect control.

With the Greeks we can go so far as to say that beauty ought to be the native atmosphere of man—in the home, in places of amusement, in the street and public thoroughfares, etc. It is almost impossible

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to be surrounded by too much beauty, as the more beauty we have the more perfectly will the spirit of it enter the soul and manifest itself in all we do. Beauty is the sign of virtue, and to love beauty and to be surrounded by it so that the very rhythm of it gets into the blood, so to speak is to be helped on the way to virtue. Drunkenness and bad temper are both horrible from the aesthetic point of view, and it is possible to make them hateful and impossible through the right culture of the aesthetic sense. To learn to do things rythmically, because rhythm is beautiful, will ultimately lead us to do them because they are good, beneficial. Art is thus a beautiful teacher, luring the soul to virtue by means of beauty.

Physical art yields delight, and by its promise of pleasure draws man to the contemplation of the beautiful, and thus to virtue. We cannot live in any atmosphere for long without being affected by it, and even the simple pictures on our walls, which have perhaps been placed there unthinkingly, exercise a wonderful influence upon our own and our children's minds. Art is for life, to ennoble and increase it. It is a spiritual and refining force, a condition of noble work, beautiful expression. Right feelings, as well as right conceptions, are necessary to the best conduct, and to the production of useful and beautiful things. For what is skill but inspiration, the touch that is born of a strong, harmonious feeling? The burden of all good work is harmonious feeling; and physical art is the expression and transmission of such feeling.

4. Spiritual art is the highest form of art, and also of play. Obviously, for it is specially concerned with the human spirit, its manifestations and aspirations. Man as an aspiring, spiritual being is different from every other form of being; thus the art which treats of man must be a separate art. It is the function of spiritual art to portray all that is beautiful and heroic in human nature; to reveal and teach the ideal life for man, the relationships which he ought to cultivate.

Literature is the paramount spiritual art, because literature, unlike sculpture and painting, admits of a time series, and unlike music, deals definitely with ideas. Sculpture and painting, except by implication and suggestion, are confined to a single moment of time, and are thus not fitted to deal with action, conduct. Although, by seizing the right moment, painters have often been able to reveal a life-history in a single painting, to give a true judgment of the value of a given mode of life. But generally speaking the history of the person portrayed requires to be known. Because of its great vivifying power painting is admirably suited to illustrate and supplement literary description. Of all the arts music is the most direct revealer of subjective moods, feelings and passions, and, as such, is essentially a spiritual art. But while music expresses feelings more intensely and realistically than any other art, it is powerless to express an idea with any degree of definiteness, as the conceptional effect of a composer determined by the imagery his hearers are able to draw upon or create. Music may drive a man out of himself, cause him to step the unknown world of unrealised experience, and even to modify his conduct; but it cannot give him any definite ideas, teach him new truth. To do that he must have resort to letters.

But if painting and sculpture are the most vivid of the arts, music is the most intense, and literature the most complete. Music, with its medium of sound is the universal art; for sound appeals to all, being a means of expression even in the animal kingdom. Passion, anger, hatred, sorrow, etc., can all be expressed by simple ejaculatory sounds. But with literature the case is different. Literature makes its appeal through highly complex symbols, or letters, which are rendered more complex still by being formed into words and phrases. And the more complex the medium through which the artist reveals himself the greater the difficulty of adequate self-expression. That is why there are so few prodigies in literature as compared with music. But whereas music is dependent upon the recipient subject for the scaffolding of imagery which holds the emotional experience together, literature builds up its own and reaches the emotions through these. And if the emotional effect is not so intense in the latter case, definite ideas, truths which can be uttered and demonstrated, can be expressed and transmitted.

Thus because literature is the only art which works through ideas, it is the most fitted to deal with the facts of human life, to portray experience and character, to

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treat of conduct and depict the ideal life for man. Life is a conquest, a process of spiritual expansion, a gradual broadening of experience and of outlook. In order that life may thus deepen, thought and imagination must be kept active so that new ideas and ideals may be received and assimilated. It is the function of spiritual art to inspire the mind with lofty ideals, to make the highest life attractive, and to impart a sense of the boundlessness of life. Thus for us to-day it is to extol brotherhood and spiritual life, to reveal the great heights of spiritual attainment man is capable of.

Physical art delights; but spiritual art inspires; and in order to live well one must needs be constantly inspired by the highest art. Physical objects are beautiful, but beautiful only; whereas man is virtuous, heroic. And spiritual art is heroic art. Thus spiritual art is life's interpreter, and teaches man how to live heroically, vitally. Spiritual art is the revealer of life at its highest level. As we have said, work tends to imprison man in a world of matter and sense. Spiritual art is man's surest deliverer from such prison-house, the light which can guide him to the larger and grander world of thought and spirit. In work a man is necessarily confined to a small portion of being, but in art he touches, sees, feels and grasps,—the entire universe of being. And unless a man's mind is refreshed with the larger vision of art he will become a pigmy or a castaway, while his work will deteriorate into a mere means of getting bread. To work without the inspiration of great art is to live in a dungeon; it is to be like the zoologist of whom it is said that after spending the greater part of his life putting things into bottles, ended by putting himself into one. Unless a man frequently steps into the loftier world of art he can never know truth, or realise the highest life. Art keeps the spirit fresh and young with visions of the beautiful and the good, and so keeps alive the passion for life, for deeper and richer experience. And in his work-life man tries to establish the truth, the relationships, which thought has created and art has revealed to him. Art, therefore, need offer no apology for its existence.

Thus the life-process goes on in a never-ending cycle, while the life-stream deepens all the while: first there is work, then play: play leading to work, production, expression, and work leading to play, participation, appreciation. Accordingly it is not true, as some writers say, that play is mere effervescence, the using up of superfluous energy—as if art were a luxury that could be dispensed with. It is quite true that a man improves his status, and increases his chance of making livelihood, in play; but play has a spiritual and life value as well, being, indeed, a vital mode of life, a form as well as condition of well-being. Play is the freeing of superfluous energy: but it is something more; it is physical recuperation and spiritual inspiration, that without which we cannot live as we ought to live. Thus to say that play or art is the mere means of guaranteeing existence, or the continuity of existence, is absurd.

And because play is a mode of life, and is of many kinds, it follows that it ought to be thought about, brought within the domain of conscious life. Too many people allow their play-life to be governed by others, by custom, whereas play above all things ought to be self-chosen suited to individual need. The needs of the soul are many, and in every case they require individual treatment. A book that helps one may not help another. To play football every day, or every week, simply because it has become a custom, may be an oppression, and do more harm than good. The sportsman who is nothing but a sportsman will soon cease to be even a sportsman. And the man who participates in only one kind of play can never be a complete man; he is sure to be dwarfed somewhere. If a student is nothing but a student he will be almost sure to possess a philosophy as deformed and unhealthy as his body.

Thus the four function of play discribed in the present article are not meant to apply to four levels of experience, but to the varied needs of every individual. There are times in the life of every man when he needs absolute rest; when he needs the bracing energy and physical exhilaration of sport; when the spirit calls for the delights the softening influence of beauty, and for the inspiration of heroic air. And unless thought govern play how can we expect that leisure will be well spent?

Life is a process of growth for the attainment of life; but it cannot grow without thought. In that process work and play have essential functions, and presuppose

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one another. The ideals which work is the effort to realise have their origin in play, in art. Play takes man back to the ideal, to the point of view of the whole, and inspires him with a desire to realise the highest. Thus in play the self is realised in finer and larger unities. So that through work and play man comes nearer and nearer to the ideal of the perfect man. In art the soul is born anew to the highest life; and by means of the inspiration of that ideal an attempt is made to objectify it in the world of fact. And so man moves upward from unity to unity, from harmony to deeper harmony, from truth to wider truth, all the while broadening and enriching his experience, deepening the well of his being.

THE PINCUSHION

By William Le Queux, Author of "Fatal Fingers," "The Riddle of the Ring," &c.

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It happened in Belgrade, the Servian capital, just prior to the outbreak of the Balkan war.

The fortress-town was full of spies, mostly Austrian or foreigners in Turkish pay, while the Servian Secret Service was busily engaged watching their movements.

I had been sent poste-haste from London to watch the trend of affairs, and furnish confidential reports to Downing Street. Fortunately, I was well known, and had many friends in Servia; hence no surveillance was placed upon my movements, a very real boon, for the secret police system in Servia is even more rigorous than in Russia.

At the Grand Hotel, a comfortable place with a large, noisy cafe beneath, where politics are discussed day and night, nearly all the visitors were either representatives of the great European newspapers, adventurers eager to obtain orders for war material, or foreign spies. Each evening, when in the big salle-a-manger we sat down to our "pilaf with paprika," we were a strange cosmopolitan crowd waiting hourly for the outbreak of war. The excitement was intense; the war fever burned fiercely.

A strict censorship having been placed upon all telegrams, secret messengers crossed the Danube each evening and despatched information from Semlin, the frontier town of Hungary. The man I employed was a pig dealer, whose habit it was to cross into Hungary frequently. Therefore he passed without suspicion with my cipher messages, addressed to a certain code word—which must be nameless—and simply "London."

Among the crowd was a lean, long-faced, grey-eyed Frenchman named Raoul Lemoine, a man I had often met up and down Europe, generally at the gayer resorts, for he was an idler, and as he always put up at the best hotels was apparently a man of means.

I was somewhat surprised to find him among that jostling, excited crowd of concession-hunters and adventurers in Belgrade, for the scum of financial Europe seemed to have congregated there, and among them I noticed was more than one man with whom he had acquaintance.

He was elegant, rather dandified, and essentially a ladies' man.

Therefore it was not surprising that when, after about a week, a pretty young Italian lady, very smartly turned-out, and travelling with her maid, arrived at the hotel, that my friend Raoul should quickly strike up acquaintance with her. Her name was the Contessa di Montelupo, he told me, and she was in Belgrade because her

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husband, who was secretary of the Italian Legation at Stockholm, had been appointed to Belgrade, and she expected him daily.

"She is very charming, mon cher ami," he said enthusiastically, as we sat together one evening smoking the exquisite "specialitet" cigarettes so dear to the Servian palate. "She has been living in Stockholm for three years, and before that her husband was in London as third secretary of Embassy. They have a villa on the sea at Santa Margherita, near Genoa, and she spends the summer there. Suddenly she had a telegram to come here and await her husband, Ah! my cher M'sieur Trewin," he added, "she is so cosmopolitan, so pretty, so dainty, so charming. But, alas! for me, she is married."

"Well, you seem to take her about a good deal," I laughed.

"I speak Italian. I know Italy well, so we are friends. Voila tout!"

Next day he introduced me, and invited me to the table where he was sitting with her.

He had certainly not overrated her. She was very charming, and spoke English quite fluently.

"Oh, yes," she laughed, "we were in London for quite a long time, We had a flat in Queen Anne's Mansions, Westminster. You know it—eh? But here in Belgrade," she went on, with a little shrug of her shoulders, "I shall never like it—never. The Balkan people are too savage, after London, Brussels, and Stockholm."

"Outwardly they appear so, countess," I replied, looking into her wonderful dark eyes. "But I assure you that in all the Near East you will not find so many friends as in Servia."

"Yes, half-a-dozen times, and I have always regretted leaving. Their exterior may be rough, but many a warm heart beats beneath a sheepskin," I said.

"Well," she asked, suddenly changing the topic, "will there be war?"

"Who knows," I said.

"The outlook seems more peaceful to-day," Lemoine remarked. "I met Marcovitch, of the Foreign Office, an hour ago, and he says that the Porte is climbing down. Montenegro is defiant, and threatens to declare war."

"If she does, then the match will be applied to the magazine," I said. "but I hope that King Nicholas will be judicious and act diplomatically."

"My dear friend," laughed Raoul Lemoine, "King Nicholas is well aware of what has been arranged. All is ready. Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro, the Balkan Allies, mean war. The secret treaty was signed two years ago, and Turkey, with all her spies and her clever diplomacy, remained in ignorance; the diplomacy of Turkey has been asleep."

"Ah! m'sieur," exclaimed the pretty countess, "you are, I fear, very anti-Turk."

"I admit it, my dear lady," he replied. "All my sympathies are with my friends the Servians."

"And Bulgarians," I added.

"Of course—they are allies," he said. "And if war comes, Turkey will most certainly be beaten. The opposing armies are massed on either side of the frontier. At any moment they may come to grips."

"And then Heaven help Turkey," I remarked.

He smiled, and nodded a mysterious affirmative.

That evening, and during the next day, and the next, I constantly ran up against the countess, either in the hotel or in the streets, and she was always very sweet and charming.

One afternoon, Semoine having gone somewhere into the country, after luncheon I accompanied the countess for a walk in the Kalemegdan Garden, the pretty public park which, high up, overlooks the Danube.

We were strolling together beneath the half-bare trees—for the leaves had not yet all fallen—chatting upon various subjects. She was all curiosity to know what had brought me to Belgrade at such a crisis, declaring openly that I could not be travelling for pleasure.

My business was my own affair; therefore, as I strolled at her side, I replied:

"I am always fond of excitement, countess. I am not a busy bee—only alas! one of the drones."

"An idler—eh? Well, idling is usually pleasant."

"If one idles in pleasant places and with pleasant companions. Belgrade to-day is the reverse of pleasant. Don't you think so?"

"Yes. I sincerely hate the place already—I, who may have to live here three years or so! That is the worst of diplomacy—one can never pick and choose. My hus-

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band's next step will be a Legation—in South America, I expect."

And so she gossiped on, sometimes speaking in French, sometimes in English.

"Your friend, M'sieur Lemoine, is a very charming man," she said presently.

"What is he ?"

"An idler, like myself. We meet at all sorts of places. Usually we are together in Nice in winter, and in Deauville in summer."

"How delightful to be one's own master. I wish Leopoldo were his own master, and could travel hither and thither."

"You would then have a much better time—eh ?" I laughed.

"I think so," she admitted.

Suddenly, as we turned a corner in the leafy avenue a strong wind caught her cravat of cerise crepe de Chine—a colour which suited her admirably—and carried it away.

I dashed after it and succeeded in regaining it, whereupon she asked :

"Have you a pin ?"

"I'am awfully sorry," I replied with regret.

"Ah, you men never have," she said. "You never carry pins until you are married."

"We seldom require them," was my answer, and we laughed together.

She possessed an inexpressible charm; and no wonder Raoul Lemoine had become fascinated by her. But at any day the count might arrive, and then my friend's society would no longer be required.

The city was in great turmoil that day. Soldiers were marching in every street, and heavy field guns and ammunition waggons rumbled over the cobbles on their way to the Turkish frontier, while the excited crowds looked on and cheered.

For a full hour we walked along the bank of the Danube in the warm autumn sunshine, and then returned to the hotel where I left her, as I had to meet in secret an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who sometimes furnished me with confidential information which, in due course, I sent across the river to be telegraphed in cipher from Hungarian territory.

It was not till near midnight that I returned. I had dined with Muller, the second secretary of the German Legation, and we had played bridge afterwards. The political situation was as strained as ever, indeed there was a rumour in the cafes that Montenegro had discarded the counsels of Servia and Bulgaria and had attacked the Turks outside Scutari. But this report was, yet, unconfirmed.

The excitement rose to fever-heat. No one slept in Belgrade that night.

When I entered my room at the hotel and switched on the light I saw attached by a ribbon to the side of the toilet-mirror a pretty pincushion of pale blue silk about three inches square.

I took it down and examined it, finding it well stocked with pins.

It did not need very much guessing to know who had placed it there, and next morning, meeting the countess in the first floor corridor—my room being on the second floor—I thanked her for her kind thought.

"Pins are always useful, even to a bachelor," she laughed, as she descended the stairs dressed to go out, for Lemoine was, I saw, awaiting her below.

That day passed in hot, feverish anxiety, and the next day, at noon, an official despatch was received from Cettinje.

War was declared !

On the day of the declaration of war by Montenegro, the Servian Army, together with their Bulgarian brothers, moved south towards Macedonia, the ill-fated country which formed the bone of contention.

A week went by. The Balkan Armies were already in touch with the enemy, and war was being waged all over the Peninsula with heavy losses on both sides. The Greeks were attacking the Turks on the one hand, while the Servians and Bulgars were on the other. The smiling, peaceful rose-fields of Kazanlik, where the true otto-of-rose is distilled, were bathed with blood.

I sent information home to Downing Street daily with the sanction of the Servian Foreign Office, entirely independent from the despatch of our Legation, but as the days went by the outlook in Belgrade seemed to grow more gloomy.

As the Count di Montelupo was still detained in Stockholm the contessa remained at the hotel, and frequently entertained Lemoine and myself in her cosy little salon on the first floor.

Her little pincushion I often used, for I had somehow lost the box of paper-fasteners from my despatch-box, and was compelled to use pins instead. I told her this, and she replied :

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"Did I not prophecy that it might be useful ?"

It was no business of mine, of course, but I could not fail to see how friendly she and my friend Lemoine were becoming.

They were always chatting together confidentially.

One evening while I sat with them, smoking and gossiping as usual, a waiter entered saying that he had shown a gentleman up to my room.

"He is the gentleman you told me of, m'sieur," the man said. "He gave the name of Shaw, and I have taken him up, as you ordered this morning."

"Quite right," I said. Then turning to my hostess, I begged to be excused, and ran quickly upstairs, two steps at a time.

In my room stood my friend and colleague, Dick Shaw, of the Secret Service, still in his heavy travelling-ulster and wearing a soft felt hat.

"Hulloa, Dick, what's up ?" I asked anxiously. "I got your phone message from Sofia."

"Lock that door, old chap," he said. Then he glanced around at the walls suspiciously, and asked :

"Can we be heard in the next room ?"

"No. I'm always careful to choose my rooms in hotels, as you know. But what's up. Something is wrong. I can see by your face." And I crossed to the dressing-table near which he was standing.

"Wrong !" he echoed. "Why, Servia is let into a fatal trap over this war. In Sofia I found out the whole truth last night, but I dare not wire it to London. It had better go through you into Germany. We must not put it on the Austrian wires."

"What do you mean?" I asked, staring at him in surprise.

"Simply this. Servia and Greece believe in Bulgaria, but she has already betrayed them into the hands of Austria. A year ago a secret treaty was signed in Vienna and Sofia which provides that, after the present war, when Servia has been weakened, Bulgaria will turn against her on the one side and Austria on the other, and crush her out of existence. Austria is to annex Servia, and, assisted by Bulgaria, will attack Greece, which, when conquered, is to be merged into Bulgaria."

I stood aghast.

"Are you quite certain of this ?"

"Absolutely. I have a copy of the clause in question," and from his pocket he took a sealed envelope, which he broke open, and then proceeded slowly to read Clause XV. of the Secret Treaty.

The situation in the Balkans was now hopeless. War had already been declared. Had we discovered this startling diplomatic secret—this plot against Servia—a fortnight ago we should have told the Servian Prime Minister the truth, and Servia would have refused to enter the alliance, or fight for the honour of her betrayer.

I confess the news was so astounding that I stood before him speechless. It was a secret which, if divulged, would in all probability result in a European war.

"Not a breath of this must get out, Shaw," I said at last. "You return to Sofia, and I will go direct to London tomorrow and lay it before the chief. We must not trust it, even in code, to the wires."

"I quite agree," he said, handing me the copy of the all-important clause in the Treaty.

I then sat down at the little writing-table, and, taking a piece of despatch-paper from my steel box, wrote a memorandum of our conversation. Then, taking a pin from the countess's cushion, I attached it to the sheet of paper, whereon was written the wording of the secret agreement.

Afterwards I sealed it and placed it in my breast pocket, ready for conveyance to Downing Street on the morrow.

"How did you manage to get hold of it?" I asked as I re-locked my despatch-box.

"Money—my dear old chap. A particular friend of mine—a secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia—is a gambler. You know the rest. A few bank-notes and the trick was done— as in so many cases."

We went below to the cafe, and half-an-hour later Lemoine joined us, and remained for some minutes. Then he rose and went out.

"Who is that fellow?" Shaw asked when he had gone.

"Oh! a wealthy man. I often meet him about," I said carelessly.

"I've seen him somewhere. His face is familiar to me, but for the life of me I can't recall him." Shaw said. "I met him somewhere in circumstances that were suspicious and of that I feel certain."

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"Where?" I asked.

"Ah, that I unfortunately can't recollect. I travel so much, and meet so many strangers, that it's quite impossible to remember everybody."

"He's quite a good fellow," I remarked.

"He may be," sniffed my friend, "only don't trust him, Trewin. If my memory serves me aright I once regarded him with some distinct suspicion."

His words caused me to reflect. Yet I had known Raoul Lemoine a long time, and beyond the fact that he was such a squire of dames, I really knew nothing to his detriment.

The Orient express would not leave Belgrade for Ostend, I found, till ten o'clock next evening. So not until two o'clock did we part, and Shaw, who had engaged a room, retired to bed, an example which I followed.

Shaw left at eight, and returned by a military train to the Bulgarian capital, having received an official permit to do so.

Just before eleven o'clock next morning, while packing my bag ready for my journey, there came a tap on my door, and next second I was face to face with my friend Danilovitch, chief of the Servian secret police, who wore a smart dark blue uniform, with the cross of St. Sava at his throat.

"Ah, my dear M'sieur Trewin, how are you this morning?" he asked, greeting me warmly in French and gripping my hand.

I welcomed him, and when he had shut the door he said:

"I have called to ask you a question or two. You are always such a very good friend of Servia that I know you will answer them."

"Of course—anything in the interests of your country and your king."

"Then tell me what you have discovered regarding this conspiracy of Austria and Bulgaria against us?" he asked, looking me straight in the face with his dark, deep-set eyes.

"Conspiracy!" I echoed. "How do you know? First tell me that, Colonel Danilovitch."

He smiled and, watching me, said slowly:

"Your friends Raoul Lemoine and the Countess di Montelupo seem a rather interesting pair."

"I don't follow you."

"Well, early this morning at half-past four to be precise—they both endeavoured to leave Belgrade in secret. For some weeks past observation has been kept upon them, with the result that when on the landing-stage and about to embark on the early boat for Semlin they were arrested and brought to the bureau of police for interrogation."

"But was it judicious?" I gasped. "The countess is wife of a diplomat—the second secretary of the Italian Legation."

He smiled again.

"So she says, my dear friend. So she says," he answered. "Well, I had them both searched, and, just as I suspected, both were spies in the pay of Turkey. In the pocket of the man was found a report giving the record of a conversation which you had last night with a friend of yours, M'sieur Shaw, and details of an extraordinary Secret Treaty, signed between Bulgaria and Austria, to annihilate us. Is that a fact?" he asked with great concern.

"Strictly between ourselves, I can assure you, colonel, that the Secret Treaty actually exists."

"Are you positive?"

"I am, though as you can see it is most unfortunate. Not a word must leak out concerning it. I will see Monsieur Pachitch as soon as he will see me, and show him the copy of the all-important clause which is designed to wipe Servia off the map of Europe."

"Did you tell this to Lemoine?"

"Certainly not. How he could know is an absolute mystery. Beyond the four walls of the room no sound could penetrate. I was very careful to ascertain that. The walls of Belgrade have ears."

"The door?"

"There was a heavy portiere curtain over it. No. I am confident that no sound could have been hard outside the room, and certainly nobody was persent at the interview except Shaw and myself."

"Well, here is the report," he said, as he drew from his tunic the closely-written sheet of paper, upon which every word of our conversation had been carefully recorded.

How it could have been obtained was a complete mystery.

"It is indeed fortunate that this did not get outside Servia and into the enemy's hands," I remarked.

"Yes. They were arrested just in the

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nick of time," Danilovitch replied. "You will note that the report is addressed to Saba Pasha in Trieste."

"I see it is. Saba is a well-known Turkish spy."

"Of course. So there is no question as to the character of your interesting friends," remarked Danilovitch. "It is fortunate that you have discovered the truth regarding the conspiracy against us, which. I hope, you will expose to the Prime Minister at noon, and equally fortunate that the two spies are under arrest. Remember, M'sieur Trewin, we are now at war, and the pretty countess and her companion are spies of our enemy."

I held my breath. That fact had not occurred to me.

"The court-martial upon them will be held with closed doors in the fortress this afternoon. Death sentences only can be pronounced upon spies in time of war!"

At five o'clock that same afternoon I was called to the telephone, and Danilovitch told me the sentence in each case—death!

An hour later, however, I received word that King Peter had exercised his clemency and reduced the penalty to imprisonment for fifteen years—a sentence which the pair are still undergoing in the fortress at this moment, while by the result of Shaw's discovery Servia, being forewarned, was able to thwart the disgraceful plans of Bulgaria and Austria, and by exposing the plot to the Powers demand measures for her own security.

The public, when it read in the newspapers of all the Balkan complications, never dreamed that Servia owes her present security, nay, her very existence, to the pretty little pin-cushion presented to me by the "countess."

The discovery I made was certainly an astonishing one, for when on that night, when sentence was pronounced, I packed all my traps before leaving post haste for England, I took down my pincushion and, to my surprise, I found that another had evidently been substituted since I had first examined my present.

The one I held in my hand seemed unusually hard, and on inspecting the back closely I found that, concealed beneath the thin blue silk, was a cunningly contrived telephone receiver, of what is known as a "watch" type.

To it was attached an insulated wire so fine as to be practically invisible, which passed out of my window with its loose end hanging down to the window below—the room which had been occupied by the "countess!"

So, while Shaw had been explaining the secret to me and reading the clause of the Treaty, the ingenious spies of Turkey had been taking it down.

Yet, after all, Servia was saved from utter destruction by the innocent-looking little blue pincushion which, as I write, lies upon my table, a mute relic of a turbulent day, and a reminder that two charming persons are immured in the Fortress of Belgrade, and are, I fear, likely to remain there for some years to come.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY AND SIR HENRY COTTON

By W. F. Westbrook.

[A commemoration service for the late Sir Henry Cotton was held on Sunday, 14 November, at the Church of Humanity in London (19 Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, W. C.), and after the usual prayers, and readings from the Imitation of Christ and the Bhagavadgita, the following discourse was delivered by Mr. Walter Francis Westbrook.]

We offer this morning our collective tribute of respect to Sir Henry Cotton, our fellow-Positivist and member of this Church of Humanity. He passed away at his home in London on Friday, 22 October, at the age of 70 years: his body was cremated at Golder's Green on Monday, 25 October; and on this, the third Sunday after that ceremony, as is our wont, we hold here, in our regular place of worship, this Service of Commemoration. I shall speak to you,

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first of the scope and intention of this Memorial Sermon, next of the life we are commemorating, and then of some Positivist views on life and immortality.

I.

This religious service of to-day is one of simple friendly commemoration of him. That is to say, it is not to be regarded as the considered religious judgment of the Church upon him: that is for the future, and it should come, with due authority, seven years hence, in the Sacrament of Incorporation, as I will explain. It is part to our Faith that all Positivist life should be lived on religious principles, under religious sanction, and with definite ordering by the Church. With this in view, our Master, Auguste Comte, instituted for us a series of nine Sacraments, arranged to cover our life from birth to death and after: these Sacraments are:—three of early life, Presentation, Initiation, Admission, into the Church: then Destination, to social function: Marriage: Maturity: and three of later life, Retirement, Transformation, Incorporation. These Sacraments are all voluntary, of free acceptance. In this way each successive phase throughout our individual and private life is connected with our public life, through consecration by the Church, each phase is well-defined, each is preparatory for the next one, each naturally implies definite duties and obligations, each receives a due religious sanction. The religious experience of all Churches concurs as to the importance and helpfulness of such ordinances. For our purpose today, I refer to the three of later life. By the Sacrament of *Retirement*, which is usually at the age of 65, the Church marks the normal ending of complete and direct active work: the citizen of his own will withdraws from activity, in order, among other things, to have free scope for his rightful influence as an adviser, which is a social and spiritual function. The sacrament of *Transformation*, at the time just before death, will naturally vary according to circumstances. It is at the wish of the dying person, and it is usually a family consecration. Dr. Richard Congreve says of it: "Those who have profited by the preceding Sacraments will wish for this one to complete the series with their own consciousness. As human life gets more orderly and settled and less subject to premature shortening, this act of acceptance of the fatality of death, its deliberate acceptance, recognition of its usefulness socially—an act of resignation—will dignify and consecrate the close of our objective life and the entrance upon the existence which has been the object of that life's exertions." And then, in the Sacrament of *Incorporation*, seven years after death, when all disturbing passions are sufficiently quieted, the Church pronounces a solemn appreciation and judgment upon the life, and proclaims its incorporation into the great life of Humanity, and inaugurates an appropriate memorial.

You will see, therefore, that today's Service is not Sacramental, nor authoritative: it implies no judgment, and it is purely provisional. It is but the natural continuation of the simple funeral ceremony of three weeks ago, offering us this congregational way of expressing our human feelings—our tribute of honour and respect to one of our brethren, on behalf not merely of our own group here, but also of that larger number of his fellow-believers and friends, in more or less close connection, who would wish to be associated with us in this tribute.

II.

Let me bring to your minds, briefly, the salient facts of his life. Henry John Stedman Cotton was born on the 13th of September 1845 in India, where his family for three generations had been connected with the Civil Service. He was brought to England in 1848: went to school in Oxford and Brighton, and came to King's College, London, in 1861. His Education was in classics, with history and literature, and he especially followed theological studies. He has himself told us of the brilliant professors under whom he was trained, and he has described the capable and interesting set of fellow-students among whom he moved. With one he was especially intimate, Professor Evan Baxter. In 1865 he passed for the Indian Civil Service. Then came two years of preparatory studies and social life—two full and glorious years in a fine circle of friends—two golden years, he called them—which he enjoyed to the full. It was in the spring of 1867 that he attended with Dr. Baxter some lectures on Positivism given in London by Dr. Richard Congreve: the Religion of Humanity was a revelation to him. He was married

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on the 1st of August 1867—he was young, not yet 22: and on 23 September 1867 he and his wife left for India overland arriving at Calcutta on 29 October 1867, Mrs. Cotton's birthday. Then ensued 35 years of distinguished official duty. He served in the Bengal Revenue and Judicial Departments, became Assistant Secretary to Government in 1875, Assistant to the Board of Revenue 1882. While holding that office he published, in 1885, his book "New India" of which I shall speak presently. He became Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1892, and was made C. S. I. In November 1896 he was appointed Chief Commissioner of Assam—an office which he held until his retirement from the Service in 1902: his Government in Assam was especially marked by the great earthquake of 12 June 1897, which destroyed his headquarters at Shillong, and in 1901 by serious difficulties over the indentured labour question, wherein he strongly took up the cause of the labourers, and was most violently attacked for his policy. In April 1902 he came to England on leave prior to retirement: he left India amid great popular demonstrations of respect and affection. In June 1902 he was knighted by the King and invested as K.C.S.I.: in October 1902 he retired from the Service on pension. Then he was at last free—his own word is "unmuzzled"—free for that consultative and advisory function of which I was speaking just now.

His work for India, however, did not cease: it continued to be the main purpose of his life. He joined the Indian National Congress Committee in England: this Congress of Indian representative men had first met, in India, in 1885. He was honoured by being nominated President over the Congress (the 20th) which met in Bombay in Dec. 1904: and he then revisited India, receiving a most enthusiastic welcome from the Indian peoples: he delivered to the Congress a memorable Presidential address.

His life-work was continued also in the British Parliament. In the spring of 1903 he had been chosen candidate in the Liberal interest for East Nottingham: he was in due course triumphantly elected, and he sat as M. P. for four years, from Jan. 1906 to Jan. 1910. He held advanced views in politics; and he brought to bear on this new political life here the same high principles which had guided his Indian period. He was assiduous and conscientious in his duties, greatly, we must regret, at the expense of his health. He spoke very warmly of the happiness of those years, and of the many friends he made in and out of Parliament, and of the grateful testimony of his Nottingham constituents. India also was his constituency: he was the leader in Parliament of the small party actively interested in Indian questions, so often treated with neglect. He brought forward important matters for discussion and freely and boldly criticized the Liberal Government policy, inevitably arousing some enmity and obloquy, but rendering notable service.

For other interests and occupations he also found time and opportunity. He was a supporter of various good causes. The Humanitarian movement, to mention but one example: he had himself never taken part in what are called field sports, nor shikar and big-game shooting: after his earliest phase in India, he says, he shrank from severe and cruel punishments: flogging, for instance, he protested against. But India was his main interest, and in her cause he was untiring.

His parliamentary life was followed by five years or more of comparative repose: years not free from ill health and incidents of older age, and troubles attendant on changing circumstances: darkened also by gloomy war, with its vast scenes of tragic death and devastation: saddened also last year by one special sorrow. That sorrow was the illness and death of Lady Cotton. Her, his life-companion, we would justly associate with him in our commemoration to-day. She passed away on the 26th of September, last year, a year and a month before him, after a conjoined life of 47 years: a life marked by those long separations which are, as he sadly says, "among the most painful accompaniments of an Indian life." They had gone out to India in 1867: two sons were born to them there, and a third in September 1874, after her first return to England: thereafter the central family home was for 40 years at St. John's Wood, in London. She suffered with him in the great Earthquake at Shillong in 1897. Those of us who have read his "Indian and Home Memories"—published four years ago when she was still with him—will not easily forget his tributes to her whom he calls "my devoted companion and helpmate

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through many years of vicissitudes and successes, sorrows and aspirations, clouds and sunshine."

His work and policy are matters of public knowledge and history: their high character is well known: many have been the public and private testimonies, both in the years that have gone and especially during these past days. He was by common consent an efficient, a conscientious, a sympathetic administrator: an administrator, too, who was always accessible. He was a chivalrous champion of the Indian peoples. Loyal also to the Government and to the Service: in one farewell speech on leaving India he said, "I have never ignored and shall never be unmindful of the responsibilities I owe to the Government. I have never failed in my sense of discipline. I am true to my salt." His life was lived largely in the public eye: his principles of conduct were manifest to all the world. He adhered to the teachings of his Master, Auguste Comte, that the great problem of modern political life is the subordination of politics to morals, and that devotion of the strong to the weak is a primary duty of those in authority.

I would refer to some of his own writings as expressive of these principles. In 1885 he published with great courage—for great courage it was, then—his striking book "New India, or India in transition." He there outlines a progressive policy for Indian administration. Holding that even the best bureaucracy in the world tends to become too conservative, and even retrograde, he warns the Indian Government and the public of the increasing difficulties of administration, and urges measures of adaptation to the changing circumstances. This warning, we may remember, was given 30 years ago. He presses for the encouragement of the aspirations and spontaneous tendencies of the Indian peoples, and counsels to his fellow administrators a more sympathetic and understanding attitude. He looks forward to autonomy, with a system of federated Indian States: the chief duty of Government meantime, is to keep the peace. The whole is animated by his Positivist convictions. It is pleasant to think that he lived to see, begun at least, some realization of these administrative reforms: his protests were vindicated. His continuous advocacy of these ideas, as I have already said about his parliamentary life, often brought him conflict and controversy, and even enmity, especially in the later years; but on these, and like matters, we need not dwell—he would not wish it: certainly he was little concerned by attacks upon himself: "I am not," he said, "a good hater."

His spirit and purposes are also plainly and openly set forth in the volume of "Indian Speeches and Addresses." This was published in Calcutta in 1903; there are fourteen of them, selected from the period between 1885 and 1902 when he left India.

His book of "Indian and Home Memories," published in 1911, is in his own words his *Apologia* for his Indian policy. It is also much more: it is a frank autobiography, written with great charm and joy of life and fine feeling: it is a precious gift of himself to us, for which we are more than grateful.

His early connection with Positivism and the Religion of Humanity I have already mentioned. He came into contact with our religion about the year 1866. He says he passed through Mill's Essys in the "Westminster Review" to Aguste Comte's "General Creed of Positivism" and his "Catechism of Positive Religion." "In this course of reading," he says, "I collaborated with Baxter, together we attended the lectures given by Dr. Richard Congreve at Bouverie Street, Strand, in the spring of 1867. Assembled there together was a very small but noteworthy audience, including George Eliot, George Henry Lewes, Cotter Morison, Godfrey and Vernon Lushington, Frederic Harrison, Edward Spencer Beesly, and John Henry Bridges. In later years I came to know most of these very well, and Dr. Congreve was destined to exercise a lasting influence over me through a constant and regular correspondence extending over nearly thirty years.... I can only say that Comte's writings produced on our receptive minds something of the effect that Chapman's Homer wrought on Keats": and then he quotes the famous sonnet. After he reached India, he became associated with other Positivists, and with the Indian group that, largely through his influence, grew up in Calcutta. To some of them these tablets on our walls bear witness—Dwarka Nath Mitter, who died in 1874 at 42: James Cruickshank Geddes (brother-in-law of Dr. Congreve) who died in 1880, of whom he speaks with great respect and affection: Samuel Lobb: Dr.

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Arthur Burnell: Guru Das Chatterji. And for many years he was associated with our dear co-religionist, Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, whose memorial tablet is here—he died in 1902. It was by special delegation from Dr. Congreve that on 20 Jan. 1884 he conferred upon Jogendra the Sacrament of Maturity. There was a small Positivist community already then established: for several years the Festival of Humanity (1 January) had been celebrated at Mr. Cotton's house, and some of Mr. Cotton's Annual Addresses on those occasions were published, that for 1888 was the seventh. In 1891 the direction of the Calcutta group passed more into the hands of Jogendra, partly owing to changes in Mr. Cotton's official position. On the Day of Humanity, 1 January 1901, Mr. Cotton gave at their meeting a memorial address on our dear friend Mr. Thomas Sulman, then lately dead.

I need hardly say that he was well known to many Positivists here in London: he came to us frequently during his furlough and he addressed us at intervals, and addressed also the other London group. But before his final return to England Dr. Congreve and other old friends had passed away, and others have gone since, aud he deeply felt these changes.

I have indicated thus generally the active life of him whom we are commemorating to-day. A life, it is, complete in years—past the three score ten of the ancient Jewish singer—yet not old as men go: we Positivists look forward to a longer span as the normal. A life, it is, rich in effort and experience of all kinds. All the normal functions of our human order he has fulfilled, functions of individual being, duties of marriage and family life, of friendship and social contacts: he is for ever knit, as it were, into the great series of the generations of our race. Duties, also, religious, civic, public. "Some work of noble note" we may confidently say that he has done: he has given to us and to mankind, a notable contribution of service. This also to us and to mankind, we may surely feel that he gives—an example of high purpose, of rectitude and sincerity, of sound conviction and consistency—in short, of true service of Humanity. He lives on in the hearts and minds, not merely of all who have known him, but of a far wider and widening circle whom he has influenced—a worldwide circle. He lives especially, we are assured, in the hearts and minds of the Indian people. "A true friend to India and her people"—such is the inscription already during his lifetime placed beneath the bust of him in the Town Hall in Calcutta.

III.

And now by Death he passes into the Great Peace. Death, we know, the death of the body, is the common fate of us all. The fundamental mystery of life itself we do not fully comprehend, for each one of us birth and death are the incidents that outwardly mark its beginning and its closing: between them is this human existence which alone we ourselves really know and within this all-important span lie our opportunities for love and thought and service. For this period of time we are manifestations of that high Being, Humanity, who guides our destinies. She, the great world-soul, bodies us forth, in an individual life, for a varying length of years: and then, early or late, with purpose fulfilled or unfulfilled, we are each drawn back to Her from whom we came. Such is the normal course of the life of man and woman on this planet of ours—it is thus and only thus—by the death of the individuals—that the continuous generations of Humanity may replace one another—each generation necessarily passing on, and preparing and making ready the way for its successor in the great collective life of man. Yes, death is one of the very laws that condition our bodily human life as children of Humanity—perhaps a law of all life.

It is, again, the last sign of our activities—the last social act possible for each and all of us.

And yet again, it is for each of us the one great inevocable thing in life.

We frankly acknowledge, for ourselves, and for our loved ones, and for all men and women, this necessity, this law of bodily death. We accept it with awe and reverence, we accept it with resignation and with calm: we would accept it also with voluntary and willing submission. We accept it to-day for him of whom we are all now thinking.

And yet, this cessation of the physical being—mournful, inevitable, just—is, let us believe, the minor matter. Not that we underrate the value of the loved bodily presence—not that we do not respect and love the dear body, that

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beautiful, highly-organized mechanism, highest in the vital series, the casket and framework of the personality, of that wondrous complex entity that we call a man or a woman. But its function, noble as it is, is yet temporary and not permanent: its service ended, it rightly ceases to be: it remains in memory, an invaluable aid to finest memory. Its outward passing renders too this other service—in that the enshrined personality thereby goes through a process of exfoliation, of emergence. The passing and trivial elements, the temporary and even negative characteristics, drop away; the spiritual and abiding and real things are left, pure and unalloyed. It is as in the Purgatorio of Dante's poem—there are the waters of Lethe first, and these are followed by the waters of Eunoe. Siva the Destroyer is also Siva the Transformer, he who presides over the transformation.

So that we may say that in the spiritual meaning there is *no death*. Decease is a point of dramatic *fixation*: only in a partial sense can it be said to be an *end*. "Non omnis moriar" should be our hope: "I shall not wholly die." In this view there is no death; what seems so is but transition—Transformation our sacrament calls it—transition to the finer form of life, the spiritual and subjective life. Indeed, if we take a long perspective, the whole course of our human living is but the continuous passage from the objective to the subjective, from the material to the spiritual—the physical factor ever diminuendo, the spiritual crescendo. The real efficient part of living, even during life, consists in *spiritual* effort and attainment and influence. This, true of men and women, is true also of Humanity Herself.

While then, in the immediate present, in the newness of our public and private loss, we cannot but mourn—callous indeed and less than human did we not—let us have confidence that the other and finer feeling will gradually gain power over us, and that rather our mourning shall be turned into joy. We shall think of life rather than of death. We shall rejoice that he lived and wrought, rejoice that, though he passes on, his life abides with us and in us, continuous, spiritualized, an active living force still; and that we and India and the world are the richer by his high example.

Henry Cotton, then, joins the vast immortal company of those who have entered upon that other and further stage of living: he is become one of those our Master, Auguste Comte, calls "La grande Priorite" of Humanity—Her ever increasing majority. In Humanity alone, as part of that vast company, is his immortality, and in Her alone can be our immortality. She alone is: he and we through Her. She is the relatively permanent and enduring life on the planet, not we Her separate children. We, the individuals of our generation, to-day are here, and to-morrow are gone: we are but the temporary manifestations of Her, and She alone abides in perpetuity. "The One remains, the many change and pass." All we have of immortality is not in ourselves, but in and through Her.

And he joins also—we especially feel, we Positivists of the nascent church of Humanity—he joins also the company of those who died in the Faith. To some of that sacred company our walls bear witness in these tablets that look upon us in our worship: his name will be added to theirs in this shrine of memories and seven years hence will be the due season for the final sacrament of Incorporation. He is our elder brother in the Faith of Humanity. In Her faith and by Her impulse his life was guided. "Live for others"—"Live openly" were his religious principles of conduct. Let us follow in spirit his high example. Like the old Greek runners with the lighted torch, he hands it on to us to carry forward in our turn. He felt and acknowledged the inspiration of Humanity: to us as to him Her voice comes "*I am always with thee*": let us, too, hearken to it and be moved by it to noble service. Inspiration, stimulus, these we do sorely need. This has been the constant demand of the human heart, that there be vouchsafed a fuller spiritual insight, a deeper feeling of the immanence, the indwelling of the Supreme Power and Supreme Love that guides our lives. And we—not less but more than those of the older faiths do we Positivists need to feel this power—the power and love of Humanity—working in and through us. As says the Imitation of Christ "love feels no burden, thinks nothing of trouble, pleads no excuse even of impossibility: it is therefore able to undertake all things; yea, and it completes many things and warrants them to take effect. Where he who

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does not love would faint and lie down." The inspiration of Humanity would enable us to dare and to do things apparently beyond our individual powers. Only under this high influence can noble life be lived. We cannot attain our finest life unless we feel ourselves consciously to be the agents and instruments of that higher power—unless we feel glowing within us the love and inspiration of Humanity.

In Her Will, be our peace.

THE INDIAN THEISTIC MOVEMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS

By the Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.

Theism in primitive religion.

In one sense, and that perhaps the truest and best, Theism is the most ancient religion of the race. In fact, it is co-extensive with religion. For it is coming to be perceived more and more that the most primitive tribes had an instinctive feeling of an indefinite and namelese presence in the more unusual manifestations of nature, as well as a feeling of inviolable sanctity in the bonds of tribal custom, before they conceived separate gods or ancestral manes; and that among these, again, the greater gods, usually with one greatest among the great, claimed the worship of man, before the multitude of lower deities, whether believed to be benevolent or malevolent. Thus through the ages, in the corridor of primeval history, were heard the footsteps of the coming Deity. What we have hitherto despised as Fetishism, Animism, Spiritism, even the jungly undergrowth of animistic, mimetic, sympathetic magic, are now seen to have been vital, not noxious, growths in the evolution of the social life: indeed, they were something more; they stood for man's perception of a Something beyond the veil of sense, some supernal manifestation of life and power, however dimly and grossly the symbols of that power might have been conceived.

Theism and Idolatry.

This is not an idle scientific belief, a theoretic result of our comparative or historic studies in Religion, but a potent practical principle in our dealings with other faiths and cults. Polytheism and idolatry, nay, even the grossest forms of animistic belief, are seen to be normal products of undeveloped minds, and, in the beginning, healthy and constructive when they were not anti-social. They have been outgrown in the march of the human mind and spirit, but there is no room for the intolerant and ignorant attitude which conceives them as inherently false, sinful and perverse. In fact, the religions of Nature or of Natural instinct may contribute certain pluralistic and symbolic elements to the theistic religion of the future.

The Catholicity of Indian Theism.

Indeed any such intolerance in a body of Indian Theists would be an aberration specially alien to the Indian mind. That handbook of Hindu Theism, the *Kusumanjali*, for example, acknowledges that the heretics in their worship of Reason, of an impersonal Intelligence, or of the Perfect Man, and even the rude mechanics in their worship of Vishwakarma, are seekers after the one Great God and, as such, included in the fold of Theism. Let us lay that great saying to heart.

Contributions of Ancient Religions to the Theistic religion.

We, Theists in India, then, with our tradition of religious toleration and catholicity dating from beyond Asoka, must make a world-religion of our faith, seeking to fulfil and not destroy all the faiths by which man has lived and died in any age or clime. Vedic and Hellenic polytheism will restore to us the lost sense of Nature, our natural piety, our kinship with the flowers, the rivers, and the mountains, our hope in the illumination of the dawn and our strength in the splendour of the charioted Sun. The Avesta will renew in us the sense

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of wonder and awe and mystery with which Humanity in the freshness of youth watched the rising and the setting sun, and the daily renewed struggle between the powers of Light and Darkness in the Heavens, and teach us the cosmic significance of the struggle between good and evil desire in the heart of man, calling us to enlist ourselves as votaries of Ahuramazda the good, in the march of the world. The pagan Roman with his house-hold gods, and the Japanese with his Shinto, will yield to us the sense of oneness in the generations of man, the sense of an ancestral and social solidarity.

THE HISTORIC THEISMS: THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUTURE RELIGION.

The great historic Theisms of the world, whether Christian, or Islamite, Vaishnabic or Shaibaite, will each bring to us new stores of reverence. One will teach us the sanctity of sorrow and suffering and the central need of sacrifice for the uplift of the poor, the oppressed and the fallen. Another will teach us a burning sincerity as of the sandy deserts of Arabia, the simplicity and single-mindedness of putting the Divine Will above everything else, and the secret of putting aside the trappings and garnishings of life and burning them up in an overmastering, perhaps even a fanatic, enthusiasm. A third will help us to accept life as the *Lila* or Play of Love, and to find in wife and mother, in friend and servant, the one Divine Lover, the infinitely great stooping to be infinitely little, to love and be loved. The fourth will teach us the secret of Yoga, of communion, meditation, contemplation, in one word Peace, amidst the storm and stress of an apathetic and even a hostile world. Our closest spiritual affinity however is with the religion of the Upanishads, those prophetic utterances of the ancient seers of India, for whom the dawn of thought illumined the abysmal depths of the spirit and to whose vision the world was first revealed under the form and superscription of Eternity. In these Upanishads meet the transcendent and the immament in an original intuition, which is creative of Reality, an intuition which is at once the mother of religion and of philosophy. But indeed these great historic religions cannot be thus exhausted of their contents; for they are not partial phases of the consciousness of man,—expressing as they do the whole of man's life on the natural and instinctive as well as on the ethical and the spiritual levels. They have a many-sidedness, an adaptation, and a flexibility, which are apt to be wanting in the creations of personal idealism. Thus it is that the historic religions are rich in symbols which appeal to the imagination and the artistic sense; they clothe the eternal verities with authority in the form of religious dogmas, and in their ceremonials and festive aspects they satisfy the social sense, the instinct of companionship and play, binding together their votaries in communal bonds. But, above all, they wield power over the masses, the simple unlettered multitude, ministering to their needs of consolation here and hope hereafter.

THE PROBLEM FOR OUR UNIVERSAL THEISM: HOW TO BECOME HISTORIC AND CONCRETE.

The historic Theisms, then, whether Hindu or later Buddhistic, Christian, Jewish or Islamic, have their advantages over the universal Theism we profess, and unless the latter consents to enrich itself with the blood of Humanity by becoming historic and concrete in its turn, it will always be in the air, as it were, an idea, no doubt a governing idea, in personal conduct and practice, but hardly a religion swaying the lives and destinies of masses of men.

THE PAN-HISTORIC CHARACTER OF INDIAN THEISM.

But Indian Theism in its effort to become concrete, historical, in one word, national, has the whole world of religion to draw from. The history of the religions of India is in a special sense world-history.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM HINDU THEISM.

Confining ourselves to Hindu Theism, it will be found that this Theism has assimilated elements of life from the most diverse cults and beliefs. Indian *Bhakti* (Devotion) is certainly indigenous, going back, as it does, to the Upanishads, with their recognition of *Varana* (Election), *Anupranana* (Inspiration), *Prerana* (Adesha) and *Prasada* (Grace); but whether in the earlier *Bhagavata Pancharatra* forms, or in the later Ramanujist revival, it has been in profitable (and stimulating) contact with Christian elements, specially the great ideal of a Redeeming God. Again, the Theistic

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Bhakti movements of Northern India, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, incorporated much of the simple monotheism and ethical severity and seriousness of Islam together with the democratic force which makes Islam essentially the religion of the masses. Indian Islam and Indian Christianity have in the same way been vitally influenced by the great ruling ideas and ideals of Hindu Theism.

India, the Religious Custodian of Future Humanity.

Indian Theism, in the past, has therefore been pan-historic in its sources and inspirations, and will be increasingly so with our modern cultural environment. This makes India in a special sense the religious custodian of future humanity. For it is becoming increasingly clear to the best minds of our age that the religion of the future will have the same pan-historic character, and that Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam, as four phases or embodiments of Religion, will each have a place in the collective Religion of the Race.

National Religious Reconstruction—the Task before Indian Theists.

That is the task before us—a work of religious reconstruction of the first magnitude. We have been content in the past to divest the Theistic faith of its supernatural, irrational, and non-moral wrappings in its various historical forms. We have also breathed a new life, progressive social ideals, democratic vistas, and a universal religion, into the old bodies of faith and tradition; but now that, with all these gains in modernity, we are entering on a more constructive Theism to-day, we must, following in the footsteps of our father and founder the Raja Rammohun Roy, again seek after God in history, God in the scriptures and the histories of the Nations—in other words, we must seek inspiration afresh from the historic Theisms of the world, that we may give a concrete historical Theism to our age and country.

The New Age in Religion: the Spheres of Religion, Philosophy, Science and Art.

Our own age: for our age has brought us a new religious idea, almost a new religious sense. It is not merely that religion is no longer divorced from Science, Philosophy or Art. Each of these, it is now seen, deals with experience as a whole, each seeks to reflect the universe-idea, or the idea of the absolute, though in different facets or from different angles. Science seeks to reduce all phenomenal experience to the unity of a system, proceeding from multiplicity to unity. Philosophy studies every concrete bit and fragment of experience in its relation to every other bit in the light of the whole system of experience, seeing in the phenomenal world the image and reflection of Eternity. Religion and Art also deal with experience as a whole, but not in a theoretical sense; they are both constructive and practical. But of the two, Art individualises the Universal, Religion universalises the individual. Art expresses the Universal in concrete modes and symbols, and projects all experience, even subjective experience, in an objective form. Art, in other words, creates outer symbols for the inner life. Religion is also creative, as creative as Art, but it creates the Universal out of the Individual. And it is primarily subjective, for the individual whom religion seeks to universalise is the universal subject. Religion is therefore in the first instance self-creative, and even where it seeks to create a kingdom of God in the social community or the State, that kingdom is the kingdom of the Spirit, not of the Flesh.

Mid-Victorian substitutes for Religion—Mixed religious types.

It follows at once from the above that Science, Philosophy, Art and Religion are co-extensive in their spheres. Religion must not comprise any matter of fact or law relating to Nature or History which is repugnant to scientific evidence; any norm of conduct repugnant to the moral ideal, any concepts, dogmas or beliefs repugnant to philosophic Reason; any symbolical representation or ceremonial repugnant to the artistic sense. What is even more important for our purpose is the recognition that neither Science nor Philosophy nor Art can take the place of Religion. All the mid-Victorian dreams of a scientific religion mis-called natural religion, or a philosophical religion, the so-called religion of pure reason, or an aesthetic religion, the worship of the beautiful or of Art as Art, are at once seen to be irrelevant, wholly beside the mark. There is no doubt a religion of Science, in other words, a religious interpretation of

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phenomenal experience generalised and unified. But the religion of Science is Religion, not Science. There is also a religion of Art, the appreciation of the art-ideal and of the various aesthetic *Rasas* as moments in the one ultimate *Rasa* (रसो वै सः) But this is Religion, not Art. Similarly, the religion of philosophy, the vision, the realisation, of the Absolute as the self, is religion, not Philosophy. It is true there are certain mixed types, a philosophical religion, as the religion of the Upanishads or a religious philosophy as of Shankaracharya and Spinoza; an aesthetic religion, as in certain forms of Radha-Krishna worship, or a religious Art as that of Dante in the Divine Comedy, or of Rabindranath Tagore in the Gitanjali. There is also a scientific and positive religion, as the positive religion of Comte; and there are indications that we may have shortly a religious science on the basis of a synthesis between physics and physiology, or, what is the same, between living and non-living matter. In the same way there may be a religion of work, of social service, of the social and household code of duties; but it is not duty as duty, or work as work, which is religion in this case, but work transformed into life and experience, work transmuted into the inner spiritual grace and freedom, work in the spirit of the *Mukta* (the Emancipated) or the *Bhakta* (the Saint). Each Science, each Art, each code, then, has an autonomy, is subject to its own laws or ends which religion must not seek to over-ride or dominate in their own particular sphere of thought or practice. But in the final organisation of life and experience these subordinate laws and ends must obey the regulative ideal of religion, in other words, the ideal of the complete or perfected life.

The *Yugadharma*—Categories of the Religious Life.

Let us now see how this new sense of religion, freshly recovered in our days after the eclipse it suffered in the utilitarian conventionalism of the mid-Victorian Era, approaches the eternal verities of the religious life, or what use it has for the great symbols which the mind and imagination of the race has constructed to give body and shape and universal currency to the inmost truths of religious experience. God as Father and Mother, God as Lover and Friend, God as King and Judge, those symbols of the relation between ourselves and our source; God as Revealer, Inspirer, Redeemer, those modes of the Divine manifestation in the life of the individual or the race,—or conversely, Man as worshipping, communing, sacrificing, praying, giving thanks and praise, singing psalms and hymns, those modes of the finite surrendering itself to the Infinite, whether individually in the closet, or congregationally in the House of God,—these and other constructions of the religious life are indeed of even deeper and fuller import from the standpoint of our universal Theism than they have been to the Churches and congregations of old. And this is because our life, our being and activity, have been deepened and widened with the process of the suns. For, the more we are enriched with the life-blood of humanity, the more we receive the influx of the spirit, the incoming flow of the life Divine, as fitter vessels of Grace and Communion.

God as Father, Mother, Friend and Lover.

In the Father we realize the Divine Transcendence, the infinititude of the expanse above and beyond us; in the Mother we realize the Divine immanence, the all-embracing plenitude of the expanse within us. In the Father we apprehend the Divine Idea or form, which gives the law to our activity, and prescribes our orbit and our goal; in the Mother we apprehend the Divine Matter, which upholds and sustains our being, and envelopes us in the end in the bosom of Rest and Peace. In the Father, we have a far-seeing love, the overseeing eye upon us; in the Mother, the ever-near love, the soft caressing hand that stills our throbbing. In the Divine Friend, we realize that the big universe around us is not an iron machine ready to crush us ruthlessly, or a blind Octopus ready to embrace us in its tentacles, but that the world-order bears good-will and trust, that, in truth, despite all contrary seeming, there is no strife between Nature's purpose and ours, but harmony and peace; and that the nature of things, the scheme of the world, calls for our loyal acceptance and trustful co-operation. In God our Lover we realize the Divine more intimately still in the privacy of solitary communion, an all-engulfing ecstacy. We realize that, soiled and sinful as we are, we are necessary to the life of the Universal Being,

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more necessary than all the gods and saints in their beatitude; that I, even as I am, am unique and of infinite and transcendent worth to this Being, my Lover and Seeker, whose Perfection is nought unless it wins my imperfection's hand and pledge.

God as Revealer, Inspirer and Redeemer.

He comes to us, the Revealer, the Inspirer, the Redeemer. Not to us to-day clad in the thunders and lightning of Sinai, but in the dust and the weed as in the star and the flower, in the waif and the street gamin as in the prophet and the saint, *Rishi* or *Nabi*. For Creation is our Scripture. Not in nature merely nor in the Soul merely, but in history also we find Him. The history of all creation is to us the self-revelation of the Deity in ever and ever fuller measure, in ascending grades of being. No central or final revelation, but a continual unfolding in new and varied forms of life and experience, that is for us to-day the Revelation of God to Man. He reveals and He inspires. This inspiration, this in-breathing of life, this inworking of the creative principle, is attested in the individual by an unfailing sign,—the individual stamp of an original creativeness in any form of living activity. He inspires, He redeems. But the redemption of the individual soul is for us to-day no passive but an active experience. The sense of conversion, election, grace, the experience of the twice-born, the new birth in the soul, as the inner subjective phase of redemption, will no doubt always remain as an accompanying mark; but of one thing the modern religious man stands assured, we are individually redeemed only so far as we share in God's redemptive activity—so far as we are redeemers ourselves by our life-giving service, our sacrifice in loving humility.

Man's ascent to God—outstanding problems.

But with us to-day the descent of the Infinite is no longer the miracle it used to be in ages past; it is the upward ascent of Man to God, of the Finite to the Infinite, that is the outstanding problem of the religious life, its tragedy and its paradox.

The problem of prayer.

Our prayers are apt to be construed as only subjective devotional exercises, good for the health of the soul from the medicinal point of view, useful as auto-suggestions or as exercises in self-hypnotism; but useless for everything else, for any practical needs of creatures of flesh and blood. For the creature needs a Father in Heaven, not a moral ineptitude, not an empty form of goodwill, not a scientific law, who cannot lift his paralysed arm to prevent even the fall of a sparrow, or by dint of goodwill save an erring weak will from ruin,—but a Father whose responses to the appeal of the sufferer in the hour of agony,—are more remedial and selective, in one word, more personal not less, than those of an earthly parent. The pompous distinctions between physical and spiritual benefit, between miraculous and natural intervention, between the realm of Law and the realm of Grace, are irrelevant to the suffering soul in the hour of agony. A pale bloodless dehumanised creed may suit a scientific automaton but not the man of flesh and blood.

The problem of Freedom.

Again, the problem of human freedom *versus* Divine Will is more than ever insistent in an atmosphere surcharged with pragmatic and humanistic currents, and can no longer be shelved as a metaphysical riddle of no practical interest or significance. We see with bewilderment, if not with dismay, that this human freedom which we have learnt to prize as the breath of life, cannot be saved unless we provide somehow for the really contingent in the universe, which by being contingent to man's reason, must also be contingent to God. These then are for us the three outstanding problems of the religious consciousness;—the problem of *freedom* in an age more than ever convinced of the value of freedom in every field of life and effort,—the problem of *evil* in an age more than ever conversant with the reality and the terribleness of pain and wasteful destruction in the scheme of biological evolution, and more than ever abhorrent and intolerant of pain and privation in all their forms,—and, lastly, the problem of *prayer*, the reality of free selective personal response from a personal God, in an age more than ever convinced of the worth of personality and the need of personal relationship in the unfolding life of the Spirit. And it is as well to recognize frankly that unless we boldly faced these problems, man's practical attitude towards God, which is the essence of

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religion, could not be placed on a sincere and rational basis; we should be left to a religion which is only half-sincere, a religion of compromise, a religion of make-believe, which is indeed worse than no religion at all.

God in the World. Recent suggestions.

In this sea of doubts and bewilderments, some religious souls find rest and peace in the idea of a world-spirit, who in His infinite wisdom and mercy imposes fetters on his own omnipotence that his beloved children may have scope for their free self-realisation, who in the history of creation manifests Himself as a suffering God. In the battle of the standard that is raging round us, He calls us as new recruits to a never-ending ever-beginning fight.

God, who is our Friend and Guide, our Master and Guru, turns a willing ear to the call of our entreaty, and is thus capable of sustaining our prayers and our thanksgiving, our love and our goodwill, our sympathy and our trust.

God and Social Service.

The upholders of this creed maintain that such a World-God not only beckons us to higher heights and deeper deeps but draws us closer to the homes and haunts of humanity, in field and country, in street and bazaar and workshop—yea in the slums and cesspools of our cities. Each of us, strong and weak, saint and sinner, wronged and wrongdoer, the man of faith as well as the man of unfaith, is a tabernacle of the World-spirit, unlit or dimly lit as the case may be, waiting for the lighting of the Lamp of lamps, waiting in the dark for the manifestation of His Real Presence. The service of man becomes the service of God—yea of the God in man. In view of these recent theological developments it is important to note that our Hindu forefathers, as well as the Christians in their prayers to God, have enjoyed much of that intimacy of personal communion which this concept of God may secure for the theistic worshipper of our day. To the monotheist the World-God is but the manifestation of Parabrahma in the world.

The Inner Discipline.

But every *Yugadharma*, every Revelation vouchsafed to a new age, enables us not only to see God anew, but also to find Him in a new path of discipline as the goal of a new *Sadhana*. What then is the method of spiritual culture in the Universal Theism of to-day?

Our quest is the consummate experience, 'The Perfect Life on Earth as the guarantee of the trascendent life, the Perfection beyond."

The starting point in this quest is our limited fragmentary experience facing three ways. The three gateways of Reality are willing, knowing and feeling, and the three ways are the Way of Work, the Way of Knowledge and the Way of Love.

In the way of work the individual begins with the pursuit of personal ends, and passes on to the middle station of duty for duty's sake, when all friction, struggle, effort ceases in "the rigour of dispassion," and this in its turn "gives way to love and spontaneity, to the sense of blessedness in the work." Egoism is now overcome, and the agent becomes conscious that he is merely the instrument of the Supreme Will.

In the way of knowledge the individual begins with reflection on the self. He discriminates and detaches the Self from the not-self;—the eternal from the transitory, the noumenal from the phenomenal. He passes on to the middle station on this road, "The knowledge of the self of self as the *Antaryami*, the witness, the Alpha and the Omega beyond the bounds of Space and Time." In the end, he sees the world as comprehended in himself, and the world and himself as comprehended in the Universal Self.

In the way of love the devotee begins with prayer and thanksgiving and praise. Worship expresses itself in acts of homage and completes itself in self-surrender. The Lord, the Master, the Guru becomes all in all. From adoration he passes on to the Love which cancels all difference. The Infinite puts off its veil of infinititude, the finite puts off its veil of illusion. The gulf is no more. As friend, as lover, as the world-child, He sports with His own. All experience of life, in fine, in the world, is the pursuit of this love.

Problems of practical organisation in the Theistic Churches.

But in whatever form the *Yugadharma* may win our individual allegiance, there is no doubt that for us Indian Theists the reconstruction of a pan-Indian, pan-historic, universalistic type of Theism is a prime spiritual need. And not only in the spiritual construction of the religious life but

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also in the practical organisation of our Samajas and Congregations, we are entering on an era of expansion and broadening outlook. This will appear clearly from an examination of some of the practical problems that face the Theistic Churches in India.

Membership and Creed.

I will first take up the question of membership of our Theistic churches, namely, the question of the formulation of creed and dogma as a condition of such membership.

The father and founder of the Brahma Samaj, Raja Rammohun Roy, laid down a very catholic and comprehensive platform. In the *Anusthana Patra* and other writings he favours the inclusion of all who practise contemplation of the origin of the universe and a code of ethical duties emanating from that source, and he fraternises with the *Nanak-Panthis*, *Dadu-Panthis*, the *Santas*, and such of the *Ramayats* as did not worship by means of shrines and images, not to mention the unitarian Christians and the followers of Islam. As to the ultimate source and origin of the universe, he did not lay down for the Samaja any hard and fast concepts or beliefs. He allowed full liberty to all manner of philosophical conceptions of the Godhead, of the absolute and infinite, with a comprehensiveness quite worthy of the *Kusumanjali* itself. Subsequently in the Brahma Samaja this wide interpretation of the Theistic position was narrowed down to a formulated creed of which there have been different enunciations, but this has not served to exclude from the membership of any Brahma Samaja individuals of widely divergent types of theistic (or even agnostic) belief. To-day the various Theistic bodies in the country, and even members of the same body, differ very widely from one another regarding their personal confession of faith, and no formulae can be devised which are not elastic enough to admit into their folds the most heterogenous and non-descript assortment of speculative beliefs and postulates. This has been the history of non-conformity in the West, and the Free Christians have at last abandoned all definitions of creed, all subscriptions and confessions of faith. Practically whoever elects to become a member gets in, and whoever wants to stay in does so, in all such free bodies, whether in the West or in the East. Even if any section of the Brahmo Samaj or other Theistic body were to start today with a hard and fast creed, the widest divergence in speculative matters would follow in the course of one or two generations, as no uniformity of philosophical or theological belief can be expected in the free and open atmosphere of modern thought and culture, and any zealous attempt to preserve purity and uniformity of faith would lead to ever-multiplying schisms and secessions. Even the established churches with their subscriptions and articles of faith supported by ecclesiastical preferments and ecclesiastical courts are uniform only in name, and conceal a miscellany of faiths under the appearance of unity.

A Common Ceremonial and a Common Personal Law.

Hinduism avoids this difficulty by having no theological creeds or dogmas, and by laying down only social observances and socio-legal customs as tests of conformity; and as a matter of fact this is the sort of test to which we must all ultimately come. Only in the Hindu community these practices are ceremonial or sacramental in their nature, but more and more the ceremonial bonds will disappear, and the connective tissue would come to be a common customary, a common personal law, which, in the end, will be replaced by a common territorial law. A common creed, a common ceremonial, a common personal law, and in the end a common territorial law,—these are the ascending stages in the march to a personal life within the life of the community.

The Theists of India welded together by faith in the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man, are more or less free from the fetters of a fixed creed and obligatory ceremonial, and any attempt to rivet the chain of creed or ceremony, whether in a theological interest, or as a preliminary to the evolution of a common personal law for the Brahmo community, would have to be considered with grave circumspection lest it should impede the free and progressive growth of Theism itself and prove to be reactionary and in the end as futile as reactionary,

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THE MARRIAGE ACT OF 1870 & SUCCESSION.

Again, the Theistic communities have no personal law of their own, for the Marriage Act (Act III of 1870) only legalises the marriage but does not necessarily change the personal law of the parties to the contract except in the matter of marriage itself. The fact that the Theists have no separate personal law would scarcely be a disadvantage in the present fluid and fluent state of these bodies, if only the parties to a marriage under the Act were allowed to choose their own personal law of succession and inheritance, i. e., either to retain the personal law in which they were born and bred, or to adopt the law under the Indian Succession Act, according to a declaration to be made at the time of the marriage or at some subsequent date. But in any case in the end personal law is bound to disappear in the territorial law, and if we want to have the disabilities of the various systems of personal law removed and at the same time are not satisfied with the Indian Succession Act, we may demand an improvement in its provisions.

But if this appears hopeless we may at any rate demand a personal law of our own without fettering ourselves with a ceremonial code, even if it were to be no more than a model or exemplar.

BOND OF UNION AMONG INDIAN THEISTS.

What is it, then, that serves as the bond of union among the Indian Theists? No doubt, in some of our churches there have been internal bonds in the shape of creeds, liturgies and Samhitas (ceremonial codes), though as we have seen even these creeds are coming to be more and more elastic, if not nominal or obsolete. But in the absence of a common subscription or confession or a common ceremonial or personal law, is there a Theistic community or communal life? The answer is clear. The *de facto* bond is membership of some Theistic congregation based on similarity of convictions, aspirations and ideals, partly religious and partly social; and as new Samajas are formed, or the existing ones multiply or subdivide, the common hopes and ideals will become more and more indefinable in terms of positive formulation, until, in the end, with the widening of religious ideals, there will be only one congregation left, that of the worshippers of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful God, held together in the Church Universal, the Church of all time. That is the only congregation that lasts, that runs like a golden thread through the web of time. All other churches are aisles of this one church, choirs within this one congregation.

THEISTS AS REFORMERS, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL.

But in the meanwhile we have also some negative bonds and marks. We are bodies of practical reformers, and like all such bodies, whether in the social or in the religious field, we are held together by our practical programme of reform, at any rate until our reforms are accomplished. We, who are mainly of Hindu extraction, have rejected certain practices of the orthodox community;—we have had no need to reject any tenets or dogmas, as Hindu orthodoxy insists on none. We have rejected idolatry, idolatrous ceremonials and Sanskaras (sacraments), caste, non-adult marriage, the Zenana system, and the compulsory celibacy of widows. These negative marks, by dividing us from the orthodox Hindu folds, have drawn us together. But as reform associations our Theistic bodies have a peculiar character. Some reforms, as in matters of food, drink, dress, can be practised by individuals independently of social acceptance. Some require co-operation of other individuals, or of the general body of the people, or of the State itself. Reforms may also be divided according as they do or do not lead to excommunication from general social intercourse, according as they are or are not usually inherited from father to son, or according as they do or do not require or obtain any State recognition. Social and religious reforms generally require co-operation, are often under a social ban, and are likely to be inherited.

The Theists in rejecting idolatry, caste, and non-adult marriage, became pronounced reformers of this type, and naturally formed a community with a social cohesion based on marriage and commensality among themselves. They also required and obtained legislative sanction. In the absence of a general civil marriage Act, a special marriage facility was granted by the State in their case, *viz.*, the removal of the disability under which they laboured in contracting mar-

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riages in accordance with their own programme of reform. But Indian Society is rapidly passing to the stage in which a legal provision for a Civil Marriage Act without reference to religious persuasion or creed is one of the decencies, if not the necessaries, of civilized life ; and when this is secured, the cumbrous Act III of 1870, with its curious negative declaration will become a dead letter. Not a special Brahmo Marriage Act, but a general Civil Marriage Act without any declaration, positive or negative, as to the religious persuasion of the parties concerned, should be the objective of our efforts. A special Brahmo Marriage Act is likely to present grave difficulties, whether we define a Brahmo by creed or ceremonial ; or maintain registers for the purpose of the Act, or leave the matter to the declaration of the parties themselves. A general Civil Marriage Act, on the other hand, will give a general relief in the simplest and most effective way. Indeed large numbers of our orthodox brothers will also profit by such an Act to provide a safeguard against polygamy and other risks to which the orthodox marriage bond is now liable, as well as to celebrate intercaste and adult marriages and the remarriage of widows. Further, a Brahmo Marriage Act will be a barrier against the the rapprochement of the orthodox community and the Theistic reformers, while a Civil Marriage Act will hasten their union.

Social Reform : Marriage and the Family.

In fact, the Theistic reformers are being more or less overtaken by the most cultured and advanced sections of the orthodox society, at any rate in Bengal. Non-idolatrous monotheistic worship, or the non-performance of an idolatrous Shraddha or other Sanskara, is no longer under an effective ban. The Zenana system has mitigated its extreme rigour, thanks to the exigencies of railway travel and health resorts, if not also to female education in part. Child marriage is doomed. Widow re-marriage is being celebrated under orthodox Hindu auspices, though an infinitesimal fraction has reaped any relief therefrom. But what remains to be done is a matter of social education. Lastly, caste in the educated classes now turns on the pivot of marriage only, at least in Bengal, where restrictions on food and commensality are now matters of the past. Among the masses, caste no doubt performs some useful functions still, *viz.*, those of industrial guilds including apprenticeship, as well as of the preservation of social morals. But among the educated classes all the useful functions of caste organisation are non-est, and the arrestive and disuniting effect alone remains, as well as the now useless and very often positively hurtful function of endogamy. But there is reason to believe that, with the growth of individualism, the spread of culture and of female education, and the weakening of the joint family and other ties of dependence on the family group, intercaste marriages will take deeper root in the great Hindu society, once the trammels of an artificial English-made Hindu law are removed ; and such marriages will again be recognised as legal, as they were for long generations recognised in the ranks of the Bengal Vaishnavas under the rulings of the Hari-Bhakti-Vilas, and of the Shaivaite community under the rulings of the Shivanushasana,—and as they still are in the *anuloma* form in the independent Kingdom of Nepal,—before the English ignorance of Hindu usages stereotyped the canonical Smritis and arrested the natural development of Hindu personal law.

Scientific Principle of Social Reform.

If, therefore, we theists are to remain in the van-guard of social reform, we must now form a programme of advanced social and socio-economic work on sound scientific lines. We have hitherto taken our social reform measures piecemeal. We have been actuated by motives of social justice and compassion in the fight against social evil and tyranny. Such motives must always remain the mainspring of social reform, but in a new and complex situation, where the reform amounts to re-construction of the basis of social life, we must be guided by an intelligent insight into the biological and economic principles which govern the evolution of that life.

Take, for example, the institution of the family.

The Hindu family has a certain patristic structure and is based on a certain conception of the marital relation and of parenthood. In the orthodox society, the age of marriage, the selection of bride and bridegroom, the dowry arrangements, the social as well as the legal status of the widows,

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the rights of women regarding maintenance and succession, have all been regulated with reference to that family structure. A radical change in any one of the arrangements must affect the others, and the reformer must therefore keep the whole *ensemble* in view. For example, many of us Theists have departed from the spirit of the joint family, even where we have kept up the form. Again, we desire to give our womankind full liberty of choice in the selection of partners in life, that great psycho-social stimulus to the development of a genuine personal life. But we fail to appreciate all that is involved in such a change, and accordingly our minds are confused, our efforts straggling and ill-concerted, and our achievement slow, uncertain and dissipated in friction and discord. To come to concrete illustrations, we have done away with the dowry but we have introduced no marriage settlements, such as are customary among Christians and Mohamedans. Our married daughters have usually no *Stridhana*, no part and parcel, direct or indirect, in the parental property. This is in the first place a one-sided conception of the responsibilities of parenthood, involving an injustice to the daughters in favour of the sons, and this militates fundamentally against our desire to give a genuine personal life to our womenfolk: for personality and personalty, ownership of soul and ownership of property, go hand in hand in progressive social evolution. What is more, so far as the joint family is breaking down, and our married couples are beginning to start new homes, the want of such settlements operates as a check against marriage, and helps the increasing unwillingness on the part of young men and women to take up the burdens of family life, or at least of an increasing family.

Again, the new social arrangements in our Theistic Communities necessary for making marriages by free choice possible in fact, instead of merely in name, are in a very rudimentary stage and what we have so far achieved in this direction is to put new wine in old, very old bottles. But these are only preliminaries.

Fundamental Questions.

More fundamental questions will soon be pressing for solution. Adult marriages contracted by mutual choice, with whatever degree of parental control, must bring with them new problems of the marital relation, bearing on the legal status of husband and wife, problems which cannot be indefinitely shelved.

As for the legal status of the widow in intestate succession, it is uncertain under Act III of 1870, whether and under what conditions the Indian Succession Act or the Hindu Law would apply.

Points of Inquiry for a Brahmo Census.

It is incumbent upon our theistic churches to take a census giving us the facts as to the maintenance or otherwise of the normal equilibrium in the proportion of marriageable young people of both sexes of certain specified periods of age. We ought also to have the facts regarding the normal dimensions of our families and the fecundity of adult marriages in our communities with the proportions of male and female birth. The rate of marriage and number of bachelors and spinsters above the usual marriageable age are also proper matters or inquiry. And in the light of these statistics we must proceed to inquire into the economic factors that influence marriage and whether in these incipient communities such factors are operating healthily or unhealthily.

University Extension for our Women.

Another important and closely connected question is the high education of our girls, how far and in what direction the University and high school courses may require to be modified to suit the needs of women and how the physiological drain of public examinations on the adolescent female constitution may be avoided or minimised in the interests of the race. A programme of University Extension for women with systematic courses of lectures in various subjects in the vernacular followed by examinations and diplomas is one of the practical needs of the hour. The claims of Art and Music to a fuller recognition in the University and high school courses must come up in this connection, as also the provision of adequate facilities for the training of women for vocations like Teaching and Medicine for which women's work is in imperative demand and more so in this country than in any other.

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The next point to which I would draw attention is the growth among our community of the habit of residing in towns, in many cases in crowded tenements. This may have been the outcome of many existing circumstances—but it must be admitted that this state of things is far from being desirable, considered either from the social, sanitary, or ecconomical point of view. Our friends must cultivate and realise a strong attraction for and be associated with land and rural life before we can expect a healthy and sturdy development in ourselves.

Social culture must begin with the growth of codes of etiquette; and in a free community like ours the absence of such a code is a regrettable fact. Let us trust that amongst our countrymen generally and our members particularly, a proper code of etiquette based upon culture and sincerity will soon grow to help our social intercourse.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES—MISSION TO THE PEOPLE.

In Bengal, the question of caste, for the educated classes, reduces itself to that of intermarriages. I have already dealt with this aspect of the question. But whether in Bengal, in Bombay, in Southern India, or elsewhere, the most vital and urgent social problem of the day is the uplifting of the depressed classes, the "untouchables," who form the masses of the people in India. The old Hindu agencies, whether Vaishnavic or Shaivaite, which brought so many aboriginal tribes, many of them with head-hunting tendencies, into the Hindu fold, by silently adding a Brahmanical Sacramental leaven to the aboriginal cult and which also often gave them a status in the hierarchy of caste by inventing a Kshatriya, a Vratya-Kshatriya or a Brahma-Kshatriya pedigree for the more powerful chiefs, have almost ceased their missionary activities. Islam, more successful than Christianity in the jungles and fastnesses of Central and Northern Africa, has not made much headway among the Indian aboriginal tribes. But Christianity has recently had a great missionary revival, comparable to what we are told of its power with the masses under Xavier himself, and the great mass movement of our day in Southern India towards Christianity must bring home to us, Indian theists, the responsibility that sits on us to save for them the indigenous Indian culture and tradition by opening up to them the portals of hope and comfort, both here and hereafter. For no form of religion has any life-value to-day which fails to yield a living inspiration and social service, more specially the service of the lowly and the overburdened, the afflicted and the downcast, the oppressed and the fallen; and devotional religion in our Samajes, if it be not a mere luxurious sensation, must go out among the depressed classes in loving humility and patient live-giving service.

A PRACTICAL RELIGION FOR THE MASSES.

In organising the religious life of the masses we may receive guidance from an intelligent study of the methods by which the great historic religions have been brought home to the people in all ages and climes. The outstanding features of such attempts in the past have been: (1) The laying down of certain simple practical rules of conduct for implicit religious observance, with the authority of a canonical code or sacred table such as the *Pancha-silas* (the five religious duties) of the ancient Hindus, the Buddhists, and the Jainas, the Commandments of the Mosaic law and similar Islamic and Confucian tables, enjoining honesty, chastity, temperance, truthfulness, neighbourly charity, kindness to men and animals and the worship of God or prayers at stated hours or seasons; and (2) The institution of certain festivals and popular gatherings, with singing, reciting, play-acting, dancing, eating and drinking, &c., to enlist the instinct for social play for the service of social religion. We Indian theists must adopt these methods to modern social wants in the Indian village environment. A popular religion for the Indian masses of to-day must be based on *Bhakti* or devotion to God (Hari, Shiva Vishvakarma, Allah, the use of the name depending on the folk concerned) without definition of creed or dogma, and with a simple code of religious duties, expressing the Divine will and bearing on conduct.

Among the religious duties the chief will be temperance (or total abstinence principles), chastity, truthfulness, neighbourly charity, kindness, cleanliness, sacredness of infant life, respect for women as mothers of the race, avoidance of extravagance on festive occasions, and, above all, the sacredness of one's handiwork, so that faithful

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work may be synonymous with the faithful service of God (Vishwakarma or Allah). The popular countryside festivals and religious gatherings must be kept up, to keep alive the spirit of cheerfulness and play in the people. But the festivals should be simplified, purified, and beautified, adapted to the changes of the seasons in Nature. The *Sanskaras*, the sacraments of birth and death, of initiation and marriage, should be simple, touching and sublime, with the simplicity, the pathos the sublimity of man's life. Methods of popular education with all modern appliances, eked out wherever possible by indigenous institutions, like *Kirtan*, *Kathakata* and *Yatra*, should be pressed into the service of popular religion.

If this is the Yugadharma and these the practical problems of organisation for the Indian Theists of the present generation, the question must be raised how all this is related to the history of the movement of Universal Theism in the country since the advent of its father and founder the Raja Rammohun Roy. That movement has run through three phases, and is now entering on a fourth.

The first phase—that embodied in the Raja himself, gives us the foundations and the ground-plan of Universal religion. Dominated by the concept of Brahma as the Absolute Reality, the Raja viewed the panorama of the world in Nature as well as in History, as the manifestation of Brahma, a manifestation in higher and higher grades of being, in the inorganic world, in the varied forms of life, in moral force such as Brahmacharyya and Tapasya in the Scriptures—above all in the Atman, the Self. The way to find Him is not by withdrawing the Self from the world and remaining serenely poised in the cessation of all activities and all relations, but by realising our being in His being, our consciousness in His consciousness, our bliss in His blessedness. To grow into the cosmic consciousness, that is Mukti, liberation from bondage,—to be attained by the constant practice of Upasana, meditation on the Brahma, and the pursuit of *Lokashreya*, the well-being of all creation. In the Raja's philosophy of life, each science, each art, each social institution has natural ends of its own, which are legitimate objects of pursuit, in their own sphere and which religion must not seek to override or frustrate: but they all find in religion their ultimate bond of unity, their ideal fulfilment in an ultimate harmony and reconciliation. And the Raja was himself the grand living synthesis which was the quest of his philosophy. In his own person the Raja was a complex of half a dozen personalities: an Upanishadic Hindu, an agnostic Buddhist, a rationalistic Mahomedan, a Unitarian Christian, a ulilitarian Confucite—not by turns—changing with the phases of the moon as so many eccentrics before him and after; —but all fused together, harmonised in the Humanitarian Cosmopolite—a realised Universal Man, prophet and precursor of the Coming Race in his Universal Religion.

The second phase, that of the religious life dominated by the concept of Paramatman, the Self of Self, was centred in the Raja's spiritual heir and successor, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the life of the modern as opposed to the medieval saint. No religion has any life-value which cannot present before us its own Jivanmukta—its great exemplar, its Man-in-God: and the Maharshi rendered a unique service to the cause of universal religion by showing to the world the type of the modern mystic and seer. But the Maharshi gives us not only the personal life which is the supreme test of a religion, the life of communion with the Divine which transfigures work and service into freedom and the blessedness of the spirit, he gave something more to his countrymen. He gave the theological moulds, the religious concepts and constructions in which to cast the widening religious experiences of the new age; he tested the ultimate philosophy of life of the West by that of the East; and he tested both the Eastern and Western religious traditions by his own living experience, his own inner life-history. He opened up for the nascent or renascent India of his times a middle path, a via media, between the two paths of life, the Eastern and the Western which crossed each other, and he incorporated much of the Western belief regarding man's life and destiny into the religious dogmas which he constructed—though for one who was spiritually as well as lineally a descendant of the Holy Rishis of India, the Perfect Life was framed with Upanishadic setting. The Maharshi will remain the spiritual Guru of universal theism for a long time to come.

Next followed the third phase of the Theistic history, a phase dominated by the concept of God as Bhagavan, the

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Lord of Dispensations. This phase we find embodied in Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, the Man of the New Dispensation. He was the type of the supreme creative artist in the sphere of religious life, a genius equally prolific in creating creeds and dogmas, types and symbols, rites and sanhitas (codes). He would coin into flesh and blood, as it were, the religious ideas that have been held in solution in all religious and ecclesiastical history. To mention a few of these—the great-man doctrine in religion, the doctrine of the Logos and the son of God, the Christo-centric community of Prophets, the pilgrimage to the saints, the communion of all souls, the church invisible, the church as the organ of the corporate religious life, the apostolic durbar, the doctrine of special inspiration (Adesh), the sacraments of the new baptism and the new homa, a New Samhita a, sacramental code, a new flag and emblem, an All-India Theistic mission, the revival of Sankirtan, God-vision and madness in religion, the synthesis of Yoga and Bhakti as disciplines, the scripture of life (Jivan Veda), the social reform propaganda, and the Marriage Act. These were among his amazingly prolific constructions: but the most luminous of all was his vision of harmony of all religions and all dispensations, which will remain one of the beacon lights of future religious history.

The fourth phase of this religious renaissance in modern India opens on the present generation. We are confronted with the great task of organisation, the task of consolidation and of expansion alike. We theists feel to-day the imperative need of drawing closer to our kith and kin, our flesh and blood, in the bosom of the mother—the mother society in which we were born and bred, whose blood runs in our veins, whose bounty feeds us as a mighty river feeds its many branches. Our greeting of love goes forth to our brethren, in the name of Bharatavarsha, the land of the Himalayas, the Vindhyas, and the Nilgiris, girdled by the Indian ocean, and watered by the seven streams. But we call them not to the battle for rights, the din of controversy, the dusty and clamorous contests for the prizes of this world. We call them to the altar of sacrifice, to lay down each his pride of birth, of riches, of talents: to lay aside every cherished privilege and power, every exclusive boon and bounty, on the altar of sacrifice, for a common participation in the common life of the Mother. The call of renunciation has ever been the call of Mother India—renunciation for the sake of Brahmavapti, the absolute fulfilment and fruition; and it is only by patient humble toil in this spirit of self-renunciation among the poor and blind and hungry masses of our brethren, in field and bazar and workshop, that we can be true to our Mother, the common mother of us all. Such has been Mother India's age-long sadhana of fulfilment in renunciation, of *Anandam* (bliss) risen out of the deeps of tribulation; and in Her name we shall go forth to the world preaching deliverance from the spirit of unrest and strife, preaching *Maitri* to all, preaching Peace, the Peace of Brahma to a world distraught, and Emancipation to a world in chains.

Presidential address delivered at the All-India Theistic Conference held in Bombay, December 25, 1915.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. *Translated from the original Bengali by Satyendra Nath Tagore and Indira Devi. Macmillan & Co., 1914. Pp. xiii and 295. Price 7-6 net.*

The inner history of a noble soul is bound to be of absorbing interest to those who can boast of such a thing always, not every man who can boast of a soul *dynamic*, and not *static*. Such a history we have in the Autobiography of Devendranath, a remarkable production, but which is sure to prove "weary, stale, flat and unprofitable" to those who have not tasted of the joys and sorrows of the deeper life. But those who have entered into the spirit of but be surprised at the richness and wealth of the book, and it is but a poor eulogy

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to say that it has enriched Bengali literature to an extent which the general reader is hardly aware of.

This translation, therefore, which we have before us, though it is only a pious tribute to the memory of a saintly parent, is really a contribution towards world-literature. It has placed before a wide circle of readers the inner workings of one of those souls which were in tune with the Infinite, and which therefore could not but give out the divinest of music.

The Autobiography has an Introduction by Evelyn Underhill, an Introductory Chapter by the translator, two Appendices containing some select Sermons and Prayers by the Maharshi, and several other extracts. The translation has, as in the original Bengali, thirty-nine chapters in all.

The plan of the book is admirably suited to make the life of this great man intelligible to those who are not in touch with the modern currents of Indian thought. The introductory chapter by the Translator serves, so to say, the purpose of a context to the life of the Maharshi by placing it in a true perspective with relation to the movement known as the Brahmo Somaj, while the Introduction by Evelyn Underhill is really a translation of the spiritual life of Devendranath "into that language of spiritual experience which is most familiar to Western students." Without some such interpretation the Eastern mystic would have remained a puzzle, a curiosity, or rather a curio, to the Western mind. But, as it is, it will enable the appreciative reader to enter into the meaning of the various stages of development of the Maharshi's life. The writer has traced its growth step by step with remarkable insight into the movements of an Oriental's mind, and has touched upon all the important points which mark the "saltatory ascents." In this fine analysis have been recorded with an unfailing hand the ups and downs of a growing soul,—and there *are* ups and downs in the life of even the most exalted natures,—and the writer has noted faithfully the constant swing of the spiritual pendulum from light to darkness, and from darkness to light, which chequer the ground-plan of every elevated mind. But that which is most helpful to the Western student is the constant and illuminating parallelism drawn between the Maharshi and the Western Saints at every critical turn of the former's onward move, and these parallel experiences taken from the lives of the Mystics of the West, with which the occidental mind is familiar, are calculated to help much the proper understanding of the history of this noble devotee. We strongly recommend this Introduction to those also who have had the privilege of reading the original in Bengali, because we have no doubt that it will throw a new light on their study of the man.

We have incidentally noticed above the Introductory Chapter by Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, and have pointed out its real utility. Here we have a brief sketch of the Maharshi's life and also of the Brahmo Somaj. The account given of the latter is singularly lucid, illuminating and impartial, and Mr. Tagore has assigned his father his legitimate place in the history of this revivalist movement. Naturally the latter half of this history resolves itself into the life of Keshub Chunder Sen, on whom the mantle worthily fell. The account of the part played by the Brahmananda has been on the whole very appreciative, but we must say that in one or two points the writer has done an injustice to Keshub. Says he, "He [Keshub] surrounded himself with a band of devoted followers, some of whom worshipped him as an Avatar with blind unreasoning faith." We know that this charge was brought against Keshub at that time, and also we know that it has often been repeated by a certain class of writers, but we hardly expected to see a repetition of this accusation come once more from the pen of Mr. Tagore, who has given us an otherwise faultless *resume* of this important movement. We should be glad to know the authorities on the strength of which he makes such a damaging statement.

Now we turn to the main book itself—the Autobiography proper, and here one cannot but be struck by the simple, straightforward and unostentatious outpourings of the soul,—a narrative which at once convinces and satisfies. In it we are brought face to face with the doubts and solutions, hopes and despairs, longings and fulfilments, and raptures and disappointments of a soul thirsting after God, and it is good for us to be here.

This Autobiography, however, has a twofold significance,—not merely is it the soul-history of Devendranath, but a key to the religion of the Brahmo Somaj, too. Considered as the first, we find here how the thoughtful and despondent young man grew into an enthusiastic devotee. We see distinctly the steps he took on his passage from darkness to light, and how the Divine revealed Himself into the human. The characteristics which stand prominently out are an uncompromising monotheism, a fearlessly critical attitude of the mind, an unreserved surrender to the will of God, a devotional spirit which maddened him, a union with the supreme soul which threw him into raptures, and a deep love of nature which made him travel from place to place in search of the Beautiful Face of Him who is revealed in His own handiwork. We discover here also that the religious life is not an even, onward flow, but a life full of surprises,—surprises of the spirit, which carry the soul by sudden thrusts forward, so to say.

Viewed as a key to Brahmoism, we find in the experiences of the Maharshi the true source and fountain-head of all that is life-giving and spiritual in this new movement. The basic principles of the latter, the philosophy with which it began, and the attitude of the mind which makes the acceptance of this new Truth not only possible but inevitable, are all to be met with in the spiritual adventures of the Pradhan Acharya. The faith of the Somaj grew with his faith, the spiritual fervour which has set its seal upon this religious revival took its colouring from that of his own, and the peculiar system of worship which characterises Brahmoism got its shape defined by the deeper experiences of the Seer. Indeed the Brahmo Samaj did not stop where the Maharshi did, but though it fast outgrew the garments into which it was first put, it, however, retained the shape into which it was originally moulded by him, and the stamp of his genius is evident everywhere. Thus this first-hand recital of things of vital importance to the Brahmo Somaj is of more than ordinary interest to Brahmos, and we can only wish that the biographer had not closed his narrative at the forty-first year of his life. It would have been of the highest value to us to have from his pen an account of the differences which led ultimately to the first schism in the Somaj, and it would certainly have thrown a flood of light upon his relations with the Brahmananda. But strangely enough he stops in his narrative, and rather abruptly, just where Keshub comes in. Though no mention whatever is made of

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him, and we are left to solve the mystery as best we can. Could Mr. Tagore, or anyone else, enlighten us on this point?

It now remains for us only to point out that this book is a reprint of a first edition published by Messrs. S. K. Lahiri and Co., in 1909, with the Introduction by Evelyn Underhill added to the original matter. Otherwise there have been but few significant changes, excepting some in the Introductory Chapter. The footnotes indispensable in translations like this, are a little more copious in the English Edition for evident reasons. We should, however, have liked to see all the matter included in the appendix of the first edition retained in the present one, and very much regret this unfortunate and inexplicable curtailment of valuable and inferesting reading. The translation is on the whole very successful, but perhaps a bit too literal. The frontispiece of the volume is a portrait of the Maharshi at eighty years of age, drawn by Mr. Abanindranath Tagore.

NIRANJAN NIYOGI.

The Arya Samaj: *An account of its origin, doctrines, and activities, with a biographical sketch of the founder, by Lajpat Rai, with a preface by Professor Sidney Webb, LL B., of the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London). With ten illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London. Pp. 205.*

We owe an apology to the author and publishers of this book for not having been able to notice it earlier. It is a well-written and well got-up book, and we have read it with great pleasure and profit. It is as full an account as the ordinary reader would wish to read of Swami Dayananda's life and teachings and the movement inaugurated by him. And one could not wish an abler or better informed exponent of the system—if it could be so called, than the author. The illustrations, including portraits of the founder, the author of the book and two other prominent workers, are all good. The biography at the end of the book gives a list of English books on the Samaj written by both Indians and non-Indians. The life of the founder as given in the book, is an inspiring study. We extract a passage from the end of the first chapter, where the author speaks of Dayananda's leave-taking from Swami Virajananda, with whom he had studied the Vedas :—"The day of leave-taking was a memorable occasion for both pupil and teacher. It was on that day that Swami Virajananda demanded the customary fee which in old times every *Brahmachari* had to pay to his *Guru* on the day of leave-taking. Virajananda knew that Dayananda had nothing of worldly value to offer him, nor did he himself care for any such gift. What he asked of his pupil was a pledge to devote his life to the dissemination of truth, to the waging of incessant warfare against the falsehoods of the prevailing Puranic faith (faith based on the Puranas), and to establish the right method of education, as was in vogue in pre-Buddhist times. This pledge Dayananda gave willingly, and with a solemn joy: and never was any human pledge kept more loyally and faithfully."

Dayananda's meeting with the Brahmo leaders in Calcutta is thus narrated :—"The Brahmo Samaj accorded him a hearty welcome, and some of its leading members conferred with him with a view to win his co-operation for their movement; but the Swami could not give up his faith in the infallibility of the Vedas and the doctrine of transmigration of souls, the two cardinal principles which distinguish the Arya Samaj from the Brahmo Samaj. His visit to Calcutta however, brought him into immediate contact and intimate touch with the leaders of the English educated community. Here he learned their points of view and benefited thereby. For instance, Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, the respected leader of the Brahmo Samaj, suggested to him the supreme importance of carrying on his propaganda in the language of the people, a practical suggestion that was readily and gratefully accepted by the Swami. It was put into operation at once. This single step made a mighty difference in favour of his mission, since it brought him into direct touch with the bulk of his countrymen, both educated and uneducated, who did not know Sanskrit and could not understand him except through translators and interpretors. In Calcutta he made the acquaintance of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the father of the now famous Rabindranath Tagore, whose Brahmoism had more in common with the faith of Dayananda than the religious beliefs of the other leaders of the Brahmo Samaj"

The account of the educational work of the Arya Samaj and of that connected with the elevation of the depressed classes, given in the book will be found very interesting. One may not agree with the ideal or methods of education which commend themselves to the leaders of the Samaj, and the way in which they 'purify' the depressed. But their energy and self-sacrifice deserve all praise.

What one misses in the book is a reasoned exposition of the doctrines of the Samaj, specially an exposition, if any were possible, of the astounding doctrine which chiefly distinguishes the movement from the Brahmo Samaj, namely that the Vedas are infallible. That reasoned expositions of religious doctrines are not in demand in the Samaj seems to show a rather low stage of spiritual consciousness in the members. This seems to be confirmed by the utter absence in the book under notice of any account of devotional life or movements in the Samaj. If all this indicates a state of spiritual barrenness in the Samaj, as is alleged by some of its critics, then the claim put forward by our author, in behalf of the Samaj, that the future of Hindu Theism is identified with it, might be a groundless claim. However, as to the dogma of Vedic infallibility, does not the absence of an earnest defence of the doctrine indicate that the leaders of the Samaj look upon it more as a policy to attract the ignorant and the uneducated than as a serious article of faith? Some of Dayananda's critics allege that with the Swami it was nothing but a policy and that he admitted it to be so. We should have been glad if our author had taken up the point and made it clear. No movement, least of all a religious movement, can stand upon a *lie*—a conscious falsehood. If the Arya Samaj, its leaders at any rate, are conscious that the dogma of Vedic infallibility is untenable, in the light of science and free-thought, the sooner this is distinctly avowed the better for the moral integrity and the spiritual future of the Samaj.

S. TATTVABHUSHAN.

1. The Research Magnificent. *By H. G. Wells. Pp. 406. Price 2s. 6d. Macmillan's Empire Library.*

The hero of this new Wells Novel, Mr. Benham, was "led into adventure by an idea." This idea first took possession of him in his early boyhood and dominated his life to the end. That idea cannot justly be stated in a formula or an epigram but it was essentially simple. He had "an incurable, an almost intrinsic persuasion that he had to live life nobly and thoroughly." He blundered, he fell short of himself,

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but he went for this preposterous idea of nobility as a linnet hatched in a cage will try to fly. He spent the greater part of his life studying and experimenting in the noble possibilities of man. This research practically absorbed all his time and interest. He conducted it in a thoroughly earnest manner and kept regular and methodical notes. When he died, his friend, White, the journalist and novelist, discovered in his rooms a whole crammed bureau, half a score of patent files, and a writing-table drawer all full of his notes about this research.

We venture to state that this remarkable "passion for research in the noble possibilities of man" and habit of bulky and systematic note-making," Mr. Wells has borrowed for his hero from himself. We remember having seen a caricature of this talented author which simply represented him thus—?. That caricature revealed the chief characteristic of Mr. Wells' mind—inquisitiveness. A biography of Mr. Wells could appropriately be published under the little which his own book bears—The Research Magnificent. The innumerable novels, romances, pamphlets, short stories and newspaper articles which he has written are really the notes which he has made in the course of his absorbing search for the Modern Utopia!

II. The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman. *By H. G. Wells. Pp. 465. Price 2s. 6d. Macmillan Empire Library.*

This Mr. Wells' latest book, represents his notes on what is now generally referred to as the Woman Question. Prominent as was this question before the outbreak of the European War, it is bound to become still more pressing after peace is resumed. During the course of the War a very large number of women have taken up positions temporarily vacated by men who are serving as soldiers or sailors. When these men come back to take up their old positions, the consequent disemployment of a large number of women who have enjoyed a taste of economic independence is bound to impart a fresh impetus to the Movement for feminine emancipation. How this Woman question would be settled, if settled at all, in the world of practical politics, we do not know. Mr. Wells, however, suggests in this book that the only thing that can solve this question for each individual woman, is—Love.

III. The Extra Day. *By Algernon Blackwood. Pp. 358. Price 2s. 6d. Macmillan's Empire Library.*

Mr. Blackwood, the author of this charming children's story, is indeed the possessor of a unique talent among present day writers. *The Extra Day* is the record of the adventures of a delightful trio consisting of Judy, Tim and Maria. "It is impossible to say exactly what their ages were, except that they were just the usual age, that Judy was the eldest, Maria the youngest, and that Tim, accordingly came in between the two." The children were as happy as any children can be. The only two things that bothered them were Aunt Emily who was a living embodiment of No, and *Time*. "Time for bed!" "Time's up!" "Time to get up!"—it was *always* time to do this or that, or stop doing something or other. Time was their chief enemy and they hated it with all the hatred that they were capable of. They would now and then deliberately forget to wound up their alarum clock and feel delighted to think that this would bother *Time* and muddle it. Their persistent efforts to get behind Time were however at last rewarded by the capture of one entire day that clocks and calendars have failed to record. The story of this *Extra Day* makes a really delightful reading.

IV. Rambling Thoughts. *By Manindra Prasad Sarvadhikari. Pp. 19. The Lila Printing Works, 14, Madan Baral Lane, Calcutta.*

A collection of poems on diverse subjects written in the poet's "younger days."

V. The Necessity for Charity Registration and Charity Organization. *Pp. 23. Published by the Joint Honorary Secretaries, Zoroastrian Association, Princess Street, Bombay.*

This pamphlet has been publised by the Zoroastrian Association to explain a resolution passed by its Managing Committee to the effect that "there is a need in this country for an Act for the Registration of the Instruments and Properties of Public Charitable Trusts, and the regular filing of accounts relating thereto." A very useful publication.

VI. The Indian Heroes. *By C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O. Indian Civil Service. Pp. 147 (Illustrated). Oxford University Press.*

Mr. Kincaid has striven in these pages to re-tell the epic tales of India after the manner of Charles Kingsley. The author has achieved a creditable success in imitating the style of the master. The book gives a good outline of our national epics.

With regard to the illustrations, the author tells us, that the armour and arms and dresses have been copied from the ancient Gandhara sculptures and the bas-reliefs in the ancient Vihara at Bhaja. "These sculptures date from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100, and were therefore more or less contemporaneous with the last recension of the Indian epics." We are glad that in these illustrations the heroes and heroines have been represented as "fair men and women of an Aryan type", but must confess our inability to recognize in the *clean shaven* figures of these illustrations some of the heroes, like King Dasharatha, with whom our imagination has made us familiar from our childhood.

G. S. MONGIA.

MARATHI.

"Reminiscences of our life," *by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade.*

Fifteen years have rolled by since a mighty wave of grief swept over this great continent from one end to the other at the news of the death of Mr. Justice Ranade—the man of the age—in the widest and highest signification of that expression. "Such a man is born once in an age" was truly said by the late Mr. Chatfield of the great Maratha leader of the latter half of the 19th century.

As there are certain epochs in the world's history that stand out distinct and prominent, signifying great changes, forming mile-stones, indicating the distance run by the race, so do we mark at long intervals, the appearance of great men upon the stage of the world with whom great movements are identified and who stand out as turning posts, guiding the humble pilgrims on their way through life. Their appearance does not seem to be the result of mere accident or a casual phenomenon but the sequence of an inscrutable moral law. Such men appear like migratory planets in the firmament, they illume the skies for a short while and then pass away.

Since the down-fall of the Peshwa's government in 1818, up to the year 1857, the history of Maharashtra presents a perfect blank. It was a period of national prostration such as always supervenes

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the final extinction of one nation by another. The old order had disappeared while the new order had not yet assumed any definite shape and form. The work of setting the country had only just commenced when the avalanche of the mutiny convulsed the country, North and South, East and West.

The Western Presidency entered upon an epoch of peace and uninterrupted progress immediately after the storm of the mutiny had subsided and the government of the whole of the Peninsula passed into the direct hands of the British Crown. With the establishment of the Universities, and the foundation of schools and colleges, the flood-gates of Western knowledge and learning were thrown open, and men were wanted who could with discretion direct and guide the floods into the proper channels. Amongst the batch of young men who were the first fruits of Western education and enlightenment brought out by the University of Bombay was top-most the men who subsequently came to be known as the "Prince of Indian graduates," and whose death has left a void which it may take another century to fill up. It is our national misfortune that a full and complete biography of such a great man should yet remain unwritten. The late Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who was the disciple and pupil of Mr. Justice Ranade, intended to write out the life of his great master, but unfortunately, that brilliant and versatile man was cut off in the flower of his manhood and in the midst of his multifarious activities, and what he wished to be his magnum opus remained an unfulfilled pious desire, to the irreparable loss of India and Indian literature.

We have however now one valuable book, the first of its character, written by an Indian lady Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, in Marathi, styled 'Reminiscences of our life" which throws valuable light on her husband's domestic and daily life. This book written in Marathi is accessible only to a very limited circle of the great man's admirers and followers who are legion, scattered over the length and breadth of this country, and it is to be devoutly hoped that this precious book will before long be translated into other vernaculars, or published in English garb, so that all India may have the benefit of the priceless information it contains.

Mrs. Ramabai Ranade has published a charming picture of the blissful domestic life of her husband, and the book is not only a work of art in Marathi literature, but it is a work which deserves a place on the shelf of every Indian patriot as it throws valuable side light on many public movements of the latter half of the 19th century which owed their inception and inspiration to Mr. Justice Ranade. As the late Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale in his foreword to the book observes "Rao Saheb Ranade is considered as a great man; not only of this country but of the world, not merely because of his towering genius, his learning, his scholarship or his patriotism, - all uncommon qualities, any one of which would have made the name of any other man famous in the world - but beyond all this, his uncommon extraordinary saintly life seemed to indicate that there was a part of the God-head in the man who if he had been born a few centuries before would have been considered an incarnation of God-head itself."

The peculiar charm of this book consists in the sweet frankness with which Mrs. Ranade has drawn aside the curtain and revealed to us the domestic and work-a-day life of her revered husband. We turn page after page enthralled in reading the story of the young handsome wife as she tells us in her own graceful style, how she started her lessons from the A.B.C. in the face of bitter persecution and obloquy, what trials she had to pass through for organising and attending public meetings in those days which inaugurated the period of succeeding emancipation and reform, how the young wife strove to carry out her husband's behests under the baptism of fire, how she devoutly followed his noble precept of 'Bear and forbear,' and how in the procession of the years she gathered from her inspired husband the harvest of wisdom and the rich lessons of life.

Many of us know Mr. Justice Ranade as a man of tall majestic stature and broad forehead, massive intellect and towering genius and deep scholarship, but here we see him pictured as a serene *pater-familias* with a temper always calm and unruffled even in the midst of storms and strife, a husband whose silent and deep love and devotion for his wife never wavered or bated, a patron of poor and deserving students for whom his charity and purse never stinted, a friend who never knew misunderstanding, envy or jealousy, a master who was kind and affectionate to the meanest of his servants once and for all time, a leader of men and a saint among men.

It is not possible in a cursory review of this book to convey any adequate idea of its beautiful style, its rich store of information, the lights and shades of pathos, and sublime human dignity it presents to those who have unfortunately missed the privilege of coming into contact with and under the magnetic checking influence of the great saint of the 19th century, but to those like myself who have had the rare good fortune and privilege of passing their tutelage at the master's feet, this book reads like a living romance of the wedded life of a great sage and his saintly spouse.

Mr. Justice Ranade believed in our redeeming power, our remoulding energy and in our approaching triumph through love, knowledge and labour. This book gives us some idea of the incessant thought for his country and his countrymen, that agitated Mr. Ranade's mind even in his most private moments. We are now in the midst of one of those epochs during which the race passes from one stage of evolution to another and in this transition period, we cannot do better than study and follow the pure and high ideals held up and sanctified in life by men like Mr. Justice Ranade. Happy indeed are those who in the swirl of conflicting tendencies, can by following his light, help to make the world they are born in, better and happier, and to all sincere Indians who wish to live up to the true dignity of their manhood and translate their love for the country which gave them birth, into their conduct and action, I can commend no better book than Mrs. Ranade's 'Reminiscences of our life.'

D. V. KIRTANE.

HINDI.

Practical Photography *by Mr. Harigulam Thakur. Printed and published at the Bharat Prakash Press, Goruckpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 164 Price—not mentioned.*

The characteristic feature of this book is that it has paid much more attention to an attempt towards imparting a practical knowledge of the art of photography. It has not, like some English books on the subject, confined itself to an elaborate discussion of theories. We must say that the publication will be of immense usefulness to both amateur and professional photographists. The author is himself a successful

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photographer and is the Manager of the Fine Art Photographic Studio, Goruckpore. We commend the language of the book, as being free from mistakes and aptly suited to the subject discussed.

London kai Patra *by B. Brajmohonlal Varma of Chhindwara and published by Mr. Nathuram Praimi, at the Jain Granthi Ratnakar Karjalaya, Hirabag, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 52. Price—As. 3-6.*

These are translations of certain letters of Lala Sagar Chand, Bar-at-Law, sent from London to certain English and Urdu periodicals. The letters are very useful and informing and the subjects treated most appropriate. The writer was well-advised to give in the course of letters, addresses of some of the best publications (books and journals) of England. In other ways too the utility of the book cannot be questioned: and it is both instructive and interesting. The translation has been good and the language is not defective. Only on the first page we find an incorrect word ভাঙ্গিয়ে। where the *dirgha* is incorrect.

Ramayani Katha *by Mr. Bhagwan Das Halua and Pandit Vadrinath Sharma Vaidya. Printed and published at the Abhyudaya Press. Crown 8vo. pp. 241. Price—Paper Cover Re. 1; Cardboard Cover—Re. 1-4-0.*

This is a translation of the well-known book of the same name by the famons author of the History of Bengali Literature, Shree Dinesh Chandra Sen. A review of the book by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore increases its value. The book itself is certainly very useful, and the way in which the story of the Ramayan is depicted is really charming. The chief characteristic of the book is its simplicity of narration and rationalisation of the topics dealt with. The translation too has been fair, but we must say the translators betray an incompetent knowledge of the Bengali, though this has not much marred the tone of the translation. The language is satisfactory. There are stray mistakes here and there; but these may be due to typographical negligence.

Tap *by Mr. Praim Ballabh Joshi, B. Sc. Printed at the Leader Press, Allahabad and published by the Vigyan Parishad, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 61. Price—as. 4.*

This series under the august editorship of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ganganath Jha, M. A., D. Litt, promises to prove of eminent benefit to the Hindi reader. The language is not very learned. But this is rather creditable to the publication, which has the merit of being written by one who understands his subject well. In Hindi most of the books on Science are translations. This mars their utility considerably, in that the sense is never so clear in these translations. When an original writer, however, writes a book of the nature under review, we must welcome it. The get-up and printing of the book are very nice.

Dadabhai Naoroji *by Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma. Printed at the Commercial Press, Juhi-Kalan, Cawnpore and to be had of the author at the Charitmala Office, Juhi, Cawnpore. Foolscap 8vo. pp 38. Price—as. 2.*

Such short booklets will form novel features in the Hindi Literature and will remove a long-felt want. We doubt not they will become deservedly popular. Books like these deserve wide propagation and some patriotic gentleman should take up the work of purchasing a number of copies of these and distributing them among students and others. The life of the great Indian patriot has been concisely dealt with in the book and there is nothing that is uninteresting. The language and get-up are also good, and there is a portrait in green of the Grand Old Man on the title-page.

Bharatiya Shasan Paddhati, *Part I., by Pandit Ambika Prasad Vajpaiyi. Published by Pundit Pratabnarayan Vajpaiyi, 30, Shreenath Ray Lane, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 103. Price—as. 8.*

We always hail with delight such books which make a departure from the trodden path of the Hindi Literature. In this publication, the existing constitution of the Indian Government with all its branches, has been described, no remarks being passed on its actual working nor on the reforms needed. In his short sketch the author has carefully managed to put a great deal of information and in fact the book goes to even minute details of district administration. The language is pure and grand; and the get-up of the book is all that could be desired.

Samrata-shubhagamana, *by Shree Rajendranath Pandit and to be had of (a) the author at Sam Savai Mandir, P. O. Dabhoi, Baroda, or (b) H. M. Mehta, P. O. Bhadarwa, Dist. Kaira (Gujerat), Demy 8vo. pp. 175. Price Re. 1.*

Loyal poems composed on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, have been incorporated in this book. Besides the poems which are in Sanskrit and Hindi (three being in English as well), a historical account of Delhi from the earliest times has been given, which comprises a succinct and at the same time full information, extending over twenty-eight pages. Next follows a description of the actual coronation and some account of the royal family. A brief reference is also made to what was done in the remote parts of the country on the occasion. Several magazines and newspapers have been laid under contribution for the collection of the poems, and the get-up of the book, with its nice binding, is satisfactory. The prose part of the book is defective in its language.

Pagal Manushya Ke Katha, *by Shree Kaishava Lal Sen of Gogri (Monghyr). Crown 8vo. pp. 12.*

This is a religious book on Vaishnavism and deals with its sentimental aspect. It is unpriced, any suitable contribution being left to the discretion of the public. To the religiously-inclined the book will be pretty interesting. Its language is, however, very defective: and the strange thing is that a few pages of it swarms with mistakes, while the rest of it does not contain so many.

Venisanhar ki alochana, *by Pandit Badrinath Bhatta, B.A. Printed and published at the Ramabhooshan Press, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 80. Price—as. 4.*

A book of original criticism is a novelty in the field of Hindi Literature, and we value Pandit Badrinath's book especially on this score. The only noticeable defect in the book is that the author has often gone to minor details which do not read well in a book of

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this nature. In other respects, we can but commend the author and he has brought into play much originality for which he must be given credit. The language and style are dignified and the criticism shows a clear grasp of the "Venisanhar." The author thinks that a criticism of the characters in the drama does not fall within his scope, and though he has, according to his own view, committed the error of criticising the characters, we do not concur with him and think that he has been within his legitimate sphere.

Apna Sudhar, *by Pandit Narvada Prasad Misra. Published by Lakshmidhar Vajpaiyi, Bag Muzaffarkhan, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 101. Price—as. 5.*

We have long had a number of such translations of standard and popular English books into Urdu, but the Hindi writers have begun to direct their attention to this prolific field only lately. The book under review is an adaptation of Blackie's Self-Culture: the author has not been very wrong in not giving a wholesale rendering. The adaptation has been satisfactory and has been on the lines of Mr. John Stuart Blackie, the original author, whose short life has also been subjoined. It goes without saying that the book will be of immense good to any student and should be popular in Middle and Training Schools. We have no comments to offer against the language or style of the book.

Santabanisangraha, *Parts I. to II. Published by the Manager, Belvedere Press, Allahabad. Royal 8vo. pp. 248+256. Price of each part—Rs. 1-2.*

These publications will be very much prized by a certain class of people, especially in villages. Who have often a store of these semi-religious sayings which they reproduce from memory. Nanak, Kabir, Mira Bai, Daria Sahab, and similar other saints have been laid under contribution; and the compiler has taken care to give in the footnote the meanings of difficult words in the body of the book, as also short lives of the different saints. The compilation has no doubt been made on up-to-date lines and the Belvedere Press has to be congratulated on taking the publication in hand. The two volumes have a historical significance as well and they are not devoid of considerable literary worth.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

(1) **Theodore Parker,** *by the late Narayan Hem Chandra, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 208, 2nd Edition. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1915).*

(2) **Mahan Sikh Gurus,** *by Kallianji Vithalbhai Mehta and Chunilal Ramchandra Shelat, published by Do., Printed at Do.: Clothbound, pp. 242. Price Re. 0-14-0 (1915).*

(3) **Tunki Vartao,** *Part III, by Kallianji Vithalbhai Mehta, Do Do. Clothbound, pp. 203. Price 0-6-0 (1915).*

The first book is a biography of the well-known American, Theodore Parker. It was originally written by the late Narayan Hemchandra, whose quaint language has in this edition been touched up here and there.

The second book comprises the lives of two famous Sikh Gurus, Nanak and Govind Singh. They are based on various Hindi works.

The third book contains a number of short stories culled from the same source.

All the three books are highly readable and sure to prove popular.

Is it possible to teach in India according to the Montessori system? *By Shambhuprasad Shiuprasad Mehta, B.A., printed at the Bombay Samachar Printing Press, Bombay. Thick cardboard, pp. 50. With illustrations. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1915).*

Mr. Mehta having propounded the above question, answers it in the affirmative and has shewn several methods which can be adapted to the needs of India. This, we think, is the first attempt in Gujrati in this direction. As to how far this system can be successful in practice, one can not say at present.

Sahitya Seva of Kavi Narmadashanker, *by Chhotalal Kahandas Patel of Surat, printed at the Jaina Vijaya Printing Press, Surat, Paper Cover, pp. 82. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1915).*

This is a Prize Essay passed by the late *Sahitya Parishad* held at Surat. The writer is a school master, and he has according to his ability reviewed the services of the late well-known Kavi Narmadashanker to the literature of Gujarat. We have read this little essay with great pleasure, and have found in it efforts made by the writer to deal fairly with and view both sides of the Kavi's work.

Adarsha Bhuta Jivan, *by Prabhashanker Jayashanker Pathak, of Bombay, Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Paper Cover, pp. 55. Price Rs. 0-4-0 (1915).*

This is another Prize Essay, passed at the same *Parishad*. As its name implies it tries to depict what an ideal life is and should be.

Hari Yasha Gita, *edited by Jayendralal Bhagvantai, M.A., and printed at the Satyanarayan Press, Ahmedabad. Clothbound, pp. 160. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1915).*

This is a collection of poems written by a lady, Gangaswarup Jasha, on such subjects as *Jnan, Bhakti, Vairagya*, &c. They are published by her son, who has written an introduction, in which he defends the diversion of the energy of Indians towards such subjects as have furnished materials for his mother's work. The poems themselves are couched in the old orthodox style and bear testimony to the study and thoughtfulness of the lady writer. The price is out of all proportion to the work.

K. M. J.

We have received an annual called the *Jnati Patra Varshik*. We do not review Magazines.

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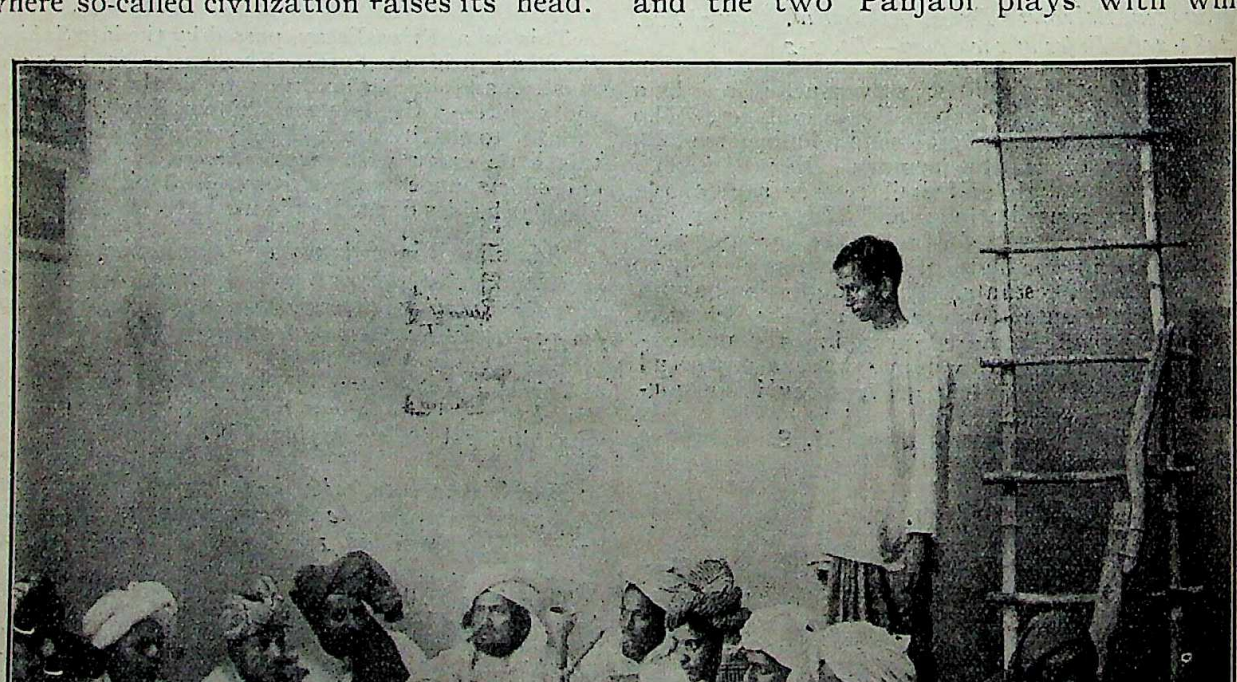
TWO PANJABI PLAYS

"THE Irish plays.....make one feel that there is a real future for the stage, and that one day we too may have a National drama which will show us the lives of the people with their sorrows and joys, their heroisms and cowardices, instead of the mere tinselly abominations which just now make theatres the despair of moralist and philosopher alike."

The above lines are quoted from a dramatic criticism which appeared in "The Herald," an Australian newspaper, about four or five years ago.

Here in India, the theatre is tinged with the same "tinselly abominations" as in Australia, as indeed in every other country where so-called civilization raises its head. Here in India, if one criticises current dramatic methods, one is told that the Indian theatre has become westernised. What a pity. Or if the theatre is bent on westernising, let it discriminate. There is much that is worthless in western methods, but there is also much that is good. We might, for example, with advantage take a leaf out of the book of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. Irish plays, by Irish authors, about Ireland, for the Irish people. Why not Indian plays, by Indian authors, about India, for the Indian people? It reads quite well.

A start in this direction has indeed been made in the Panjab. A stage society has been formed named after the Goddess Saraswati and the two Panjabi plays with which



Group in "Dina's Marriage Procession" with Rehma, the barber, standing at the back.

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A group of Jats in "Dina's Marriage Procession" Mian Bodha, the bearded man in the centre was played by Mr. Raj Indro Lal Sahni, the author of the play.

this article is about to deal were recently produced by the Saraswati Stage Society. A triple bill was presented. "Spreading The News" by Lady Gregory, of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. "Dina's Marriage Procession" by Raj Indro Lal Sahni, and "The Bride" by Ishwar Das Nanda. Both of these young Indian authors are students of the Panjab University and graduated last May. Their plays promise well for the development of the aims of the Sarawati Society, and prove that there is artistic vitality in Young India.

"Dina's Marriage Procession" was the author's first attempt at play writing. It is full of humour and rich with local colour. Dina, a young Mahommadan is to be married, and when the curtain rises the festivities are taking place. The final ceremonies have to be gone through before the marriage procession starts for the bride's home. Dina and his friends are squatting round the friendly hookah gossiping. They praise Dina for his lavish marriage entertainment, at least the young ones do, the older men criticise and try to restrain him. But Dina is very proud of the good name he has already made in the neighbourhood and intends to go on as he has begun. Mai Bakho is cooking at an open air fire and occasionally joins in the conversation. Enter to them one Nika Shah, the village *bannia*. Nika has not been invited to the feast and gets a poor welcome. He makes no secret of having come to get his accounts settled. The idea shocks even the cautious old men who have been criticising Dina. Whatever happens the marriage celebrations must proceed. Let the *bannia* settle his claims after. This he refuses to do and even demands the family jewelry in payment. His rapacity (the rate of interest on money already lent to Dina is exorbitantly high) puts every one's back up and by degrees a violent quarrel develops. Insults are hurled from side to side, and eventually Dina who is a hot headed youth, belabours the *bannia* who rushes off to report to the police. An especially severe and self-important *havildar* is in the village and the villagers know that if this particular police

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The Bannia and the Jats, with Mai Bakho to the right, in "Dina's Marriage Procession."

officer gets mixed up in the affair, it will go badly with Dina. So they hurry on with the marriage ceremonies hoping to get the procession on the move before the police have had time to arrive. Women approach singing a *gharoli* song and take the bride-groom off to the inner courtyard for his ceremonial bathing. Meanwhile the men press on feverishly with other ceremonies. Presently the bridegroom returns with the women in procession, and another song is being sung. The *chuni*-breaking takes place and a *sehra* is wound round his turban and the women retire. A necessary collection of monies is then made, after which the barber is hurried off for the bridal umbrella and the horse for the bridegroom. The barber quickly returns bearing the umbrella, his son is saddling the horse. The company rise in haste to be off when they are confronted with the police officer of whom they are in such dread. The *havildar* followed by the enraged *bannia* makes full enquiries. Dina's friends plead for him and eventually offer to bribe the police to inaction. They are just about to come to a satisfactory arrangement, when Dina's fury is aroused. He is sick with his friends for ingratiating themselves with the police, he thinks that a great deal too much fuss is being made over a very simple matter. He has neither broken into any man's house, nor has he killed any person: and who are the police? "They are not gods that we should lay our heads in the dust before them?" The *havildar* who had been on the point of relenting, changes his tone and has Dina arrested. The old mother rushes in and throws herself at the *havildar's* feet, and a stormy scene follows in which Dina heaps fuel on the fire, and after a fierce struggle is led off, the men following in great excitement, the women following wailing. The last to go off is Mai Bakho supported by women, striking herself and lamenting. Here is a vivid picture of Jat life treated with a perception of the picturesque which is as refreshing as it is rare on the Indian stage. The dialogue is typ

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cal of the particular villagers dealt with and reveals also a pleasant drollery in the mind of the author.

"The Bride" is a totally different play. The curtain rises on Kauran, spinning. She is gossiping with an old woman, her little daughter Lajo, aged six, is seated on a *charpai* playing with dolls, and Lajo's big sister, Melo, aged seventeen, is sitting close to the *charpai* on a *piri* embroidering a *phulkari*. Melo is the subject of conversation. The new custom of marrying girls late does not meet with the approval of the two women, and Kauran is being instigated to worry her husband, Hushiarchand, on the point, which later on she does, and is told by him that an arrangement has now been made. In answer to Kauran's catechising he gives vague answers but assures her that all is well, laying stress on the fact that the chosen bridegroom has money and lands, saying that "a cow should be tethered where there is plenty of grass." It remains for a barberess, who later on visits Kauran, to divulge the fact that the chosen bridegroom is a decrepit old man, wealthy it is true, but one who is marrying to spite his sons with whom he has quarrelled, and Kauran now realises that her Melo is to be sacrificed. In a violent quarrel scene with Hushiarchand she refuses to allow Melo to be married, but he eventually wins her over and shows her a bag of money he has already received from their prospective son-in-law. After

Barberess, Kauran and Lajo, in "The Bride." Barberess was played by Mr. Ishwar Das Nanda, the author of the play.

Melo and her friend Basanto, in "The Bride."

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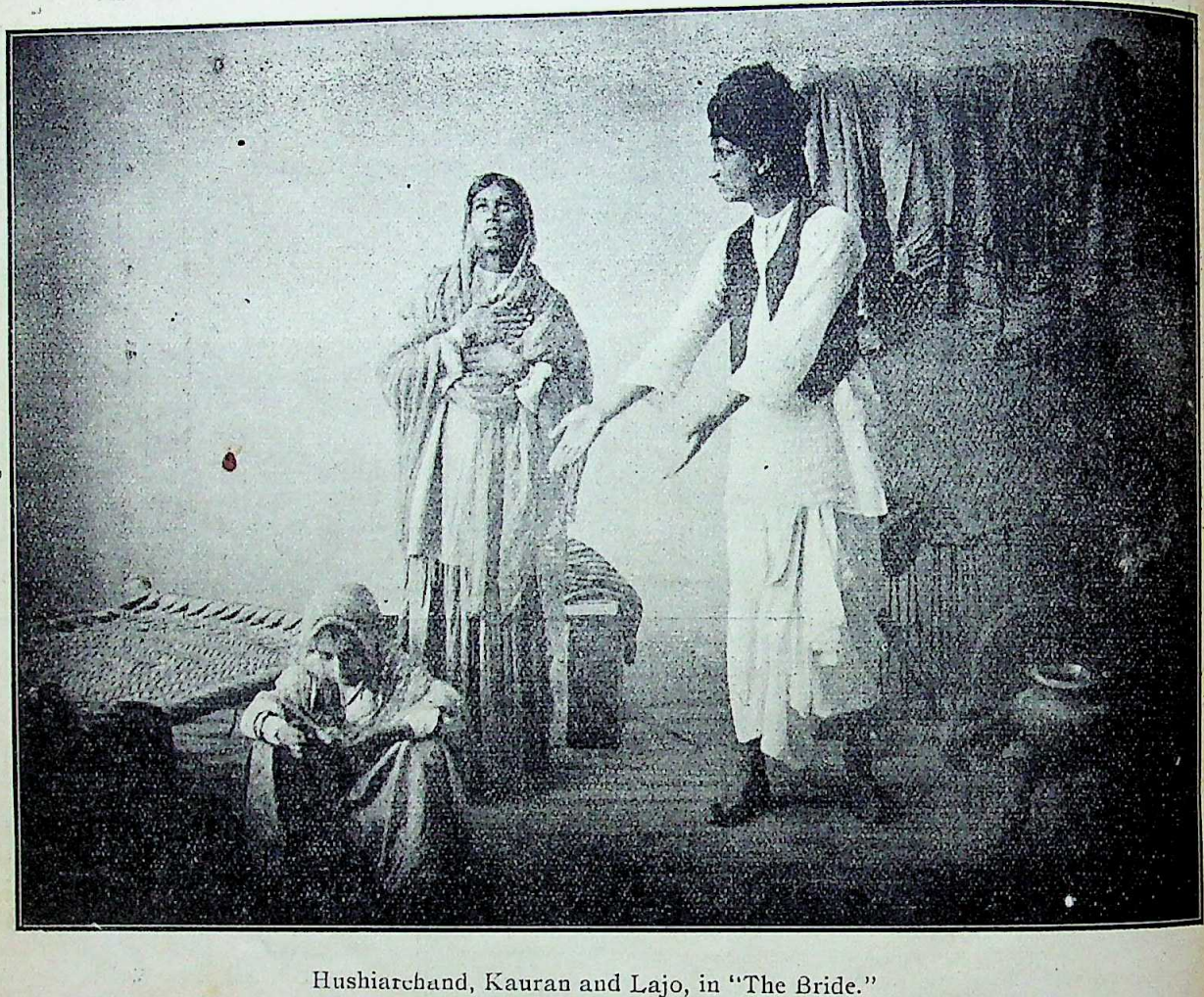

Hushiarchand, Kauran and Lajo, in "The Bride."

the first recoil, the sight of so much money reconciles Kauran. Meanwhile Melo has learnt of the fate in store for her and aided by a friend, runs away. The marriage procession is on its way. Hushiarchand foreseeing trouble with his wife had already completed the arrangements swiftly and secretly. When the time comes for Melo to be seated at the *lawan* she is nowhere to be found. They call for her in vain, meanwhile the *pandar* of the other party is shouting at their door and telling them to hurry. Still no Melo. Still the insistent calls of the *pandar*. Now what shall they do? They will be disgraced! Kauran weeps. Hushiarchand storms. "Melo! Melo!" No answer. The *pandar* calls again. The bridegroom's party is growing angry at the delay. "Coming, just coming!" desperately cries Hushiarchand. Then he turns to his wife. What, to do? What to do? Whom to seat at the *lawan?* Quick, put the red *salu* on to Lajo! She is forthwith enveloped and snatched into her father's arms who carries her off kicking and crying "My dolls, my dolls! Let me play with my dolls!" Kauran mad with grief, follows. This play is also the first rapid outgrowth from old customs is rich with problems and with the conflict necessary for drama. Then too the marvellous beauty of India. It is not to be expected that those who have never known anything else should be acutely aware of its reality, but the faithful representation of Indian life on the stage necessarily results in beauty, and it is just possible that thus an aesthetic consciousness will be developed that may help to arrest the wholesale westernising of Indian life. However, be that as it may, quite apart from ultimate tangible results, the actual production of absolutely Indian plays justifies itself. It is a mistake to give reasons for undertakings of this kind. That possessing the qualifications and the desire one is compelled to participate, is perhaps the best reason

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to give, leaving results to take care of themselves. Unfortunately the theatre in India, as in other countries, has a bad reputation which it undoubtedly deserves. But it is for this very reason that we cannot afford to ignore it. The theatre wields immense power, since it has a great formative influence. Not only may it influence the taste and aesthetic sensibility of a people, but it may influence their very outlook on life. Then it is democratic. It is, if ever an art was, the art of the people. The most illiterate, presupposing moderate intelligence and an understanding of the language spoken, might acquire knowledge and a critical faculty otherwise denied to them. The spirit of a people must be nourished, and take it by and large, the finest nourishment for the mind is ideas, and where could one find a better field for the broadcast sowing of ideas than the theatre?

NORAH RICHARDS.

Notes :—

Bannia.—A village shop-keeper and money lender, usually a Hindu.

Havildar.—Head Constable.

Gharoli song.—The *gharoli* is an earthen water vessel much decorated with coloured and gold papers. It contains water for the ceremonial bathing of the bridegroom. Women sing an appropriate song as it is carried in procession.

Chuni-breaking.—A *chuni* is an earthern lid of the water vessel, which the bridegroom breaks with his foot after the ceremonial bathing. This act is considered auspicious.

Sehra.—A long fringe of jasmine flowers and roses, which is bound round the bridegroom's turban and forms a veil before his face.

Charpai.—A string-woven bed of very simple structure, literally, four legs.

Piri.—A very low string-woven stool with four legs, made in the same simple fashion as a *charpai.*

Phulkari.—A head drapery, the whole surface of which is embroidered with flowers, usually yellow silk is worked on an Indian red ground. The meaning of *phul* is *flower*, and *kari* is a suffix equivalent to *work.*

Lawan.—The circle round a sacred fire at which are seated the bride and bridegroom with their guardians and relatives for *Phere. Phere* is the final and binding ceremony of a Hindu marriage, during which the bride and bridegroom with their robes knotted together seven times circumambulate the sacred fire, while the brahmin chants the *mantras* which contain the duties and obligations of the married pair to one another.

Pandar.—The brahmin who performs the priestly duties in the marriage ceremonies.

Red salu.—A red head drapery worn by the bride at the marriage ceremony.

ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

BY A DISCIPLE OF PROF. J. C. BOSE,

IN 1911 I had the supreme privilege of being accepted as a disciple by my Master; since then not a day passed that his disciples did not come face to face with wonders which grew greater and greater every day. The Master came round in the morning and talked to us and laid down the programme for every day. He would often give us a sealed envelope, containing the results he foresaw of new experiments, and to our great astonishment we would find how everything came out exactly as he had anticipated. We thus came to realise the difference between aimless drudgery and the true insight which comes after years of struggle. Some of the results were so astonishing and so cempletely against existing theories that the foremost scientific paper, *Nature*, after paying the highest tribute for his wide outlook and great generalisations, and also for his marvellous power of invention, was yet constrained to add words of caution, that the result of Dr. Bose's researches "would be of the highest value did it not continually arouse our incredulity." This frank statement proved to be of great use, since it clearly described the state of existing knowledge, and the absolutely novel character of the Master's conceptions. In other instances his theories have been quietly accepted and given out by different compilers as their own. A glaring instance of this is seen in a certain article in the Encyclopoedia Britannica. I may be permitted to anticipate what comes afterwards by saying that it took nearly six years for *Nature* to be completely converted, when it devoted an article ten columns in length describing the extreme importance of the Master's discoveries.

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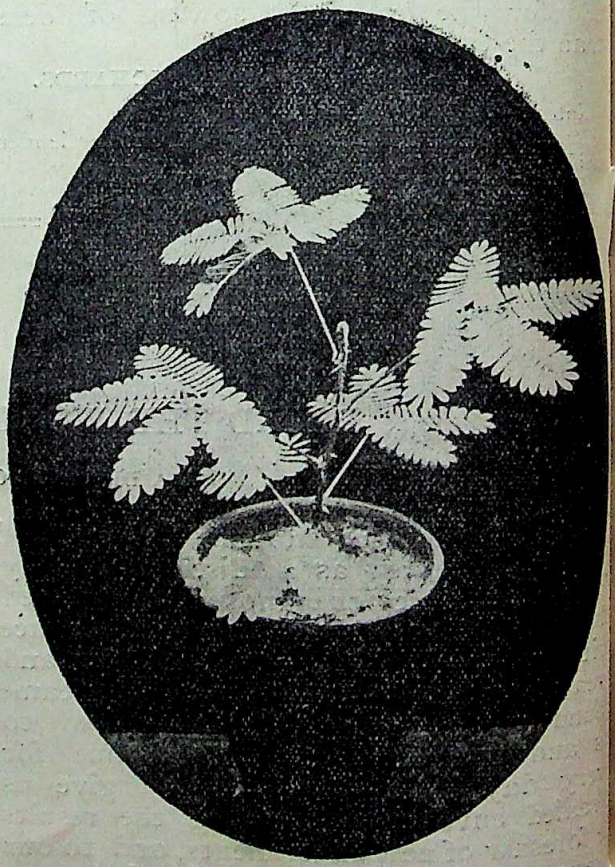
I was, however, speaking of the time when his theories were fiercely assailed beeause the result challenged belief. How to convert the world? He realised that controversies led to nothing. Finality lay only in an appeal to Caesar, in this case to the spirit of the plant! Would it ever be possible to have the unknown inner history of the plants revealed by scripts made by themselves? This has been his unceasing quest for many a year. Even in his ordinary conversation with friends and pupils one would realise that the mind behind was working quietly and sometimes we could catch a glimpse of sudden illumination in his face. His thoughts had become sub-conscious. The obstacles which stand in our way and all false perspective had vanished for him. Discoveries came almost spontaneously and new inventions were like play to him.

We were impatient at the world's slow recognition of his work. If others could only see as we did! The Master was amused at our impatience. To him it had become almost indifferent whether he won recognition or not. The only thing that did matter was whether he pursued truth to the utmost. Our impatience, however, must have slowly influenced him, for one day he said, "I will have to do it, but that would mean long conflict of practically one man against the world." The odds were after all not so great if one was in the minority with truth.

The Master had now perfected his self-recording apparatus and plants now registered their autographs. A demonstration of the actual record of the plants before the scientific world in the West could not but be most convincing. This was, however, no easy task; the only time when plants flourish in Europe is in the middle of summer, when every place of learning is closed for the vacation. For the rest of the year there is nothing but bare stems, the plants having gone into a state of tranced hibernation. How then was this difficulty to be met? Nothing short of carrying our own plants and risking their frail life to the inclemencies and danger of the journey.

His mind became troubled with all these difficulties. He must have thought of me in this connection, but had fears that a superficial contact with the West for a short period might prove for me very unsettling. I distinctly remember the morning when turning to me with mingled affection and pity he spoke of all his hopes and fears. What could I do or say? Neither did I know my strength nor my weaknesses. I could only throw myself into a raging sea if that would serve him. That is all a disciple could do. But the Master always showed displeasure when we attempted to voice our personal devotion. He wanted no weakings, but wished to forge men who could work and grow to their utmost stature. He was never tired of impressing on us the fact that the sum total of energy was constant; when that found vent in talk there must be the inevitable run down of latent energy of character. About my going, the Master said that he would take the risk and ordered me to be ready.



The Mimosa which toured round the world with Prof. J. C. Bose.

Once the course was decided the Master rapidly made his preparations. He now seemed all energy, and his ideas were definite even to the minutest detail. Every thing that might possibly be required from an ordinary pin to his most complicated apparatus, were then packed in

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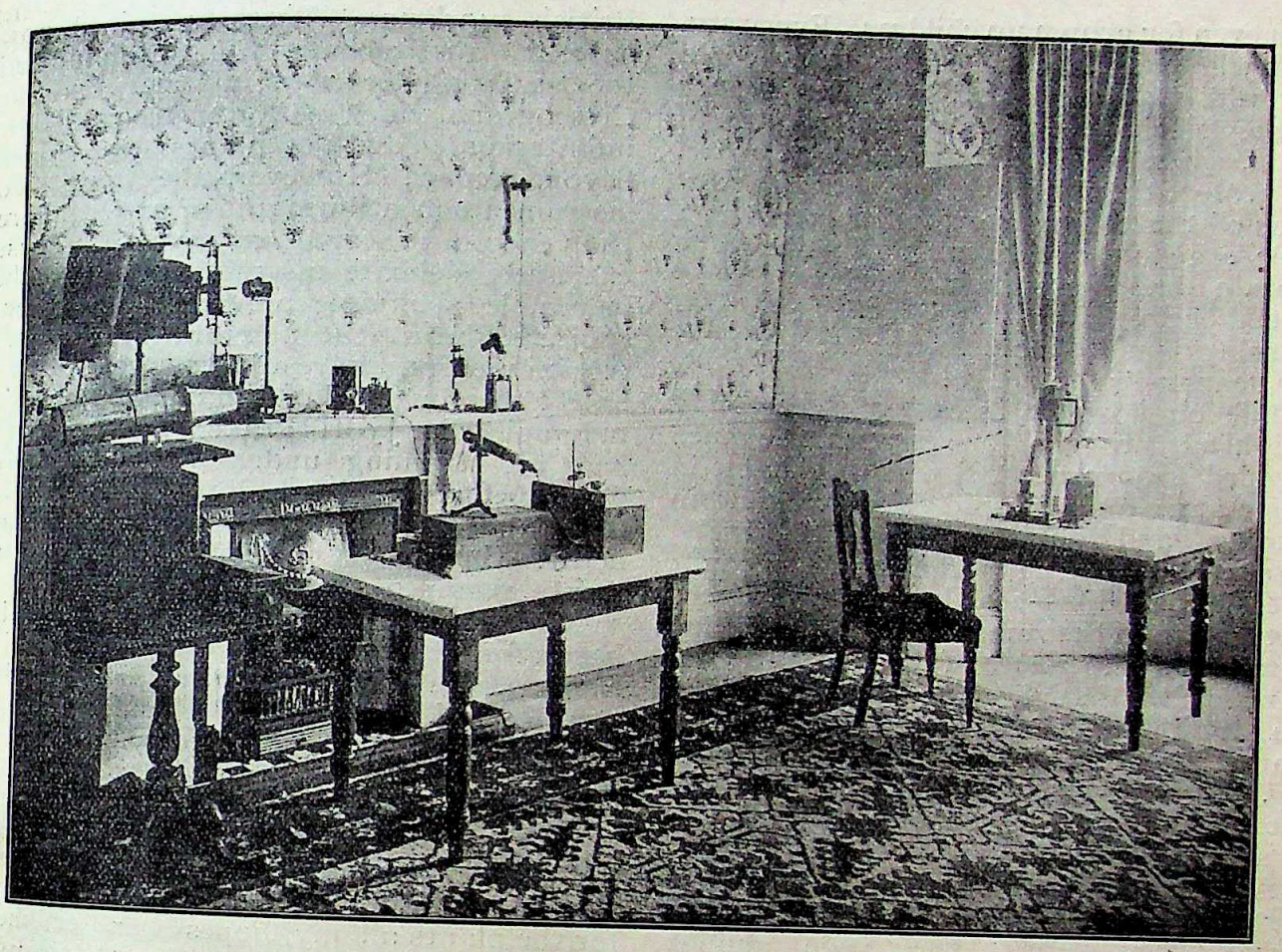

The Interior of Dr. J. C. Bose's Laboratory at Maida Vale, London.

portable boxes. All our brother disciples were lost in the joy of preparation. My own part was to learn from them the peculiar difficulties of each apparatus and the way to overcome them.

Plants had to be personally carried by hand. No more than four specimens could be taken,—two of *Mimosa* and two of our *Bon chanral*, *Desmodium gyrans* or the Telegraph Plant. We had fairly good specimens of the sensitive *Mimosa*, but the telegraph plant was out of season, its best time being from July to November. It was March now, and the plants had seeded and died. After much difficulty I got a small sickly-looking specimen. Casually I heard from the doorkeeper of a neighbouring house that he had a wonderful plant which drove out ghosts! And on going out to investigate I found that it was nothing less than my long sought telegraph plant. The specimen was good-sized and was in a vigorous condition. I convinced my superstitious friend how our national future depended on this plant. He, though unfettered, rose to the patriotic demand. But fearing that his fit of generosity might not last long I looked about and found a cooking vessel. I converted it into a flower pot and marched home with the valued treasure. I placed it in the quadrangle of my small house and carefully watered it. I could hardly wait for the morning to see how the plant fared. Alas! an unscientific calf trespassed into our house at night and ate the top off and broke the main stem into half. The plant looked very lame. But even the lame can scale mountains through faith. And I had enough for two.

The Master went by the quicker overland route. I travelled by sea all the way by s.s. "Egypt" from Calcutta. The companions of my journey were: two *Mimosas* fairly vigorous, two telegraph plants, one weakling and the other lame and halting. This was the strength of the expedition that went out to meet the hostile shock of the world. I had no misgivings of the ultimate victory. I knew my Master and the flag he carried.

Sensitive plants have a strange fascina-

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tion even for grown up children. Every student who passed by our laboratory could not help stopping to watch the leaves close as they pinched them. This did not matter in India, where we had many plants to spare. To protect them from the too ardent attentions of the children during the voyage, a little cage of wire gauze was made. The captain knowing their destiny offered special help. The standing joke every morning was to inquire after the health of the "canary" in my cage!

Life on board a steamer is certainly delightful, provided one escapes the much dreaded sea-sickness. I was fortunate in this matter and I could spend my time in reading and looking after the plants. From every passing port a detailed account of their condition—health and temperament—was sent to the master. It was a full four weeks' experience of varied character, in which the disciple found himself now in the heights and then in the depths, as the plants showed signs of thriving or drooping. To my great delight the lame one put forth two green sprouts. I took this as a good omen

As long as the ship ploughed through the Indian Ocean the plants thrived as though they were in their own familiar soil. During the journey through the Red Sea they bathed in the sunshine and enjoyed the warmth. When we entered the Mediterranean there was a sudden chill and the plants became depressed and the leaves drooped. As we proceeded further West the weather became colder and colder, and when we reached the Gulf of Lyons I was greatly discouraged by the fear that I might not be able to carry my charge alive to their destination. The Bay of Biscay, I was warned, would prove to be quite fatal. The only thing I could do was to wrap the cage with blankets and expose the plants only to the brief flashes of sunshine when they appeared.

After the long voyage we at last reached London. The Master had already arrived a few days earlier and engaged a beautiful house in South Kensington. He had carried with him two boxes of his most delicate apparatus. The one he carried with his own hands was quite safe. But the other box had to be entrusted to the care of the Railway porter; the result was that these instruments which had survived the perils of the sea succumbed to the rough handling of the British workman. There remained now only two instruments, The Resonant and the Oscillating Recorders, but the wonderful Crescograph which instantly recorded the infinitesimal growth of plants was ruined beyond repair. However, the first two instruments mentioned above proved more than enough to serve our purpose. These extremely delicate instruments, after the inevitable shaking to which they were subjected during the long journey, required certain repairs and readjustments. Fortunately there was in London one of Master's old pupils, Dr. Jyoti Prakas Sircar, who had his training under him for several years before he left India. His help was now almost invaluable for our present needs. Under his treatment the instruments regained their sensitiveness.

My own trials with the plants really began from the moment of our arrival in London. The day was quite dark,—at the end of April, and extremely cold, though the season was supposed to be summer. I carried the plants in a closed texicab and placed them carefully in the drawing room, kept warm by incandescent gas heating. I hoped that we had reached safe haven at last. But the next morning going to look for the plants all my hopes were crushed to the ground. I never realised,—though my Master's works should have prepared me for it—how deadly poisonous gas fumes were to vegetable life. The four little plants which I succeeded in keeping alive so long under unexpected difficulties were to all seeming dead, and this through my own lack of foresight. The leaves hung down quite limp and the leaflets had turned yellow. After trying various expedients I was successful in reviving two, the other two being quite dead.

Now we were faced with the hopeless difficulty of keeping these two plants alive, specially through the night. If kept inside, they would be poisoned by gas, if kept outside they would be frozen to death. In this emergency the Master took steps that removed all my anxieties. He called on the Director of the famous Royal Botanic Gardens at Regent's Park, who had already heard of the wonders of the new discoveries. Every help was enthusiatically offered and we were taken into the hot house made specially for tropical plants. London with its fog and freezing temperature had greatly depressed me. But once I entered

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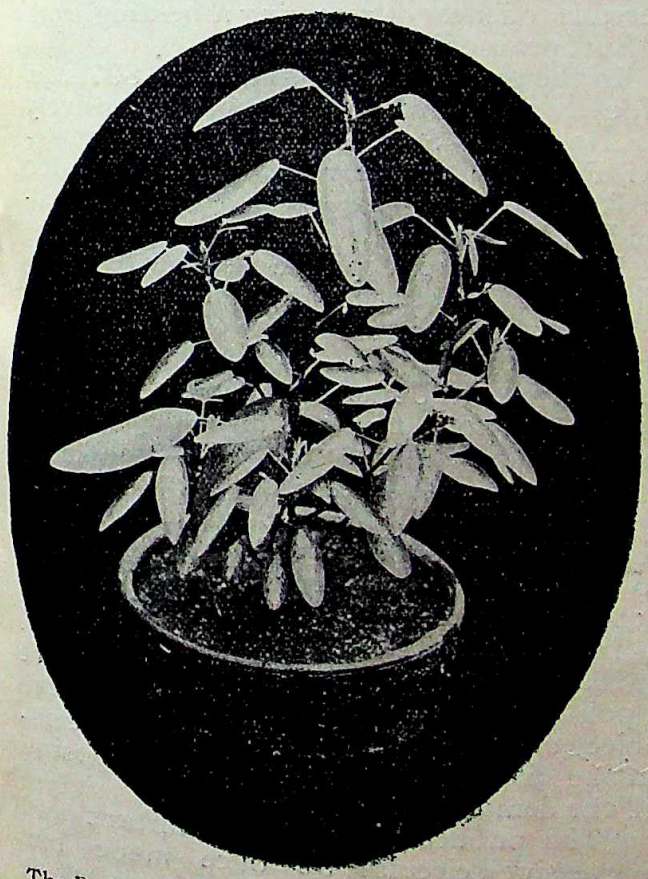
the hot-house I felt transported as if by magic to my dear native land. How I enjoyed the intense moist heat which I did not at all appreciate while in India. But there were other wonders ; the tank was full of Indian lilies in full bloom ; there was the rice plant, the stalk bending under the weight of corn. And more wonderful still was the vigorous banana bearing ripe fruits. The two little sickly plants which I brought at once realised that good time was coming. Mr. Kelp, Superintendent of the Gardens, promised personally to look after the well-being of the strangers. And wonderful to relate, from that day onward they began to grow and flourish, as if they realised that great things were expected of them and that they were determined not to disappoint us. In showing us this kindness, the Botanic Gardens, we were glad to find, were also benefitted. Soon people began to talk of Master's great work and they flocked to Regent's Park in crowds to see the wonderful specimens that had been brought from India. The interest was so great that the *Times* devoted to the subject a long column under the heading



The Desmodium Gyrans (বন চাঁড়াল) which toured round the world with Prof. J. C. Bose.

Rare Plant at the Botanic Gardens.

"Among insteresting plants growing in the Victoria Regia house are a banana in fruit, the sacred lily of the East, Nelumbium speciosum, sugar cane and rice. A plant rarely to be seen in this country, Desmodium gyrans, the telegraph plant, has lately been received from India and is now growing in the same green house. The interest of this plant has been greatly increased since it has been found by Professor Bose that the pulsations are automatic, and that the leaflets respond in exactly the same way as the hearts of animals to stimulants, poisons, and electric shock."

The next point to be decided was a suitable house for a Laboratory; we had to think not so much of our own comfort, as of the health of the plants which were to be brought every day for experiment from the Regent's Park and carefully returned. Any house with gas supply had to be rejected, so also houses on streets with too much motor car traffic, since the product of combustion of patrol was poisonous to the plants. At last the Master secured a beautiful house in Maida Vale, with a large garden attached. The best room in the house, the one in front, was set apart for our laboratory. The photograph reproduced on page 83 gives an idea of the interior of the laboratory : to the right is seen the large curtained glass window, with plenty of sunlight; here on a steady table was mounted the Resonant Recorder for automatic registration of the rate of nervous impulse in plants. Near to it is the white screen on which was projected by means of electric lantern the pulse records of the Telegraph plant, as registered by the Oscillating Recorder. These are seen on the mantel piece to the extreme left. In the centre was placed the galvanometer to register the elctric response and pulsation of plants. Still further to the right is the Death Recorder by which the plant signals its death at the exact critical moment. With all these instruments adjusted to their utmost sensitiveness we were ready to face our critics. And the next few weeks called forth our highest activity as the leading men in England began to flock to the Maida Vale Laboratory which was soon to attain historic importance.

(*To be continued*).

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SYED MAZHAR-UL-HAQ.

SYED Mazhar-ul-Haq was born on 21st December 1866 in the Chapra District of North Bihar, and his genealogy goes up to the noble Quraish family of Mecca which had opposed the Arabian Prophet so long and then submitted to his sway. His grandfather was Maulvi Sakhawat Ali Khan, an able and honest Deputy Collector who supervised the Permanent Settlement of many portions of Bihar. After learning Persian and a little Arabic at home and passing the vernacular primary examination with a stipend, Master Haq joined the Patna Collegiate School in 1876. According to a sketch of his life by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha to which we are greatly indebted, he displayed even in his school days a passion for devouring "all kinds of light and serious literature, particularly books dealing with Islamic history in various countries." Matriculating in 1884 he entered Patna College, but two years later gave up his preparations for the University examination with a view to going to England. His guardians objected to the proposal, and he migrated to Canning College, Lucknow, in 1887 and displayed great activity in writing poetry and articles for the Urdu papers. After making a lengthy tour of the great towns of Upper India in the first quarter of 1888, he left India with only Rs. 70 in his pocket, reached Aden in a pilgrim ship and wired home for money to complete his voyage to England!

Reaching London on 15th September, 1888, Mr. Haq kept terms in Middle Temple, and "gained the title of *the bookworm* by his devotion to the study not only of law but of many other subjects, including some of the sciences." At London he started the Anjuman-i-Islamia (now the Pan-Islamic Society) and became an ardent Liberal in politics.

After being called to the Bar he returned to India in July 1891, and began practice at Bankipur. From 1892 to 1896 he served as a Munsiff in Oudh, but "his heart was pining for larger fields of activity. A love for his country and its political regeneration were the chief determining factors of the next step in his life. He resigned his post in April 1896 and resumed his practice at the Chapra Bar." It was Mr. Haq who represented the constable Narsingh in the appeal before Mr. Pennell, after the poor man had been sentenced to imprisonment by a Deputy Magistrate (Maulvi Zakir Husain) in secret consultation with the District Magistrate, for the terrible offence of *receiving* a beating from a European officer (1899)!

In the great Tirhut Famine of 1897 Mr. Haq worked hard and travelled extensively as Honorary Secretary of the District Relief Fund, with the result that his health broke down and "for one year he was bedridden."

His next great public service was as Vice-chairman of the Chapra Municipality, when in the course of three years he cleared that Augean stable of corruption and mismanagement. Under his able and vigorous administration the accounts department was overhauled, and "the whole municipality became absolutely a different body, and a Municipal Market was built at a cost of Rs. 20,000. In 1907 he removed to Bankipur and gave a new life to its politics."

In December 1906, an all-India Muslim gathering was held at Dacca, to start a political association of the sect with the object of "supporting *every* measure emanating from Government and opposing *all* the demands of the Congress."

"The publication of this militant and aggressive circular at once made him decide to go to Dacca. He felt that it would be against the public interest for the Muhammadans to start an association with such objects. The two friends (Messrs. Mazhar-ul-Haq and Hassan Imam) succeeded in pushing into the background the proposed institution and in starting in its place the All-India Muslim League." (S. Sinha). He also opposed the capture of the League by the Aligarh party on the ground that it would either injure the College or the League would become an

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official-ridden institution. Though he was outvoted, his prophecy has been verified, and the League is now at last working on *his* lines.

A harder trial was soon to come for Mr. Haq, but his sincere patriotism, transparent unselfishness and fearless courage of conviction made him defy threat and temptation alike and risk the hostility of the fellow-Muslims whom he loved so well and to work with whom was his highest aim. When Sir H. Risley spoiled Morley's Reform scheme by introducing religious differences in the political sphere, Mr. Haq and his friend Mr. Ali Imam, "strongly opposed the unreasonable demands of the Muslim League extremists for special electorates. They were attacked and abused by the vast bulk of the Musalman press in India. They were called traitors and renegades, but...contumely, ridicule and abuse did not at all affect their patriotism." (S. Sinha).

In Bihar, Mr. Haq organised the first Bihar Provincial Conference (1908) to which his name and that of its president Mr. Ali Iman drew all the Musalmans of light and leading in Bihar. The theoretical Liberalism which Mr. Haq imbibed when a law student in "the land of the free and the brave" he has applied to his own country. Throughout life he has been a staunch and avowed Congressman. He has been Vice-President of the Bihar Povincial Congress Committee and was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress which met at Bankipur in 1912.

As Member of the Supreme Legislative Council (1910-1912), Mr. Haq did not show himself a hasty or extreme reformer. He was ready to accept the theory that administrators might honestly look on things differently from the people. But in a year or so his eyes were opened by what he saw and heard and he knew what this theory *really* meant for the Indian people when translated into action. Then Mr. Haq, with the fearless courage and love of truth which has distinguished him through life, publicly avowed his mistakes and came into line with Gokhale

MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQ,
President, All-India Moslem League, 1915.

and Bhupendra Nath Basu, the trio often sitting on the same bench in the Ligislative Council to the disgust of those who had hoped to find in him a docile Khan Bahadur.

But Mr. Haq has paid the price of his conduct and we know he does not repine at the loss. As an open opponent of sectarian representation in the Legislature, he has been refused re-election by the Bihar Muhammadan electorate. But the mass of the community and the young educated generation idolise him as a leader. He raised an immense sum for the relief of Turkey during the Tripoli and Balkan Wars,—his fervid Urdu eloquence thrilling thousands at Calcutta and elsewhere and he defended the Cawnpore Mosque rioters.

X.

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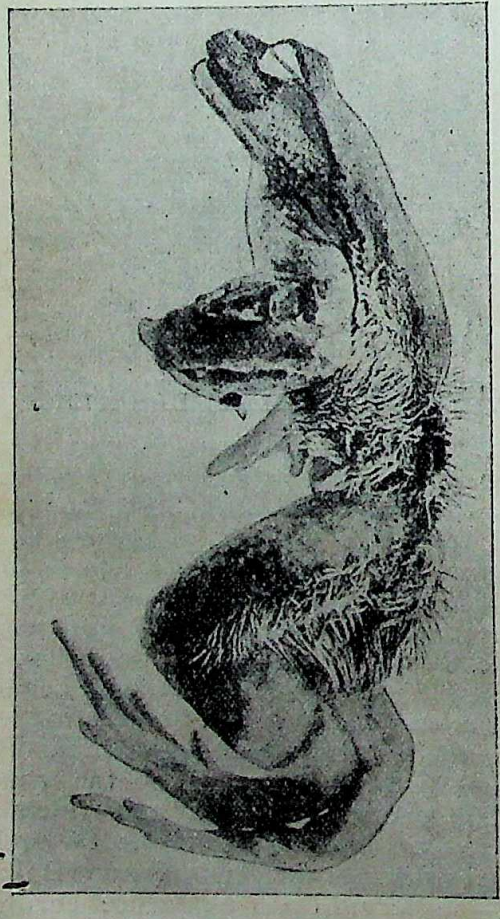
GLEANINGS

Frogs with Hair.

In Popular Mythology "frog's hair" and "hen's teeth" have long played a part as typical rarities. But it has since been discovered that the German Kongo frogs have upon their bodies either hair or a very good imitation of it. Anatomically it is not hair, in the sense in which we apply that term to mammals Our own hair is akin to our finger-nails; it is a horny growth, whereas the "hair" on the African frogs is an abnormal development of the tubercles that appear on the skin of the ordinary frog.



A "HAIRY" FROG
From the German Kongo.

Dr. H. Gadow had made a microscopical examination of the hairlike structures, and reported that he was unable to find any nerves in them, altho he made out some insignificant blood-vessels and lymph spaces. He concluded that these appendages could not be considered a sensory apparatus, and that their function was a mystery.

But Willy Kukenthal, working in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, established that the hairlike appendages were present only in the males, and altogether wanting in the females.

These appendages do not attain the same degree of development in all male individuals, and that even in full-grown males there are very conspicuous differences in this regard.

The hairlike covering is most highly developed during the breeding-season, it is to be considered a secondary sexual characteristic. The females have, on exactly the same parts of the body on which males bear these appendages, small but quite distinct tubercles, which have the same diameter as the bases of the appendages in the males. Their distribution over exactly the same areas of the surface shows clearly that they are homologous with the appendages of the male.

Both males and females show similar tubercles scattered over the whole back, and they are more closely crowded in the region of the angle of the jaws. In some areas of the surface of the males may even be observed the transition of these tubercles into hairs. These hairlike appendages are therefore to be considered as highly developed tubercles of the skin.

—*Literary Digest.*

Movies and the Eyes.

If your eyes are strong and normal, looking at moving pictures will do them no harm; if they are weak, you had better stay away. The elements likely to be the source of irritation to the delicate structures of the eyes are "flickering," or vibration, and inaccurate and variable focusing of the pictures, also the relation the light reflected from the screen bears to the visual plane of the observer. To a normal spectator the undue effort required to maintain distinct vision under these circumstances often produces discomfort, but this subsides and no permanent injury results. Where the refractive powers of the eye are defective—a condition more common than the normal one—eye-strain, with its accompanying disorders will probably follow.

The influences of the motion-picture often work for the individual welfare, since, in many instances the existence of an optical defect is unknown until subjected to strain in viewing these projected images. The irritating features are possible of elimination by a more accurate mechanism regulating the relation between the condensing and projecting lenses, more care in the selection of the glass used and in the grinding of the lenses, and a scientific understanding of optical principles by those who are responsible for the placing and operating of the projecting machines. The most irritating feature to the eyes is the exposure to the direct reflected rays, and this condition should be remedied.

One very serious objection to the manner in which the pictures are projected upon the screen is the presence, in some of them, of innumerable glimmering, flashing, and dancing bright spots that try the eyes.

Another feature which puts a severe test upon the eyes is the unnatural swiftness with which the

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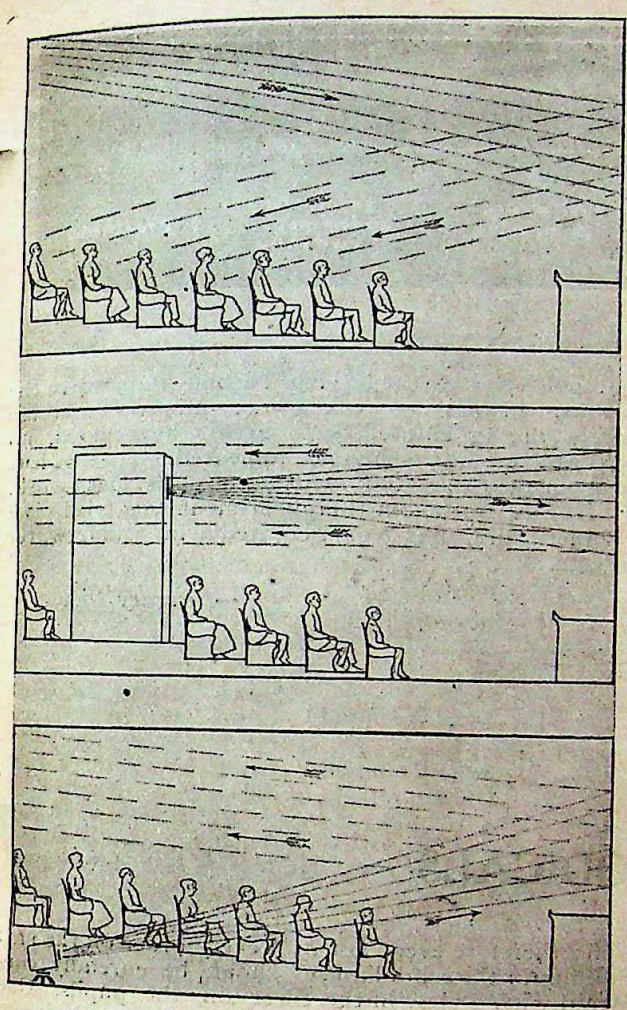


HOW EYE-STRAIN AT THE MOVIES MAY BE LESSENED.

One of the chief causes of eye-strain in the motion-picture theater, according to Dr. J. Norman Risley, is the glare reflected from the screen. The top diagram shows the usual position of the projecting machine, which causes a reflection injurious to the eyes. In the middle diagram this fault is obviated, but the position of the machine is illegal. The third cut shows Dr. Risley's proposed solution—the picture projected from the basement instead of the gallery.

films are reeled off, making every action abnormally rapid and jerky.

But the common practise of flashing written letters and printed matter on and off the screen with almost lightning celerity puts the greatest strain of all upon the eyes.

Another effect of watching moving pictures, worth mentioning in this connection altho it is not injurious, to the eyes, is a pronounced hypnotic experience that many people have, particularly when the performance is prolonged to more than one or two hours and is not of a very exciting nature.

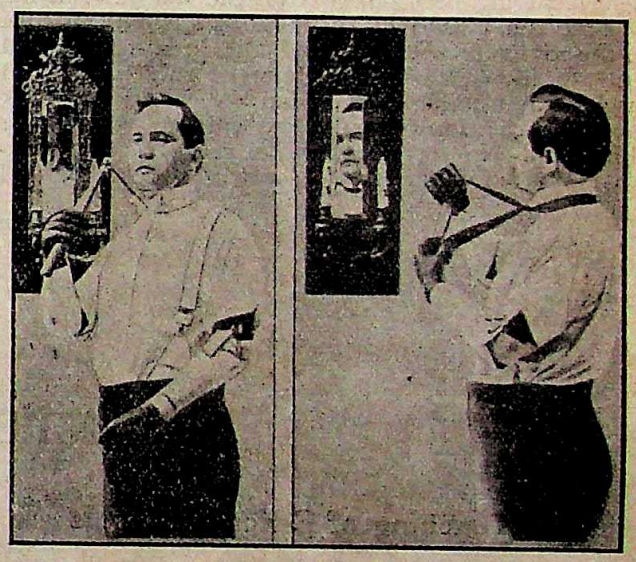
—*Literary Digest.*

Skill in Handling Artificial Arms.

A young New Yorker is doing many remarkable things with the two artificial arms which for a number of years he has worn in place of those first given him by Nature. In fact, he goes through the paces of every-day life without the slightest fuss or effort, and yet he has wood for flesh, steel for joints, and rawhide cords for muscles in place of the real fingers and wrists.

The arms are made of willow-fiber, with rawhide cords as muscles, each one attached to suspenders stretched across the back and chest, to give tension. Forward movement of the stump raises the elbow. A downward movement of the shoulder pulls the finger-cord, bending the hand backward from the wrist-joint and opening the fingers. Another shrug of the shoulder closes the fingers and locks them so that they can hold whatever object is being handled.

In the presence of the astonished surgeons at the International Surgical Congress in New York the other day the young man drest himself. First he buttoned his shoes and put on his garters. Then he drew his



Skill in Handling Artificial Arms.

shirt over his head and buttoned it down the front, closing the top with the ordinary collar button. Then he picked up his collar and buttoned it back and front, handling it as deftly as the average man manages his with ten fingers. When this was done, he tied his four-in-hand scarf, drew it tight and fastened it snug with his scarf-pin, drew on his coat, picked up his hat and put it on. Next he rolled a cigaret, struck a match, lighted the 'smoke' and started puffing it with plain enjoyment. Walking over to the water-cooler he drew himself a drink and tossed it off without spilling a drop. And when he dashed off his name in excellent handwriting, first with the right hand and then with the left, he completed an exhibition which has not yet ceased to cause wonder among those who saw it.

The Technical World Magazine.

Holding Breath to Beat the Record.

In the course of some recent experiments in respiration in the University of California Medical School, an undergraduate student held his breath ten minutes.

This was accomplished while having the student lie on a table, with a pneumographic belt attached about his thorax and communicating with a kymograph. Slow, deep inspirations were taken for two minutes; this eliminated a good portion of the carbon dioxid from the blood. A breath of oxygen was then taken and the time-marker started. The tracing is here shown. A slight relaxation of the respiratory

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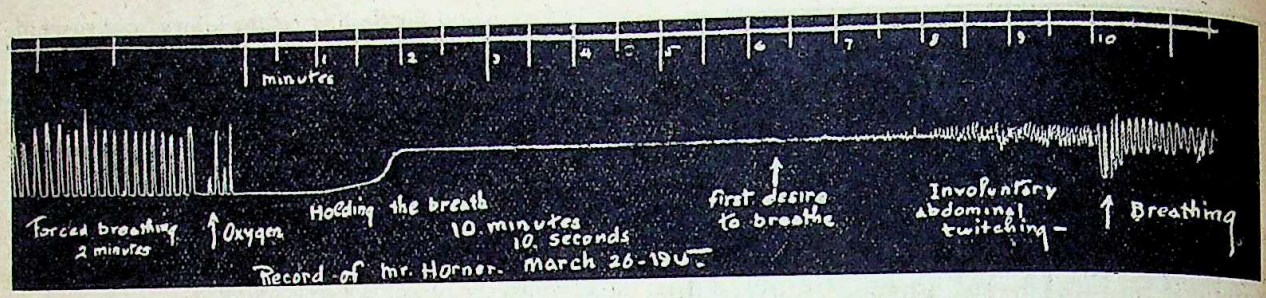

TRACING OF A RECORD-BEATING RESPIRATION EXPERIMENT.

muscles is indicated at two minutes. No desire to breathe was experienced until six minutes had elapsed. The belt having been placed over the diaphragm, the pulse-rhythm is shown throughout. From this time on, the conscious effort to hold the breath increased until an involuntary twitching of the abdominal muscles was quite apparent; but no respiration took place. All the time the pulse was full and strong, the color good. No oxygen-want appeared. At the expiration of ten minutes some vertigo occurred, and the impulse to breathe having become imperative the first inspiration was taken—ten minutes and ten seconds having elapsed. No great hyperpnœa, no weakness, no heart-changes appeared. The student rose from the table and went about his class-work. Mr. Horner, on whom this experiment was tried, is a swimmer and has participated in underwater contests.

—*Literary Digest.*

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Teaching of Civics in Schools

is the title of an excellent article in the *Local Self-Government Gazette* which sets forth within a short compass sane directions for the teachers and pupils for growing up into useful and intelligent citizens.

We read

In teaching civics the aim should be to train for citizenship. Good citizenship depends not so much on a knowledge of the governmental forms of a community as upon the practice of civic virtue in that community. The pupil should know what community life means. He should have the desire to be an honest, industrious and useful member of the community, because he has been taught to feel that his happiness and the welfare of the community depend on his efforts to live right.

The school affords the teacher an excellent opportunity to illustrate concretely the principles underlying community life.

The pupil should be taught that a citizen's rights are the most important things he can possess, that the government exists for the protection of his rights, and that the form of government depends upon the recognition and protection of his rights. But he should be constantly and persistently reminded that every right has a corresponding duty. The rights of some citizens are the duties of other citizens. Rights and duties go hand in hand.

The ethical organization of a school is of greater importance than ethical teaching. School government and class management are living and concrete examples of government, ever before the eyes of the pupil; therefore every act and every order on the part of adults in the schoolhouse should be carefully considered with a view of the effect on the pupils. One cannot expect obedience if one himself is not obedient; one cannot expect respect if one is not respectful himself; one cannot expect fairness if one is not fair-minded himself; one cannot expect pupils to practise civic virtues when the same are being violated by his elders.

Here is a bit of sound advice for the teacher:

The teacher should be impressed with the belief that every action of his own is influencing the character of his pupils; otherwise he is not training them. In order that pupils may have actual experience in governing themselves, they should be released from constant guardianship, they should be given some responsibility and some opportunity for self-government by allowing them to manage or take an active part in managing the discipline of the school, the recitation, their own clubs, games, playgrounds, fire drills, opening exercises, entertainments, excursions, class and school libraries, athletic contests or class savings banks.

Pupils should be made to feel their responsibilities by being made responsible for something in the preservation of school property, in the tidiness of school premises and school rooms, and of the streets of the neighbourhood, and thereby learn that mutual assistance and co-operative service are the fundamental principles of all healthy self-government.

Pupils should be led to see that without law liberty itself is impossible; that infractions of the law are injurious to the people individually and collectively

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ly, and that it is the duty of each citizen, young or old, to aid in the enforcement of the law.

Dr. N. Macnicol has translated, as an experiment, so he says, some of the

Devotional Lyrics of Tukaram

which have appeared in the pages of the *Young Men of India* for December. Mr. Macnicol has not been unsuccessful in his attempt, and those people who are not familiar with Marathi have here an opportunity of becoming familiar with some of the writings of Tukaram. For the benefit of our readers we quote some of the translations together with a short introductory note on Tukaram.

Tukaram is the most popular of all the Maratha poets. He was born at Dehu, near Poona, early in the seventeenth century, and his voluminous poems are very largely occupied with the worship and the praise of the god Vithoba of Pandharpur. The intensity of his desire for fellowship with God gives him a place among the devotional mystics of the world—those men and women who can say, "Like as the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." His poems, which are called *abhangs*, are mostly short devotional lyrics of from eight to twenty lines, and many of them are familiar to the simplest peasants all over the Maratha country.

THE SOUL'S YEARNING FOR GOD.

As the bride looks back to her mother's house,
And goes, but with dragging feet;
Even so it is with my soul, O God,
That thou and I may meet.

As a child cries out and is sore distressed,
When its mother it cannot see,
As a fish that is taken from out the wave,
So 'tis, says Tuka, with me.

A CRY FOR GOD'S LOVE.

A beggar at thy door,
Pleading I stand;
Give me an alms, O God,
Love from thy loving hand.

Spare me the barren task,
To come, and come for nought—
A gift poor Tuka craves,
Unmerited, unbought.

THE BOLDNESS OF FAITH.

Launch upon the sea of life;
Fear not aught that thou mayst meet.
Stout the ship of Pandurang;
Not a wave shall wet thy feet.

Many a saint awaits thee there,
Standing on the further shore;
Haste, says Tuka, haste away,
Follow those who've gone before.

HE KNOWS OUR NEEDS.

Unwearied He bears up the universe;
How light a burden I!
Does not His care the frog within the stone
With food supply?
The bird, the creeping thing, lays up no store;
This great One knows their need.
And if I, Tuka, cast on Him my load,
Will not His mercy heed?

THE SECRET OF PEACE.

Calm is life's crown; all other joy beside
Is only pain.
Hold thou it fast, thou shalt, whate'er betide,
The further shore attain.

When passions rage and we are wrung with woe
And sore distress,
Comes calm, and then—yea, Tuka knows it—lo!
The fever vanishes.

Transition period in our Life

is the title of a readable article in the *Crucible* for September-October, penned by S. V. Puntambekar.

The writer holds that

The whole life of a society is a transition-period. But some epochs of its life present sudden transitions which follow contact, conflict and revolution. At present the inherent forces of our society have been weak and yielding under the influence of external forces which are strong and resistless.

The effect of isolation:

History tells us that isolation from external centres of thought and civilisation, though sometimes it may prove a blessing in the form of having an individual type of national character and civilisation, has often proved a curse. Exhaustion of national greatness after a period of splendour and achievement is very common in past history, if the people in question are completely isolated from external world-forces.

The writer goes on to say:

Our isolation of hundreds of years received a rude military shock from the advent of Mahomedans first and Europeans afterwards. In fact two civilisations one Mahomedan and the other European, one after another, during the last thousand years have been trying their best to darken and enlighten our thoughts, to confuse and inspire our minds. In both the cases their main superiority lay in military organisation, enterprise, co-operation, diplomacy and cunning, physical valour and intrepidity.

Mr. Puntambekar does not believe that Mahomedans in India have done us much good whether in the capacity of conquerors or fellow citizens. Neither does he believe in the individuality or greatness of Mahomedan art in India. Says he:

Their thundering shock of arms and their youthful energy did stagger us in the beginning. Their military qualities, those of daring and onslaught, were an object of wonder to our inactive minds. But we soon realised their intellectual inferiority, and condemned their brutal force as a piece of savagery.

Mahomedan art in India is not purely Mahomedan but possesses a strong element of Hindu artistic genius; and that this so-called Mahomedan contribution to Indian art does not in any way compensate for the ruin and stagnation of our independent development;

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and for the down-ward direction of our thoughts. The only credit I am inclined to give them is that when India was splitting into independent fragments, when petty jealousies were fomenting internal troubles, and when practically stability of life, foresight and the true star of India's self-interest had disappeared, their military valour kept alive in the minds of the downtrodden Hindus, that they were a part and parcel of a great country and civilisation and never allowed the fundamental unity of India to be dissolved.

Let it not be understood, the writer takes care to inform us, that he is drawing up an indictment against the whole Islamic civilisation. His remarks concern only what the Mahomedans brought into India. "Their civilisation and culture have left us no legacy that we may be proud of them; and has long ago exhausted itself to influence us in any way."

"The second and existing foreign force and influence is the European." In the struggle of the white people for attaining supremacy in India "the more practical, the more compromising, the better organised genius of the English succeeded," and quite sensibly, "they did not follow long the wrong track of despotism and obstinacy." As a result, "the last fifty years provide us with evidence that some progress in co-operation with the people and in their welfare has been made."

There is much truth in what the writer presents in the following lines:

In our ordinary walks of life we are observing European manners and custom, food and fashions, and more or less imitating them to a certain extent. But in all these cases we have not succeeded in differentiating trivial from important. We have not even realised our surrounding circumstances. We read European literature but do not attempt to study it. We enjoy the advantages of the advance in science, but do not fathom its depth and realise its truth. History entertains and dazzles us but we do not improve by the light it affords, and the experience it bestows. Our attitude is that of a wondering child, not that of a cool critic or experienced manhood. To read European philosophy gives us pleasure, but we neither see its truth nor expose its falsehoods. We become sceptical but are not convinced. Our scepticism is born of superficiality of our knowledge. We have not analysed or compared its contents or its basic principles The same is the case with regard to our ways of life. The variety of manners, of customs, of food and dress which we are always changing, not in the light of higher principles of society, morals, and religious beliefs, but out of sheer imitation and false notions, shows the unstability of our minds. Uniformity in life may be a monotony, but vagueness is certainly a danger. Conservation may not be advisible, but looseness is an enemy.

The writer holds that in our present-day society

There have been no bold suggestions, no heroic breaking up of circumscribed limits, or suitable reconstructions of the old with the new. There seems to be a chaos, a curiosity and a confusion, there is no real desire, no perseverence, no studied foresight. It is all in a muddle everywhere. Some sparks of real knowledge do enlighten us, but they disappear without having completed their task of lighting an everlasting torch for spreading the empire of knowledge.

The Apalling Poverty of India

E. Raman Menon contributes to the *Wealth of India* for November a telling article in which is described the tragic conditions under which the average Indian lives.

The article opens with the following lines:

India is rich in natural resources and commands an almost unlimited supply of labour: yet the annual collective income of the nation is deplorably small. This is sufficient proof of the alarming inefficiency of Indian labour. Almost all employers of labour in India have had reason to complain of the incapacity of the average Indian labourer for sustained exersion.

What is the root cause of this want of efficiency? Lack of physical vigour is the general cause. And what is it due to—this lack of physical vigor?

Among the many causes to which this lack of vigour can be attributed, by far the most important is the systematic and all but universal under feeding that prevails among the masses of the Indian people. "It is", says R. C. Dutt "literally a fact and not a figure of speech that agricultural labourers and their families in India generally suffer from insufficient food from year's end to year's end. They are brought up from childhood on less nourishment than is required even in the tropics and grow up to be a nation weak in physique, stunted in growth, early victims to disease, plague or famine." This has been the opinion not only of Indian publicists, who may be supposed to take a jaundiced view of the situation, but also of responsible Government officials as the following extracts will show:

"The united earnings of a man, his wife and two children cannot be put at more than Rs. 3 a month. When prices of food grains are low or moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one fairly good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their heads, to buy cheap clothing and occasionally a thin blanket." (Report from the Collector of Etawa.)

"The poorness of their physique demonstrates that they are habitually half starved. (Collector of Banda)

"It is not till a man has gone into these subjects in detail that he can fully appreciate how terribly thin the line is which divides large masses of people from absolute nakedness and starvation." (Commissioner of Fyzabad.)

"Hunger is very much a matter of habit and people who have felt the pinch of famine—as nearly all the poorer households must have felt it—get into the way of eating less than wealthy families." (Deputy Commissioner of Hardwar.)

"The diet is of a distinctly inferior class, even

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judged by the low standard of the country." (A report from the Delhi Division.)

"The standard of living is perilously low; herbs and berries are consumed for want of better food." (Gurgaon District.)—R. C. Dutt, *India in the Victorian Era.*

"A vast majority of the ryots lead a life of poverty and must at all times be but little removed from a state of short commons." (Kurnool)—S. R. Iyengar, *Forty Years' Progress of the Madras Presidency.*

This state of things will not come as a surprise to anyone who remembers the average annual income of the Indian. According to Lord Cromer, and Sir David Barbour, it is 27 rupees. Lord Curzon very optimistically placed it at Rs. 30. Probably the correct figures, if they could be obtained, will be much lower. But even if these figures were correct, they necessarily lead us to the conclusion that the average Indian is underfed.

The writer goes on to say:

Another recognised factor which makes for physical vigour and which is always associated with the problem of food is sufficient and healthy house-room. According to the last census the population of Madras Presidency is 41,870,160 and the number of houses is 7,916,490. Therefore on an average one house is occupied by five or six persons. This number is not unsatisfactory, but we can learn nothing from the mere number of houses—we should know what sort of houses these are. Evidence about this point is furnished in the humorous Census Report, of Mr. Molony. He says, "On the census night I sought perplexedly the house of one Muniyan in a city *paracheri.* A friendly neighbour banged against a sheet of iron which bent against the side wall of a cabin, and forth on all fours came Muniyan. His lair was certainly his residence, but it is a nice point whether it could be considered a house." Of the 7,916,490 houses in the Madras Presidency, we are afraid, a fairly large percentage will be found to be habitations, differing in no essential respects from Muniyan's.

Refuge

Under the above heading the *Arya* for November prints a few translations from the Tamil verses of Kulasekhara Alwar, the Chera King and saint. We reproduce four of them which will show that they are not without poetical worth.

Let Fire himself assail with its heat the lotus-flower, it will blossom to none but the Sun. Even if thou shouldst refrain from healing its pain, my heart can be melted by nothing else as by thy unlimited beauty.

The Rain may forget the fields, but the fields will ever be thirsting for its coming. O Lord of the city of the wise, what care I whether thou heal my wound or no, my heart shall ever be thine.

The rivers course down through many lands but must yield themselves to the Sea, they cannot flow back. O sea-hued Lord of the city of the wise, even so must I ever be drawn to thy resplendent glory.

Illusory Power ever seeks him who seeketh thee not, not seeking thy lasting Might. O Lord of the city of the wise whose discus flashes like the lightning, I must ever seek thee, who am thy servant.

The Thirty First Issue of the volume

Prices and Wages in India

is noticed in the pages of the October issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal.*

Regarding the rise of prices between 1890 and 1912 and its causes, we read:

In 1912 the general average of wholesale prices in India was 41 per cent higher than in the quinquennial period 1890-94. This very marked upward tendency in the prices of Indian products continued in 1913. To some extent it was due to seasonal conditions, for 1913 was not a good year from an agricultural point of view. Whilst on the one hand there were floods in parts of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madras, on the other hand the monsoon ceased early in the United Provinces, Central India and Rajputana which also failed to get good winter rains. Famine conditions were therefore establishing themselves over part of the United Provinces as the year closed, and though actual 'famine' was confined to a comparatively small tract the outturn of crops was seriously affected over a much larger area. In consequence, therefore, the outturn of sugar, an important crop in the United Provinces, was seriously affected, and the excessive rainfall in Bengal in July and August resulted in the curtailment of the jute crop. Cotton was the only crop that fared really well.

The average rise in the wholesale prices of the 24 articles for which detailed statistics are given—the most important food grains, other food stuffs and tobacco, oil seeds, fibres and live stock—was two per cent over that of 1912. The average rise for all India in the prices of food grains was, however, considerably more than this and amounted to five per cent. The highest rise in food grains was in Arhar dal (fourteen per cent) and the lowest in Ragi (one per cent). On the other hand Bajra, known in South India as Kambu, showed a decrease of eight per cent, and Jawar, our South Indian Cholam, no fluctuation. There was no fluctuation in the price of sesamum, cotton and cotton seed but an increase in the prices of mustard and rape seed, poppy seed, ghee, jute, tobacco leaf and plough bullocks and a decrease in that of linseed, raw sugar (gur), refined sugar, turmeric and sheep.

"Regarding wages in 1913 the information is somewhat fragmentary."

The only information available was that supplied by the leading industries—cotton in Bombay, wool in the United Provinces, jute, paper and mining in Bengal, rice in Rangoon and brewing in the Punjab—and from the tea gardens. The importance of these industries is however shown by the fact that at the census of 1911, 704,000 persons were returned as employed in tea gardens, 308,000 as employed in cotton mills, 222,000 in other textile industries and 143,000 in collieries. The general result is to show a rise of three per cent in these industries in January 1914 as compared with January 1913. The greatest increase, one of nine per cent, was shown by the cotton and woollen industries followed by one of eight per cent in the comparatively unimportant brewing industry. The jute industry showed a rise of two per cent whilst the paper industry showed no change and the coal and rice milling industries a fall of three and four per cent respectively. There was no material change in the case of tea gardens.

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Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar contributes to the *Educational Review* for November an article entitled

Research in Indian History

At the very outset the writer quotes Lord Morley's idea as to what is history and what the historian should be like.

History, in the great conception of it, has often been compared to a mountain chain seen far off in a clear sky, where the peaks seem linked towards one another towards the higher crest of the group. An ingenious and learned writer the other day amplified this famous image, by speaking of a set of volcanic islands heaving themselves out of the sea, at such angles and distances that only to the eye of a bird, and not to a sailor cruising among them, would they appear as the heights of one and the same submerged range. The sailor is the politician. The historian, without prejudice to monographic exploration in intervening valleys and ascending slopes, will covet the vision of the bird.

"It is notorious," says the writer, "that India has but little history of her own."

The difficulties that have to be overcome in any work of research in this field are many and require talents of the highest order over a wide field of study. Broadly speaking the sources of Indian History can be grouped into three broad classes, namely :

1. Indian Literature (Traditionary and Historical);
2. Foreign Literature, chiefly the works of travellers, &c. ;
3. Archæology, Monumental, Numismatic and Epigraphic.

The writer takes up each of these classes and considers them separately. The various records he mentions

have made it possible to compile a political history of India from the first century B.C. onwards with sufficient fullness up to the fourth century A.D. and with greater fullness afterwards. But to make the best use of these records and get them to yield all the results they are capable of yielding work in this line will have to go hand in hand with work in other departments of research 'in which hardly a beginning has been made, beyond a preliminary treatment, in detached writings, of details which will have to be hereafter brought together and handled on broader lines in connected and more easily accessible works.

The writer goes on to say :

Along with this work has to go on work upon the collation of all historical material available in literature, numismatics, art works, &c., and unless all of these are examined carefully and the material that can be drawn from them made available in a form accessible to students of history, no historical work proper would be possible. This will involve great labour in the literatures of four or five languages, in thousands of inscriptions in all these languages, besides the monuments, coins and works of art generally.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that these last are coming in for their share of attention at the hands of some individuals and Governments and that is among they are coming to be studied with more of that sympathy which hitherto was notoriously wanting. In the words of Justice Woodroffe : "It has been the fashion amongst European art-critics to decry the merits of Brahmanical sculpture on the ground of the alleged monstrosities of the Hindu *pauranic* conceptions, which, it has been said, are incapable of artistic treatment. The examples collected in this volume will, it is hoped, help to dispel such misconceptions and to refute the unjust criticisms which they have engendered, and will further a juster appreciation of the fact that Indian Sculpture is not a freak of Asiatic barbarism, but is a worthy representative of a school of æsthetic performance as logical, articulate and highly developed as those of any country in Europe, ancient or modern."

Tourists in Japan

is the title of a short but informing article penned by Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy and appearing in the November issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal.*

Mr. Reddy writes:

Japan knows how to mint her natural beauties into coin. Scenic attractions are by no means a negligible item in the national revenue of Japan.

From our personal experiences of Japan we know this to be perfectly true.

Japan attracts a large number of foreign tourists every year. Japanese hotels and restaurants, silk and curio stores, Railway companies etc., reap a rich harvest every spring and autumn which are the usual tourist seasons.

What is it that attracts tourists there?

She has a wonderfully fine climate, midsummer being the only disagreeable season. Even the winter is quite enjoyable—the air is light and clear and there is plenty of sunshine and the thermometer does not go down very low or stay there very long. After it has snowed once or twice the hills and valleys look perfectly beautiful. In addition to natural scenery Japan offers all the attractions of art and antiquity. The temples of Nara, the shrines at Nikko and other celebrated places are in their way as interesting as the art treasures of Rome or Florence. The Japanese knew how to lay out parks and train trees long before the Western nations awoke to the conception of beauty in nature or landscape gardening. In architecture the Japanese are far inferior to us, but in all the other departments of art, decoration, painting, carving, sculpture, metalwork—and shall I add cleanliness and tidiness ?—they are easily and by long odds our superiors. In the culture of flowers they are unsurpassed by any people in the world. And so the temple and surroundings display to perfection the combined charms of art and nature. The lotus ponds, the miniature bridges and waterfalls, the little artificial islands, the well placed rocks with a few pines growing out of them, and the other features of the regular Japanese garden reproduce on a small scale the beauties of mountain scenery. There is nothing grand or sublime about it, but it fascinates by its astonishing cleverness, and its pretty, coaxing appearance. The places are kept very clean and spotless ; the Japanese have a horror for dirty slovenly ways.

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But all these beauties would not have proved such a success in attracting tourists, foreign and Japanese, were life in Japan not based on better and more liberal principles than it is amongst the Hindus.

Anybody irrespective of caste, creed or colour could enter their temples provided only he takes off his shoes or else wears wooden or canvas over-shoes, so that he may not carry into the sacred presence, along with his devotion, the dirt and dust of the street. There is nothing superstitious about this regulation ; it is rational and therefore allows freedom of means if only the end is conserved. Thus the rule applies only to temples which are covered with mats and Japanese mats are very pretty and fairly expensive. In regard to many of the popular Shinto shrines, the floors of which are quite bare, people could go in with their shoes on. Even where shoes are prohibited, it is done not because there is objection to leather as such but on hygienic grounds. In many such temples and monasteries visitors are provided with over-shoes which they could slip over their boots and walk in. As a precautionary measure, I went about with a pair of over-shoes of my own stocked in my over-coat pocket. But since the removal of shoes is considered by the Japanese, as amongst us, a mark of respect, it is insisted on in the case of a few very holy places—such as the Shogun's Shrine at Nikko, the temple of the Sun-goddess at Ise, and the Imperial palaces (for the Emperor is divine). Here both boots and over-coats should be taken off but socks are kept on and visitors are provided with felt or other warm slippers. So on the whole even in regard to matters of this kind, which are better tests of a people's temper than things of more ostentatious importance, the Japanese are a remarkably reasonable race.

For the convenience of pilgrims and tourists there are large numbers of inns and rest-houses near temples, health resorts or any other places of interest.

Owing to the absence of caste or other forms of antisociality, hotels have sprung up in great abundance. Foreigners, as a rule, prefer to go to hotels in which the comforts they are used to are provided. These are known as foreign hotels, though most of them are owned and managed by Japanese. Sometimes out of curiosity they stop at Japanese inns, which however defectively furnished and provided from their point of view, are invariably clean and attractive. They may not like the food which consists chiefly of rice, fish, and vegetables, cooked in a manner which does not appeal to their taste, or the necessity of having to sleep on quilts spread on the floor-mats, but then the rooms are large and prettily decorated with kakemonos and embroideries, the quilts too are done in fine rich designs, the surroundings are perfectly clean and tidy, and the host, hostess, and maids excel in good manners and polite attention.

The Japanese know the art of alluring customers.

They advertise well the scenic attractions of their country. At every railway station is put up in conspicuous position a board containing a list of the places of interest near by, and their distance from the station. Maple parks, plum groves, cherry valleys, waterfalls, pine woods, mountain peaks, Buddhist and Shinto shrines, castles, or whatever else there is of beauty or antiquarian interest within six or seven miles of that spot are included in the list.

India too could enrich herself by drawing tourists from abroad if she were as liberal as Japan ; if she offered the same facilities for travel and stay in places noted for their scenic beauty or of historical interest; if she were more tidy and less indifferent—in fine if she were more up-to-date and well-organised.

As India is to-day, she does not offer enough attractions to the foreigner to empty his purse here.

The cry for

Home Rule in India

has been started. As time goes on it will gain in volume and strength. In the course of an article in the *Commonweal* "Politicus" says that "the Mysore Representative Assembly may be said to be an object-lesson in Home Rule in India."

The Mysore Assembly was started by the late Mr. Rangacharlu, the first Dewan of the post-Rendition period. He was a man imbued with the best principles of the British administration in India, and his work, whether in Madras or Mysore, has shown what an Indian trained under high class British officers of the old type could achieve, if given some latitude in a Feudatory State. His conception of a large Assembly composed of the governed was considered as a novel one at the time. Its annual sittings spread over six to seven days and its discussions of subjects brought forwad are brief, pointed and constructive in character. The time allowed for a speaker is very limited and if he shows any tendency to be diffuse, he is soon made to know it. Though largely made up of people without any knowledge of English, the members respect the rulings of the chair, come well prepared with facts and figures, and even with precedents, and show a distinct desire to get through the business in hand without delay. Its utility as an annual audit of the State's progress is recognised by His Highness's Government as is manifest from the privileges conferred on it from time to time. This year Sir M. Visvesvaraya intimated that Government had bestowed on it the right to ask twenty-five supplemental questions after the arrival of the delegates in Mysore if a majority agree in the view that they should be brought forward. They have also conferred on them the right to criticise the State Budget, a privilege which was utilised in a telling manners by a few of the members present this year.

Anybody could see the highly fertile character of the debates if he considers the concluding speech of the President of the Assembly which closed its thirty-second session a short while ago.

He promised, for instance, a fresh Committee of Inquiry in regard to the question of the relations between Inamdars and tenants. The Report of the first Committee is vitiated to some extent by the fact that the Committee had no representative of the tenant class on it. Its Report cannot, under such

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circumstances, be taken as final, more especially as we know, from experience, that landlords of every class have no great desire to further the interests of tenants. These facts were brought home to the Government by different speakers and the effect was magical. The same may be said in regard to the sympathetic promise made by Sir M. Visvesvaraya as to the need for reducing the irrigable area under tanks which have been silting for ages. While the silting up process has been going on steadily though imperceptibly, the area under irrigation has remained the same, with the result that wet rates are charged where the supply of water is either deficient or practically nil. This is a grievous injury that ryots suffer from in British territories as well, but a remedy here has been made possible by popular representation.

Mysore has solved the question of the Separation of Executive from Judicial functions, but want of funds stands in the way of the adoption of the approved scheme. It may be argued that while there may be little to be said against a reform of this kind, the financial objection to its wholesale adoption may practically prove an insuperable one even in a comparatively small State "No," said the popular representatives in effect; if an abuse is an abuse, it must be remedied and a remedy should be found for it. Sir M. Visvesvaraya's answer in regard to free primary education seems a just one, in the light of the popular demand for it, though it may smack a little of Mr. Lloyd George's maxim of exploiting the rich for the benefit of the poor.

The lively discussion in regard to the imposition of a cess in lieu of compulsory personal labour in connection with communal work for half a day in the week led naturally to a reply which is not likely to prove a final one on the subject. The report of this discussion published in the papers will doubtless have made it clear that the villagers themselves are conscious that however much they may feel for it, communal life on the old lines is fast passing away. The causes which have contributed to this result are many; but the position though clear is not free from difficulty. Sir M. Visvesvaraya's answer to the members is, we think, therefore a right one. More time is necessary for the formation of a more decided opinion in the matter. If practical unanimity prevails among the people themselves in regard to it Government action would be open to less objection. As it is, the imposition of a cess of the kind proposed would be hardly legal. Perhaps legislation of a simple kind may easily help Government to get over this technical difficulty but before Government could undertake, this, it would be necessary for them to obtain a clearly defined opinion from the people primarily affected by it.

The throwing open of the State Life Assurance scheme announced by Sir M. Visvesvaraya is another concession which popular representation has won for the people. It is we think fully justified by local conditions, though we trust that steps will be taken to differentiate this class of insurance from that covering the case of public officials. Still another question discussed related to a railway connection to a port on the West Coast. It is still said to be under "active investigation." This question owes its prominence as much to the people's representatives in the Assembly as to the planters.

"Politicus" closes his article with the following very pertinent observations:

The subjects touched upon at the last session of the Mysore Assembly show that the people's representatives, though most of them are ignorant of English and speak only in Kanarese, are quite up to the mark. It is a mistake to think that Indians when trained to look at things from the business point of view would not prove successful in the handling of public questions. It would be verily a libel to say so. Trust begets trust; believe the people, and you will not be disappointed. Opportunities make men; they create politicians, even statesmen. Blame not people without giving them an opportunity to prove their capacity. The only way to learn is to try and do a thing straight out; failure need not be made much of in the first instance. Unless judges commit mistakes there is no progress in legal procedure or substantive law. That is so everywhere. Unless we commit mistakes, we can never learn. Because Indians commit mistakes, it should not be said that they are unfit to exercise power. That would be arguing against common experience. It is said that, thirty years ago, members of the Mysore Assembly did not know what questions to ask. Dewan Rangacharlu, it is said, took them by the hand, and taught them how to prepare their questionaire. When he disallowed questions, he showed the questioners concerned why he disallowed them. In course of time the members have become experts in their work, have developed a sense of solidarity that is surprising. They do their work efficiently and well. Their position as popular representatives is coveted, and their work is so much appreciated that they are believed to be the best spokesmen of popular grievances.

Government in Mysore is largely moulded by opinion as expressed and formulated in the Assembly. That is one reason why Government in Mysore is hardly ever unpopular, though there is, to speak frankly, no free press in it as yet. The Assembly is the organ of the people, and it is the one factor that has to be reckoned with by the Government as a whole, and by the official in his individual capacity.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Under the heading

An Enquiry into Vulgarity

there appears an article in the *New Statesman* in which the writer deplores the lack of dignity and want of good taste which are evidenced in some of the posters issued by the British Government to draw recruits for the present struggle.

The writer is not wrong when he says, "that which is wit in an ordinary citizen is blazing vulgarity when uttered by a Government."

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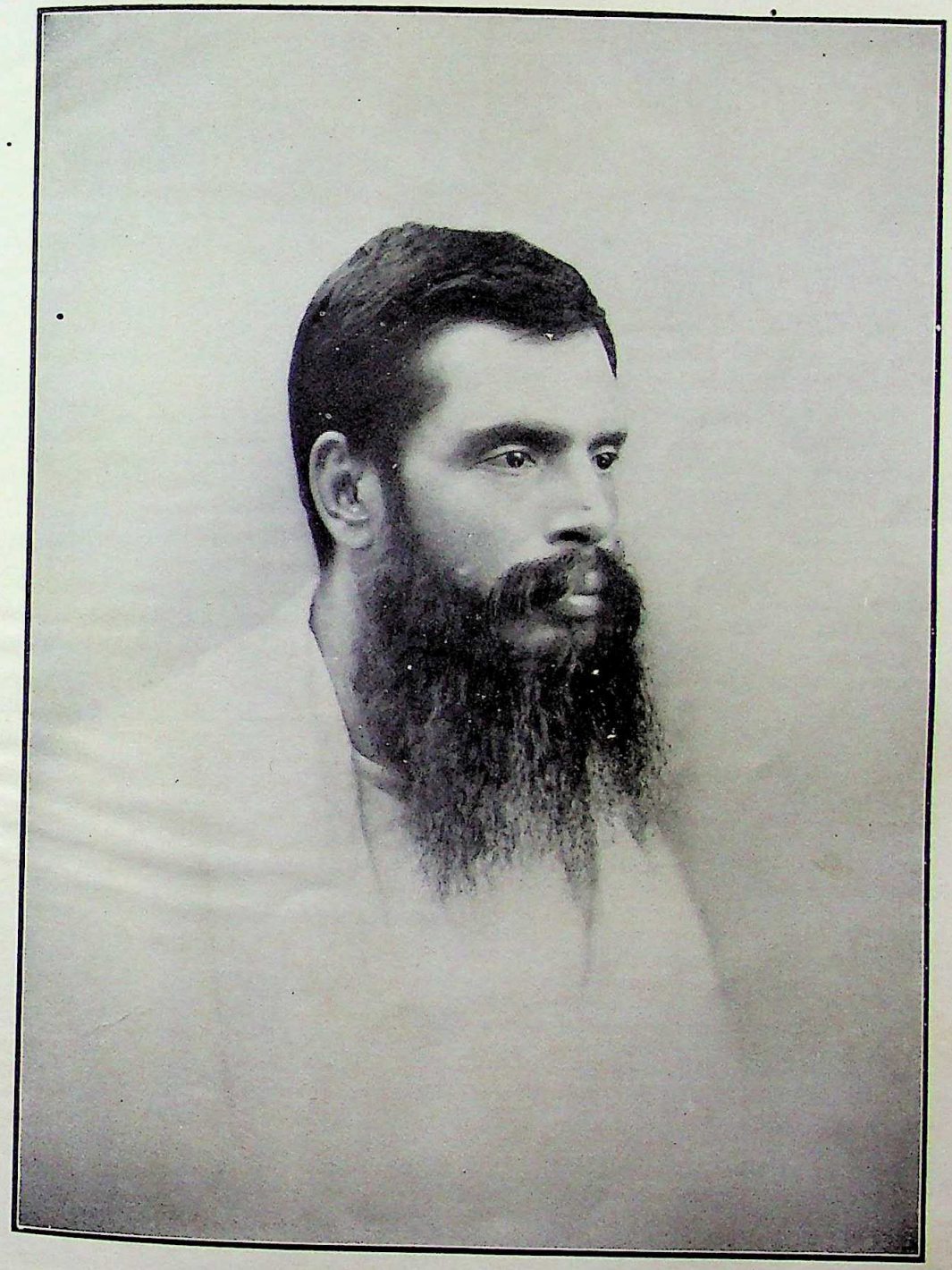

UPENDRAKISOR RAY

May 10, 1863—December 20, 1915.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

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The voice of Johnnie Jones or George Robey is one thing: the voice of England is another; and it is the voice of England, and not of Johnnie Jones, which will have the profoundest appeal for Englishmen in a time of peril like the present. "It is more blessed to go than to be pushed"—that is the Johnnie Jones note and would pass in a music-hall. The England for which men lay down their lives, however, is not a music-hall comedian. She is, however vaguely, a sacred land, a place—almost a person—beloved. It may be retorted that, if this were so, soldiers on the march would sing sentimental hymns to England instead of music-hall songs. But that would be to misunderstand. Soldiers sing music-hall songs not as an expression of all they believe and care for, but as a sort of careless music of courage. They sing them among themselves, but even they do not expect generals and statesmen to address them through the medium of music-hall songs. No one would have been more shocked than they if the Prime Minister, in the course of his visit to the Front, instead of addressing them in the grave language of patriotism, had insisted on singing them *The Night I Found the Five Pound Note;* and the general who on the eve of battle attempted to rouse the courage of his men by singing *The Hat My Father Wore* or some other light song, excellent in its own place, would be regarded as a lunatic.

The writer goes on to say:

Men live largely by forms: at least they desire forms which suit the spirit of different occasions. Their passion for decorum is as great as their passion for indecorum. They claim the right to be both familiar and vulgar themselves; but they have no love for excessive familiarity and vulgarity in those whom they wish to respect. They resent the thought that the latter may be simply superior persons trying to play down to them. Mr. Lloyd George, familiar though his genius is, would only horrify his followers if he winked on the platform, sang out "Cheero!" to his interrupters, and behaved like a comedian at a third-rate smoking concert. Yet that is more or less how the British Government has been behaving in its recruiting posters. It has been made to appear familiar and by all means vulgar. Some of the recruiting bills of the Napoleonic wars used to end with the sentence: "God damn, blast, and confound the enemy!" On the whole, we are glad this sentiment has not got on to the hoardings during the present war. But we are not sure that we do not prefer it in some ways to "Is your best boy in khaki?"

Recruiting is not a thing which is to be "pushed in the same manner as pills or soap."

That in itself is a vulgar conception of the call of what most of us regard as a war of liberation. Garibaldi did not summon his conquering volunteers to his banner with jests about its being better to go than to be pushed; he offered them death and wounds on behalf of their country, and they rose to the appeal like heroes. Joan of Arc did not go about France asking young girls questions like "Is your best boy in khaki?" She spoke in the accents of one inspired, and men died at her bidding.

But what is vulgarity?

There is nothing more difficult to define than vulgarity. It is often merely something one dislikes in somebody else's manner of speech or behaviour. Vulgarity is apparently something which may afflict kings as well as the common people. It is something which is as rife in the middle classes as in the working classes—perhaps more so. .... It is the spirit of insensitiveness, of ignorant egoism, of indifference to the code of civilized people, of indignity. It flaunts gewgaws in scorn of mind. It cheapens fine emotions. It talks loudly, it walks loudly, it brings itself loudly. It restores man to an ape.

Unity Beneath the Present Discord

is the title of a lengthy and profoundly thoughtful article penned by Eugene Troubetzkoy and published in the *Hibbert Journal.*

Underlying the present discord and inharmony which is convulsing the whole of Europe and countries situated far away from Europe, there is an unity, an underlying solidarity which is almost a miracle. This unity is visible in the fighting nations taken individually or all together.

It is only in times of national danger that the feeling of national unity can attain this degree of penetration and vigor. Now, therefore, is the very moment when, in spite of the fury of the strife between the nations, we become aware, with a depth of feeling unknown at other times, of the general meaning of our life. This stands out in clear relief, infinitely raised above the nations and their quarrels, and forms an indefeasible bond of union, which should be capable of reuniting them and triumphing over their discords.

In war we always witness the growth of the consciousness of national unity. If this exaltation of national sentiment is exceptionally strong at the present moment, it is because the world war is without any parallel in history: men are not fighting for the minor interests of life. For all the combatants engaged it is the very nation that is at stake.

At the beginning of the present war a mighty revolution was effected in the minds of men. Suddenly the strife of parties was seen to stop: no more disintegration, no more discord: in every country the union of the nation was re-established and affirmed. These were the typical facts equally conspicuous in each of the opposing camps. Lost in time of peace, the guiding motive of life asserts itself unmistakably in time of war: each nation comes to itself and gathers its forces to a unity under a single idea and a single act of will.

The effect of war is thus described by the learned writer:

The great European war has brought a wonderful increase to the intensity of life both in the individual and in humanity at large. The chief result of the war has been to double the energy and active force of the general life.

On the one hand war unchains the powers of hell; it breaks the fetters which civilization has fixed upon evil; but, on the other hand, it is during war that all the forces of the good, hidden in the deeps of the human heart, rise up and gather themselves together to do battle against the Satan who has broken loose. In these supreme moments we see the awakening and uprising of moral forces which till then have slept; new qualities, or, it may be, the

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long forgotten traits of past ages, make their appearance. Suddenly comes the perception that all our European culture is only a thin covering hiding the ferocious appetites of man's bestial nature. We behold the savage in man, the antediluvian monster, which remains the same in its essential nature, slightly polished and drilled by civilization, but also armed by civilization to the teeth. Once more we must listen to the story of the achievements of the brute, of the superhuman cruelty of individuals and of masses—all the horrors of prehistoric chaos making a fresh appearance in the twentieth century. But at the same time we see the revival of beneficent forces which, until that moment, have been dormant, or demoralized by the comfort and well-being of our daily life in the long interval of peace.

This abnormal force of hatred, now let loose, provokes and quickens into activity an equally abnormal force of love; so that, for the time being, the most astonishing heroism is looked upon as an almost everyday occurrence, and the supreme act of self-surrender becomes an ordinary event. Most remarkable of all is the fact that this sublime heroism has ceased to be the exceptional quality of a few individuals—the heroic spirit possesses whole masses of men.

At such a time a new type of humanity comes into being, more powerful and more wonderful to behold. Man augments his stature; and therewith the feeling of his own value gathers force within him.

The part love is playing in this war is thus described:

Love is reacting against the hatred which is invading the world; and for that reason it burns in all its forms with a splendor and force such as we see at no other time. This ardent flame of love we may now behold in a vast variety of situations.

In all such scenes the most moving figure is that of the woman, standing beside the husband, son, or brother who is going off to the war.

At the beginning of the war the Russian papers published a letter which had been intercepted by our troops, written by a young German girl to her lover in the Army: "What does this cruel Kaiser want with our poor bit of happiness, which is so dear to us?" Every loving heart, especially if it is a woman's, has the same feeling in similar circumstances. And yet in this woman's love there is an aspiration of a higher order, which imposes silence on the spirit of rebellion. The letter which I have just quoted contains also this phrase: "Return covered with glory; be my victorious Siegfried."

The psychology of love: the love of the individual, the love of country.

In all true and sincere love there is this inevitable conflict of two powerful aspirations: first, the desire for the preservation of the being beloved, the desire to snatch him from death at all costs; and then, along with this, the dream of seeing his brow encircled by a crown which cannot be won save by an act of heroism, often at the cost of his life.

Love is not satisfied by merely perceiving the presence of the being beloved: it must also *reverence* him; its object must *justify* its devotion. And love is deeply conscious that the individual human being who inspires it is nothing if abstracted from the great human whole to which he belongs. Individual existence becomes empty and meaningless just so far as it ceases to serve that larger whole. And that is why love is always ready for the supreme sacrifice. For those who desire before all else to be *proud* of the beings they love, the death of these is always preferable to their dishonor.

The feeling of the individual for his country must be extraordinarily powerful when it leads him to sacrifice not only his "self" but that which is far dearer to him—to wit, *everything that he loves.*

Now when human slaughter is going on on an unprecedented scale, when acute hatred and distrust are in the air, "now, more than ever the unity of our history comes into view." The writer, being a Russian, as a matter of course alludes to the history of Russia but his findings apply nevertheless to the histories of all the other nations who are engaged in the terrific conflict. Says the writer:

We are conscious of it even at those very points where until now it seemed most obscure, where the breach between past and present seemed final, when a great gulf divided the fathers from the sons.

This change is seen, for example, in the new feeling evoked in us by the ancient monuments of our national culture.

The writer tells us that he recently visited "one of the most beautiful examples of Russian religious architecture in the seventeenth century—the church of St. John the Baptist at Jaroslawle." Says he:

This was not the first time I had admired it; I had often seen it twenty-three years earlier: but at that time something was wanting to the wholeness of my impression; there was some inward inhibition of my enjoyment. But now the inhibition had vanished. I was overcome by the colors and beautiful lines of the architecture, because, for the first time, I was conscious that the spiritual life which formed these things is not our past alone, but our present as well.

Among the frescoes of this church there is one of outstanding loveliness, which expresses its whole idea. It is the image of the Baptist—the face noble and severe, the arms and limbs much emaciated and refined by asceticism. The whole is surrounded with the powerful wings of an angel.

Many centuries of our history have expressed their innermost thought and spirit in the symbolism of this fresco. It speaks to us of the spiritual growth of ancient Russia accomplished in the midst of much bodily weakness. Her physical organs were weak, so much the more did her soul soar up on these splendid wings. As I examined the church with this thought in my mind I saw clearly that the same idea was embodied in the eternal architecture, which stands out in striking contrast to its surroundings. This temple of costly stone, with its golden pinnacles flashing their light under the blue of heaven, richly decorated with paintings in bright and varied colors, is built in the midst of one of the poorest quarters of a poor country town. The majesty and splendor of its lines inevitably remind the beholder of the powerful wings of the angel: while the surrounding hovels, miserable wooden huts inhabited by the poorest people, are the counterpart to the emaciated limbs of the forerunner of Jesus.

The following observations of the writer

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contain much truth. They prove the writer's remarkable insight into the heart of things.

This renaissance of human solidarity is one of the most paradoxical, and yet typical, features of the war. Nor is it merely among living contemporaries that these bonds of union come into being. In these grand moments of history we see the centuries draw near to one another, the past joins hands with the present. And then it is that this past grows very dear to our hearts; because, when war threatens, the past represents an ancient glory for which we are fighting, a heritage of our fathers of which someone would rob us, the tradition of a culture which we are defending against the enemy. It is precisely by this link with the past that we become a nation. To be conscious of it is to feel that our fathers are with us; for our country is precisely "the land of our fathers."

What gives a nation its essential characteristic is not its mere possession of riches, but the way it values and employs them. And can we not discern at the present moment a great change in this respect? Do we not perceive that the heart of man is now breaking the chain which binds it to mere comfort and material pleasure? Do we not see from day to day the growth of a superb contempt for mere bodily ease—that contempt without which there would be no more heroes in the world? And this orgy of universal destruction which is setting the world on fire—does it not enable us to rate at their proper value both the wealth which is being burnt up and the material culture which has thus perfected the instrument of its own ruin?

The individuality of nations derives its content and value from a universal principle which stands above all the nations and unites them in the whole of humanity. If we eliminate the universal characteristics of a nation which form the link of connection between itself and others, its individuality vanishes.

The spirit of unity and of universal solidarity bloweth where it listeth; it knows no limits of geography or race; the impulse which stirs it cannot be arrested by artificial barriers, by fortifications or great guns. From the very heart of war there issues this mighty protest of life against the destructive force of death. But whenever life asserts itself, its object is always to re-establish a living unity. The more violently unity is threatened by war, or by the mutual hate which would tear it asunder, the more powerful becomes the answer of this spiritual force in its effort to re-establish the integrity of mankind.

As an instance in point the writer refers to the "touching description of the Christmas festival in the trenches, when the Germans, hearing the English singing their hymns, went out to meet them and heartily shook their enemies by the hand."

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In the October number of the *United Empire* H. S. Gullett discusses about the ways and means of

Strengthening the British Empire.

The writer is of the opinion that:

While the war is disrupting Europe it is each day consolidating the British Empire. The Canadians, Australians, South Africans, and New Zealanders, and the people of the United Kingdom are immeasurably nearer in sentiment and ideals than they were a year ago. The common peril has demonstrated our common blood and speech, our love of freedom, and our antagonism to the bully. Every casualty in our grand Empire Army strengthens and consecrates the Imperial bond.

He is very optimistic about the growth of the British Empires. Says he:

One need know but very little about the new lands of the British Empire to recognise that a century hence, or less, their population and their wealth, or, in other words their fighting capacity, will have been doubled again and again. The self-governing Dominions sent some 40,000 men to the war in South Africa; in connection with the present great struggle they have actually at the battle fronts and in the course of training about 250,000 troops, more rather than less. All going well, they could twenty years hence easily put a couple of million men into the field in any part of the world, in addition to furnishing a great naval force. At each successive Empire call it will be found that the part played by the children will be relatively stronger in men and money and ships until, far sooner than most of us anticipate, Britain's fighting capacity will be greater beyond the seas than it is in these Islands. When that day comes the world will be nearer to peace than it has ever been before.

The writer, though an imperialist, is not blind to the dangers threatening the British Empire, especially the Overseas Empire. For we read:

Imperialists glibly talk of the Empire as though all the lands which fly the British flag must continue to do so indefinitely. But let us be frank about the real position. It is by no means certain that Britain will rule the whole of Australia, or the whole of Canada, fifty or even twenty-five years hence. The loyalty of the Dominions is not in doubt. The danger is elsewhere. So long as the great majority of the people of the Empire Overseas are of Anglo-Saxon origin, they will adhere strongly and proudly to the British Crown. The disturbing factor is that we live in an exceedingly ambitious land-hungry age in which solemn treaties are lightly honoured. Everywhere the clamour is for more territory. Within the past few years war after war has been waged, and despite the attempts of the aggressors to cover their design the aim in nearly every case has been material gain. The richest of all the unpeopled defenceless lands are those which comprise our self-governing Dominions.

Perhaps the Empire is too large; perhaps we are attempting too much. But the tendency is to acquire more and still more territory, and to add year by year to our monster task of colonising. We who live Overseas are already spread very thin; after the War our grip, unless we are strongly reinforced, will be precarious indeed. There is grave danger that unless the position is faced squarely by leaders in the United Kingdom and the Dominions our success and our insatiate appetite for more territory will prove our undoing.

As a remedy the writer proposes:

The first care should be to make the Empire safe against the foreign aggressor and that can only be done by putting into every fertile portion of it the

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largest possible British population at the earliest possible moment. People the Dominions with Anglo-Saxons, and the strongest and best, and the only bond worth having, the bond of blood and sentiment, is already established. The rest will follow naturally. When the War is over give to the young lands Overseas every man, woman, and child who can be spared.

We want after the war a general recognition of the fact that our best allies are our own British people living in every portion of the world. They, and they alone, are the allies who will stand the test of time and the strain of circumstance.

The most remarkable feature of this article is that nowhere is there a mention of even the name of India. It seems, the writer in his enthusiasm about the future growth and prosperity of the British Empire forgot the existence of India, without which the British Empire could not have been what it is.

Rabindranath Tagore: as seen through Japanese Eyes.

We all know how deeply the writings of our Poet have moved the cultured mind of Europe and America; but up till now we did not know what the cultured Japanese thought of his writings. To the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association* for August Prof. T. Hirose of Keio University, Tokio, contributes an article on our Poet which makes us familiar with the views of a few Japanese critics on the writings of Rabindranath. It is not possible to judge the true worth or properly appreciate the merit of Rabindranath's works unless one is familiar with his contributions in Literature which are vast and varied. The foreigner can reach his works only through translations in which much of the beauty and grandeur of the original is lost. That explains why oftentimes the foreign critic's judgment is faulty and falls out of the mark. This can be said of some of the views of the Japanese critic Mitsui which are quoted below.

Prof. Hirose writes:

Mr. Mitsui's remarks greatly satisfy us in that it touches Tagore's views on moral philosophy. While tracing the fountain-head of the stream that has fed the thoughts of Tagore to the mythology, philosophy and religion of ancient India, Mr. Mitsui emphasizes the impossibility of reviving the cosmic view or life-view of the ancients in its original form, and argues that Tagore's mission lies where the strains of his thoughts can not be considered separately from the life of the contemporary Indian people. But, he says, there seems to be too much of intellectual reasoning where Tagore attaches importance to quotations from the classics of the old saints. The mystic tendency of all religions is an evil resulting from the precedence of intellectual reasoning or supposition over experience and it must be taken into account that the presence of a somewhat mystic tendency in Tagore's religious views reflects the influence of the political conditions of the present India. The activities of a nation begin with their spiritual movement, and treating Tagore as a mere thinker, it is a question whether his thoughts are supported by internal necessity that reacts within and without. The critic recognizes the course of Tagore's moral ideas in his criticism of European civilization, but he regrets to find in Tagore's thoughts and his literary productions traces of efforts or tendency to try to escape from the actualities of life. We Japanese do not attach much importance to what is novel, or romantic or mystic about his teachings, but want to learn something from him on a more sober subject—his views on morality.

In my humble opinion, Tagore is a man of the first-rate literary ability in the Orient and at the same time there is none in the Occident to compare or compete with him at present. Since the opening of intercourse with the Western countries and the introduction of advanced Western civilization our thinking world has been invaded by Western thoughts and apparently we have gradually lost some of the traditional traits of old Japan. Of late we have awakened to the inadvisability of discarding our own ways and manners in our zeal to take good things from other nations. It is a matter for congratulation that the thoughts of Tagore have found their way to the minds of thinking Japanese, who have begun to awake from their exclusive adoration of Western civilization, and have aroused within them a spirit to love and respect the old traditions of their own country. In that respect, I think, our nation is greatly indebted to Mr. Tagore.

War Philosophy, Hindu and Christian 1500 B.C. and 1915 A.D.

is the title of an interesting article contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* by S. M. Mitra. For his article the writer has largely drawn upon the *Mahabharata*, the great Hindu epic.

Says Mr. Mitra:

The Western conferences which have met from time to time during more than fifty years to discuss the laws of peace and war are the development of the principles enunciated in the seventeenth century of this era by the famous Dutchman Grotius, whose *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* is generally regarded as the foundation of the Western science of international law. But the literature and history of India show that my countrymen anticipated Grotius by about thirty centuries that they forestalled the Conferences of Geneva (1864, 1868, and 1906), St. Petersburg (1868), Brussels (1874), and the Hague (1899 and 1907), that they had rules of warfare laid down about fifteen centuries before the Christian era, and very similar to many important regulations of modern international law.

The ancient Hindu's general outlook on War:

The ancient Hindus believed war to be a necessity, though they did not allow overmastering desire for conquest to overrule their love of peace. The Hindu

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sages held that peace was the normal state of human society, and war its abnormal condition. Their rules for establishing and maintaining peace were as precise as their rules for waging war.

We read further:

The huge epic of the *Mahabharata*, composed about 1500 B. C. shows that both the morality and the expediency of war were discussed at length by the ancient Hindus. Sometimes they debated whether war was a profitable investment for a country, as some modern Western thinkers have lately been doing. "The king should gain victories without battles. . . . The clash of battle is undesirable as long as one can avoid it," said Bhishma, the mighty commander of the Kauravas, and the great philosophic warrior-statesman. "Men have five different kinds of strength," declared Vidura, another Hindu statesman of the *Mahabharata*, "strength of arms, good counsellors, wealth, birth, and strength of intellect. Strength of arms is inferior to all these others." "Shun the waging of war for the acquisition of territory. Territory should be gained by conciliation, by gifts, and by exciting disunion among other kingdoms." This last means of enlarging a nation's boundaries recalls the famous Roman motto of later centuries, *Divide et impera*, which foreign rulers still regard as a highly useful maxim. One of the Hindu arguments against acquisition of territory by force is worth consideration: "The energy necessary for putting down a hostile kingdom would be better expended in care of one's own kingdom."

Treaties and Alliances:

Treaties and alliances held prominent place among various methods, resembling those of modern times, which the ancient Hindus adopted for avoiding war and for strengthening themselves to resist attack. They distinguished roughly three kinds of treaties:—(1) Those made through fear. The volumes of Aitchison's *Treaties and Sanads* supply numerous examples from modern Indian history of agreements which small rajas and petty chiefs have made with the Government of India to ensure themselves against aggression from powerful maharajas. (2) Those made through good offices. The present alliance between the Maharaja of Nepal and the Government of India, largely based upon the good offices rendered by the Nepal State during the Indian Mutiny, affords a modern instance of this kind of treaty. (3) Those made through gifts of wealth, *i.e.*, through a subsidy. As representative of this class, the treaty may be instanced by which the Government of India enters into an alliance with the Amir of Afghanistan and gives him annually a large sum of money, in return for which the Amir agrees to form no alliance with any foreign power without the consent of the British.

In those ancient days alliances were regarded as invaluable aids to peace and supports in war. "There is nothing that cannot be achieved by alliances," asserted Vidura. "The tiger outside the forest," said Krishna, "falls an easy prey; the forest wherein no tiger dwells is easily cut down; hence the tiger guards the forest and the forest guards the tiger." "A man," said Bhishma, "crosses a deep broad river by a log. The man conveys the log to the other side, and the log also conveys the man." To these ancient statesmen successful alliances and counter-alliances were as necessary a part of policy as war. "When a common danger threatens, make peace," they advised, "with one who is strong. When the danger is over consider well the advisability of making a compact with the enemy. Having achieved the object in view, trust not the foe again."

International friendships and Diplomacy:

Bhishma's description of the friends of a monarch aptly summarized the factors that go to make modern international friendships, and his counsel, applied to nations, was evidently taken as a guiding principle by the ancient Hindus in making peace and war. According to him, the different friends of a ruler were: (1) one who pursues the same object; (2) one who is exceedingly attached to him; (3) one who is related to him; (4) one whose good will has been gained by presents and kindness; and (5) an upright man who will range himself on one side and not on both. Of these kinds of friendship," said Bhishma, "look with mistrust upon the first and fourth; at the same time do not trust any overmuch. Trust and mistrust all men. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction, but trust him entirely whose fall would be the consequence of your own fall." Already in Bhishma's time the intimate connection between war and politics was realized, and Hindu statesmen were divided as to whether war is an outgrowth of politics or politics an outgrowth of war. Before resorting to force, the peoples of ancient India who were involved in disputes dispatched diplomatic agents or envoys (duta) to each other to try what could be effected by peaceful persuasion. The ablest brains of the nation were pressed into this service. "They should," said Bhishma, "possess these great qualities: noble birth, eloquence, ability, pleasant address, reliability in delivering the message entrusted to them, and a good memory."

Secret service system and the question of Neutrals:

Ancient India had a great secret service system with approved rules. "Spies were as eyes to the kings of ancient India, and as roots to their kingdoms." Inattention to spies is mentioned by Vidura as one of the causes of the downfall of a king.

Several centuries before the birth of Greece and Rome, students of war philosophy in India had gone deep into the question of neutrals, and had divided them into four main heads:—(1) Neutrals who, whether active or passive, could not but be affected by the progress and result of the war. (2) Neutrals who would be practically unaffected by the war, and therefore felt hardly any concern in the progress of the struggle. (3) Neutrals who would be affected by the progress and result of the war, and who could, if they chose, alter the course of the war without becoming belligerents by manipulating economic forces, etc. (4) Neutrals who, though affected by the War, had not the power to alter the course of the war, like China in the present instance.

How war was conducted by the Ancient Hindus, and the treatment meted out to prisoners of War:

Indiscriminate slaughter was regarded by Hindu warrior-statesmen as both inhuman and inexpedient. A retreating enemy, they said, was not to be pursued too closely, lest he should suddenly turn and rend his pursuers, and also because brave men do not care to mow down those who flee before them. "A king," quoted Bhishma, "should never slay a large proportion of the forces of the foe, though he should do sufficient to render his victory sure. He should never

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inflict such injury as would leave a lasting memory of humiliation in the enemy's heart

The Hindus maintained that it was better to go down before the foe than to conquer by wrongful methods "A victory sullied by unrighteousness," they said, "is insecure, and never brings one to heaven."

In certain particulars the Hindu's sense of fair play far exceeded that which now prevails in warfare. Bhisma's rule of battle was, "mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry." Manu, the ancient Hindu lawgiver, maintained that battles were to be contested fairly. Other definite rules for the conduct of warfare are clearly anticipations of the principles set forth by the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conferences. "Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used, said Bhishma, over thirty centuries before Convention IV., Article 23 (a), of the Hague Conferences forbade belligerents "to employ poison or poisoned arms." A feeble or wounded opponent should not be slain," said Bhishma, . . . or he whose weapon has been broken. . . . One should fight one adversary and leave him when he is disabled. . . . A warrior whose armor has fallen off, or who begs for quarter, . . . or who has cast aside his weapon, may be taken prisoner, but never slain."

The ancient Hindus guarded against maltreatment of war prisoners by dividing them into two classes: the well-to-do, who were kept as hostages against unfair warfare on the part of their enemies; and the ordinary prisoners, who were placed under the supervision of the authorities in charge of temples and shrines. According to Bhishma, those prisoners whose wounds permanently disabled them from military service were to be sent home; others were to be taken to the victor's camp, and their hurts attended to there. These regulations for the humane treatment of prisoners may be compared with Chapter I., Article 1, of the Geneva Convention of 1906: "Soldiers, and other persons officially attached to armies, shall be respected and taken care of when wounded or sick, by the belligerent in whose power they may be . . . " and part of Article 2, Chapter I., of the same Convention: "Belligerents . . . will be at liberty to agree: to restore to one another the wounded left on the field after a battle; to repatriate any wounded and sick whom they do not wish to retain as prisoners. . . ."

The war lords of ancient India advised moderation, urging the victor to protect a conquered country from useless plunder. "Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility, and also from insolent speech," is counsel to which Bhishma gives approval. But when a people offered obstinate and determined resistance to the invader, the attacking Power was advised to adopt sterner tactics, "slaughtering the population, pulling up the roads, setting fire to and knocking down its houses."

Western international law decrees that the person of an ambassador is inviolable. Similarly, in ancient India, to slay or imprison envoys was a heinous sin." It was forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, or whose armor and weapons had fallen off, a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children, and women."

Mr. Mitra has shown in his article that even the ultra-modern problem of the "War baby" was satisfactorily solved by our forefathers. Doubtless this problem has been present from time immemorial.

Says Mr. Mitra:

Even the latest difficulty of the "war baby" received the attention of my distinguished countrymen in that dawn of time. To prevent the destruction of infant life and to save the children from being branded as bastards, the alliances that were responsible for "war babies" were raised to the status of marriage. Three classes of such alliances were recognized: (1) "the reciprocal connection of a youth and a maiden with mutual desire," denominated a Gandharva marriage; (2) when the lover secretly embraces the maiden flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect," called a Pisacha marriage; and (3) "the seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded," styled a Rakshasa marriage. The expense of the maintenance of the offspring of these alliances was borne by the Church, the army, and the civil ratepayers, the proportion contributed by each of these bodies being fixed according to certain rules.

About the treatment of the vanquished foe, we read:

Conquered kingdoms paid war indemnities. There were rules regulating the confiscation of the property of the vanquished. Scholars and philosophers belonging to the conquering party were given certain prizes taken from the conquered. The conqueror's attitude was to be a diplomatic blend of mildness and severity. "Before striking the blow and while striking, speak gracious words having struck, show pity towards the conquered. The people were to be protected from pillage, slaughter, and pain; but a conquered foe was to be kept in submission, as a father masters and restrains his son, without anger and without destroying him. "Put no trust in a vanquished foe," was another Hindu maxim; and "when one's enemies have been subdued, one should not repose in peace." "A king should bring over a hero to his side by showing appreciation of him; a coward, by making him afraid; an avaricious man. by bestowing wealth upon him; and with an equal he should wage war."

Death in battle—how it was looked upon.

To the ancient Hindus righteous battle was virtue, and the high merit, glory, aud respect earned by the warrior who met with death in such a combat made him envied by his fellows. "All the Kshatriyas, O King," said Krishna, "who have fallen in the mighty conflict . . . were heroes and ornaments of battle. They were slain while charging with face towards their foes. None fell wounded in the back or flying from the enemy. All of them . . . have attained to heaven. Thou shouldst not mourn for them." "Life laid down in battle," it is written, "for heroes the blessed gate to heaven." But "the gods themselves with Indra at their head send misfortunes upon them who desert their comrades and return with limbs unwounded from the fray."

The ancient Hindus were wise enough to admit that warfare could not "always

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be waged in a thoroughly straightforward manner."

"Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be at the king's command," declared Bhishma, "yet though he be conversant with it, he should not employ the crooked wisdom as aggressor. He may use it to oppose the dangers that come upon him."

The Constitution of Armies and Conscription:

Armies, consisted of four main divisions: (1) regulars, (2) allies, (3) mercenaries, and (4) irregulars, each made up of eight parts—cars, elephants, horses, officers, infantry, camp-followers, spies, and ensigns. There were volunteers among the ancient Hindu armies, and it should be noted that according to the Hindu idea of chivalry a volunteer is a man who refuses all rewards, even decorations, for he is risking his life only for the sake of his country. Subsidies were paid to certain peoples in return for military service, if required. The army had rules for various formations of troops, systems of signalling, armor, weapons, various badges, generous rewards for valor, medical corps with equipment in attendance at the camps, and envoys whose mission it was to treat with the foe. To some extent the ancient Hindu military system resembled Western conscription; but whereas in the West a conscript nation means practically a whole nation liable to military service, the ancient Hindus divided the nation into four classes, only one of which, the Kshatriya, was the warrior class, every member of which had to train and be ready to fight for his country.

The strategy of War—as practised by the Ancient Hindu:

Unexpected and superior preparation for war, and unexpected attack, are in his opinion highly important principles of strategy. What are these but Bhishma's ideas enunciated over thirty centuries before?—"The gathering together of troops for achieving victory . . . should be concealed." He who wishes to destroy an enemy should not put that ememy on his guard." "A king who is sure of his own strength should, in command of a large force, confidently and bravely give the order to advance, without making known his destination, against one who has no friends or allies, or who is already at war with another, or who is weaker than he." The law of expediency was the essence of Hindu policy. "When the time comes, make peace with a foe; when the time comes, wage war against a friend." By nature no one is the enemy of another," said the Hindu. He only is one's enemy who covets the same prize. Hindu strategists believed in decisive action. "A king should wait long and then destroy his enemy. . . . When the occasion comes, he should attack him without missing the opportunity."

THE LATE MR. U. RAY

MR. Upendrakishor Ray Chaudhuri, better known as U. Ray, was born at the village of Masua in the district of Mymensingh in the year 1862. His father "Munshi" Syamsundar Ray was a reputed Persian and Sanskrit scholar and a man of fearless independence. He was called 'Munshi' because of his Persian scholarship. He is known to have been a man of fine literary attainments and used to perform his daily devotions with the help of Sanskrit *Stotras* (hymns) of his own composition. His Sanskit scholarship was recognised even by the orthodox Brahmin pandits who often invited him to arbitrate in their shastric discussions. Known in early life as Kamadaranjan Ray, Upendrakishor came to be adopted by his uncle Babu Harikishor Ray Chaudhuri, a well-known Zamindar and Pleader of Mymensingh, who gave him the name by which he has been known since then.

He matriculated from the Mymensingh Zilla School, obtaining a Government scholarship of Rs. 15 per month. While a student at school he displayed marked mathematical and scientific talents, but even at that early period his attention was largely claimed by the fine arts. Alone and unaided he mastered the mysteries of light, shade and perspective. The drawings which he lavished upon his books and papers in his school-boy days excited the admiration of his teachers. So great was his passion for music that the first instalments of his scholarship were entirely spent on musical instruments. His passion for science, too, went hand in hand with his devotion to the fine arts.

After matriculating he studied at the Presidency College in Calcutta and afterwards at the Metropolitan Institution, whence he took his B.A. degree in the year 1884. During his early College days he constructed with his own hands a working model of a gyroscope out of an wooden ball and a few bits of wood. His academic

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career was, however, cut short by the domestic troubles that followed his joining the Brahmo Samaj.

His interest in juvenile literature was directly due to coming in constant touch with the late Babu Pramada Charan Sen, the founder of the "Sakha," one of the earliest and most successful Bengali magazines for children. The interest thus aroused had a permanent hold on him and the education and entertainment of children was one of the absorbing passions of his life.

His contributions to the juvenile literature of Bengal are well-known to all educated Bengalis. His *Sekaler Katha* is a popular illustrated account of the many strange animals which lived on our earth before the birth of man and as the contemporaries of primitive man. Though a book meant for children, it shows his thorough grasp of the subject. The illustrations were from his own original drawings. His *Tuntunir Boi* is a highly enjoyable book of folktales. He popularised the stories of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat in such juvenile works as *Chheleder Ramayan*, *Chheleder Mahabharat*, *Mahabharater Galpa*, and *Chhotta Ramayan*. In his children's monthly, the *Sandesh*, he popularised stories from the Purans, along with many scientific subjects. This magazine at once took its place as the premier juvenile magazine as soon as it was published. This magazine, as well as all his other works, he illustrated himself. He excelled and was unrivalled as a comic illustrator of children's books. His fine humour lighted up on whatever subject he wrote, whether science, travels, mythological stories, folktales or music. He was a man of deep and wide culture, and wrote, not like a mere compiler or translator, but as one who had mastered his subject. His discourses on music, astronomy, &c., were highly appreciated. His talks to children were eagerly looked forward to by the little folks, and were as humorous and entertaining as they were instructive.

He has left some fine hymns, thereby enriching the hymnology of the Brahmo Samaj.

It was while engaged in publishing one of his first books for children that the wretched condition of the book and magazine illustrations in our country was first brought home to him. He forthwith took up the study of photo-engraving and in 1895 brought out the necessary apparatus for producing halftone blocks. In this work of improving the half-tone process he spent quite a fortune, unmindful of what pecuniary returns he might or might not get from his labours. The half-tone process was at that time still in its infancy, and its underlying principles were but little understood. Unsettled and arbitrary rule-of-thumb methods found little guidance from the conflict of theories, each claiming to be an all-sufficient explanation of the mystery of the half-tone image. With characteristic thoroughness and independence, Mr. Ray proceeded to tackle the problem afresh in his own way. He examined the claims of various rival theories and arrived at conclusions of far-reaching importance that have since found almost universal acceptance. The standardizing of half-tone methods in recent years has largely followed the lines indicated by him and many of his suggestions have been adopted in current practice. Mr. Howard Farmer of the Polytechnic, in a paper before the Royal Photographic Society specially mentions "Mr. U. Ray, a very clever writer on the subject," as one of the authorities whose brilliant advocacy of the pin-hole theory, "has determined its general acceptance." N. S. Amstutz of America in his "Handbook of Photo-engraving" and his contributions to various societies, refers extensively and appreciatively to his earlier writings and points out that modern practice in half-tone work had been largely anticipated by him. The Editor's notes on "Mr. U. Ray's half-tone researches" in the 1905 Volume of Penrose's Annual speaks of "the classical pen of Mr. U. Ray" and goes on to say: "Mr. Ray is evidently possessed of a mathematical quality of mind, and has reasoned out for himself the problem of half-tone work in a remarkably successful manner. Those who have the early volumes of Process Work will do well to turn to his articles and they will be found to well repay perusal by the increased interest they gain in the light of present day methods."

William Gamble, F.R.P.S., in his article on "A Wonderful Process" in the Process Year Book, speaks of "investigators of the highest eminence, amongst whom I must mention.....U. Ray of Calcutta, whose admirable articles in the Year Book have shown not only a clear grasp of the subject but have suggested new methods of work

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His screen adjusting machine, his diaphragms systems, his contributions to the theory of half-tone, his invention of the 60° screen, his highly instructive studies in diffraction and his original methods of colour work have all received very favourable notices in the technical press of Europe and America. Amstutz describes his screen adjusting process as a "unique method." Verfasser calls it the "most promising idea of this kind." This apparatus has been supplied to some of the leading technical schools in England where it has been reported upon very favourably. The nett result of these researches is to enable the operator "to do uniform work, with the fullest graduation and detail in it and with the minimum amount of manipulative skill in the negative making and etching." (Penrose's Annual, 1904-5).

The same article describes the results obtainable by Mr. Ray's methods as "wonderfully good." "Process Work and Electrotyping," in a highly eulogistic reference to some particular applications of his methods, says : "Mr. Upendrakisor Ray of Calcutta.....is far ahead of European and American workers in originality, which is all the more surprising when we consider how far he is from the hub-centres of process work."

The Jubilee number of the British Journal of Photography (1904) says :—"The question of multiple diaphragms has really a very important bearing on the future of half-tone; and the only worker I know of who has thoroughly grasped the bearing of it is U. Ray of Calcutta. He has brought it to a mathematical exactness."

The interest roused by his articles has been world-wide, for Mr. Gamble writes that he often receives "enquiries from all parts of the world concerning them." They have frequently been referred to as models of lucid and accurate exposition.

References to Mr. Ray's work are also to be found in various text books and technical journals, including Le Procede (Paris), The Illustrator, The Inland Printer (U.S.A.), Process Work and Printer, Process Photogram, Process Engraver's Monthly &c.

During the last few years of his life Mr. Ray had practically retired from his half-tone business, leaving it to be carried on by his two elder sons. His eldest son, Mr. Sukumar Ray, B.Sc., who has inherited to a great extent his father's versatile genius, is at present the most scientific and skilful photo-engraver among Bengalis, having received his training first under his father, and in London and Manchester as a Calcutta University Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholar.

Mr. U. Ray was a noted artist, and used both oil and water colours, particularly the latter. It was as a landscape-painter that he specially excelled.

He had made a deep and extensive study of the theory and practice of music, vocal and instrumental. Just as his knowledge of optics stood him in good stead in his researches and inventions in the half-tone process, so did his knowledge of acoustics enable him to master the science of music. He could play on the flute, harmonium, violin, piano, *setar*, *tanpura* and *pakhwaj*, but it was as a violinist that he was most appreciated. Though not a professional teacher of music, his skill and success in teaching the art was very remarkable. Years ago he had written a "Harmonium Teacher" in Bengali. It was in great demand. But as he had latterly become convinced that the harmonium had done and was doing incalculable injury to Indian music, he did not agree to issue a new edition of the book in spite of the urgent requests of his publisher ; so it has been out of print for years.

In his youth he was a noted cricket player. He was regular in his habits and took his constitutional regularly till the day previous to his last illness. But he had most probably overworked himself, becoming a diabetic in consequence, and fell a victim to the fell disease at the early age of 53. He breathed his last on December 20, 1915.

Our brief sketch will give the reader some idea of his varied gifts ; but no pen-picture can convey an adequate idea of the kind of man he was. His genial presence and charming conversation will be long remembered. He had a very affectionate heart, and was extremely modest and courteous. He was at the same time possessed of a sturdy independence of character which is not quite common. He had nothing of what is called "push," being of a retiring disposition, and avoiding the glare of fame and publicity. He was a true *bhakta* (भक्त), a devout worshipper of Parabrahma, possessed of a deep, genuine and unostentatious piety.

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THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

PEOPLE are, generally, sceptical as to the merits of any universal panacea, whether it be for the ailments of the physical or social body. The science of Political Economy, conceived by Adam Smith, supported by Malthus, shaped by Ricardo, perfected and polished by John Stuart Mill, and interpreted for popular comprehension, adaptation and adoption by Henry Fawcett, Henry George and Cecil Balfour Phipson as well as by others, has offered many suggestions for the solution of the economic problems of the human society; but the millenium is still far from sight. All the same, what these master minds have thought and enunciated on such an important subject as Co-operation affecting the good of the community at large, deserves serious attention and consideration of us all.

Mill, writing on Co-operation, says:—

"...The peculiar characteristic, in short, of civilized beings, is the capacity of co-operation; and this, like other faculties, tends to improve by practice, and becomes capable of assuming a constantly wider sphere of action. Accordingly there is no more certain incident of the progressive change taking place in society, than the continual growth of the principle and practice of co-operation. Associations of individuals voluntarily combining their small contributions, now perform works, both of an industrial and of many other characters, which no one person or small number of persons are rich enough to accomplish, or for the performance of which the few persons capable of accomplishing them were formerly enabled to exact the most inordinate remuneration. As wealth increases and business capacity improves, we may look forward to a great extension of establishments, both for industrial and other purposes, formed by the collective contributions of large numbers; establishements like those called by the technical name of joint-stock companies, or the associations less formally constituted, which are so numerous in England, to raise funds for public or philanthropic objects, or lastly, those associations of workpeople, either for production or to buy goods for their common consumption, which are now known by the name of co-operative societies." [*Principles of Political Economy, Book IV., Chap. I., Sec. 2, p. 423*]

Writing on the same subject, Fawcett observes:—

"..... Anyone who considers what it has already effected, and what it is capable of doing in the future, must, we think, come to the conclusion that we may look with more confidence to co-operation than to any other economic agency to improve the individual condition of the country." (*Manual of Political Economy, Book II, Chapter X, p. 281.*)

Fawcett adds:—

"It cannot be too carefully borne in mind that those who have achieved the most striking success in co-operation have not been assisted by any extraneous aid. They have placed their chief reliance in union of effort, in prudence, and in self-denial." [*Ibid.*]

And he gives instances of such success by citing the cases of Co-operative Banks in Germany established first by M. Sculze-Delitzsch in 1851, and the first of those started in England at New Castle-on-Tyne, in 1871, mainly through the exertions of Dr. Rutherford, the accounts of the developments of which are, indeed, highly interesting. But even before the advent of the co-operative idea in England and Germany it had been established in France; for among the institutions of credit and *prevoyance* established for or by the *ouvriers*, Lyons possessed, before 1848, a *caisse d prêts* [banks for lending money] for the *chefs-d'-ateliar*, and a considerable number of mutual aid societies.

The growth and development of the Co-operative movement in this country, which is only of recent origin, tends undoubtedly to show, that more in this respect has been achieved in India in about a decade or so than in the countries of Europe in three quarters of a century, more or less. The reason form this rather astonishing progress in India is not far to seek. The success of the movement in this country, so far at least as the speediness of its growth indicates, is undoubtedly due to the fact that it was not only initiated by the Government but from the very outset of its being it has received the fostering care of our rulers, who, unlike in the progressive countries of Europe, must always be at the helm to render help in such matters to the people who seem otherwise to be utterly helpless—for even their educated leaders are generaly quite apathetic and indifferent with regard to them. The speedy progress of the Co-operative movement in India, however, clearly demonstrates the fact that our people conservative as they are in many matters in a matter of this kind, when properly initiated, trained and directed, are seldom

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slow or backward in accepting and adopting methods meant for their own relief and regeneration.

The following tables give an analysis, in brief, of the Co-operative Societies in India at the end of the year 1913-14:—

Particulars.	Agricultural Societies.	Central Societies.
Class of Societies—		
Credit	14,364	320
Purchase, and Purchase and Sale	12	... ...
Production	4	8
Production and Sale... ...	78	... ...
Insurance	69	... ...
Other forms of Co-operation	11	1
Type of Societies—		
Central Banks...	... ...	111
Central Banking Unions ...	... ...	89
Unions	... ...	129
Limited	169	... ...
Unlimited	14,369	... ...
Number of Societies	14,538	329
Number of Members—		
Individuals	599,822	24,786
Societies	... ...	9,924
Number of Affiliated Societies—		
Central Credit	... ...	67
Agricultural Credit ...	... ...	10,843
Non-agricultural Credit ...	... ...	322
Others	... ...	17
Loans made to—		
Individuals. On Personal Security.	2,22,96,965	7,16,345
Individuals. On Mortgage Security.	39,71,049	1,20,653
Societies. Local	4,22,636	1,53,13,834
Societies. Central ...	3,53,805	24,89,468
Sale of Goods to Members.	98,076	16,902
Purchase of Members' Products.	98,940	8,010
Cost of Management ...	2,62,285	2,81,033
Most Usual Dividend Paid on Shares	7 & 14 p.c.	Bet. 6 & 9 p.c.
Most Usual Rate of Interest—		
On Deposits	6¼ & 9 p.c.	6 p.c
On Loans	9⅜ & 12½ p.c.	Bet. 7 & 9 p.c.
Loans Due—		
By Individuals	3,62,84,418	16,62,869
By Societies	15,92,185	2,52,21,339
Share Capital	53,31,929	38,50,248
Members' Deposits	36,15,614	60,77,386
Loans from Government ...	9,72,554	1,02,376
Reserve Fund	24,55,218	5,60,790

The Co-operative movement is, indeed, still in its infancy in India, but in tracing its rapid development since its inauguration about a decade ago, we find the advantages which have already accrued to the country; and if the movement be persisted in it may surely be relied upon as any other form of economic agency to effect a marked and permanent improvement in the social and industrial condition of the country. Though only of recent growth the movement has, all the same, we repeat, a hopeful future before it, although it has to pass through at present a critical period of its existence owing to the situation created by the war in Europe and several other causes over which we have but little control; and the annual reports on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the different parts of India offer interesting study. The Reports on the whole, adverse circumstances to the contrary created by the war and other causes notwithstanding, are highly satisfactory and encouraging, in that on the whole, even in the most backward provinces, progress has been made and maintained in the way of expansion and the relations between the Co-operative movement and agriculture, in a country which is mainly agricultural, are becoming gradually greater and closer.

In 1913-14 the number of Societies of all descriptions in Bengal increased from 1123 to 1,663, or by 48 per cent., the total membership from 56,889 to 90,363, or by 59 per cent., and the working capital from Rs. 46,07,301 to Rs. 89,40,803 or by 94 per cent. Satisfactory as these figures are, it is still more gratifying to find that the expansion of the movement has been accompanied by intensive development. The most noteworthy feature of the year under review has been the extension of the central bank system, on which depends largely the financing and supervision of individual rural societies. The number of central banks has increased from 17 to 33, and their working capital from 13 lakhs to 32 lakhs of rupees. Of this 32 lakhs, 27 lakhs is derived from deposits and 5 lakhs from share capital. The development of agricultural societies is also remarkable. The number of societies has increased from 1,039 to 1,543; the membership from 42,000 to 71,000: and the working capital from 22.75 lakhs to 44 lakhs of rupees. A sum of 30 lakhs was issued in loans to the members against 14 lakhs of the preceding year, and of the loans taken more than 28 lakhs were devoted to the payment of debts and other economic or productive purposes. Non-agricultural credit societies are also said to be working satisfactorily in Bengal and are being appreciated by the middle classes in the towns in which they have been started. The number of such societies has increased from 60 to 71, the membership from

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11,164 to 13,653 and the working capital from 9 lakhs to 12 lakhs of rupees. The considerable increase in members' deposits indicates a satisfactory growth.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, we gather from the Report for the year 1914-15, the banks and societies were put in great straits during the year preceding to that to which the Report relates, owing, it is said, to the failure of the crops. Large loans had to be given to members to meet their requirements and thus their average liabilities had considerably went up. The hope that with the return of normal conditions the agriculturists would be in a position to redeem a large portion of their debts to the societies and that the central banks would be able to undertake the organisation of new societies in localities where there was a demand for them; hopes that the large outstanding loans of the previous year would be collected during 1914-15, were not realised—thus giving the movement in these Province rather a serious outlook. Nearly 47 lakhs of rupees were outstanding at the end of the preceding year, 27 lakhs were advanced during the year while the total repayments amounted to 29 lakhs, the outstanding at the end of the year being, thus, 45 lakhs. It is satisfactory, however, to note that with the exception of one or two areas, the general body of the members of the co-operative societies in the United Provinces were thoroughly loyal to their respective societies, and their failure to timely meet the demands of their societies was due mainly to the special circumstances of the year over which they had no control. So far, however, as the material welfare of the cultivating classes is concerned, co-operative activity in the United Provinces, is manifesting itself in the supply of good seed, solution of the problem of irrigation, the supply of water, the establishment of small plots for the demonstration of new staples, cattle-breeding, experiments in joint-cultivation and the supply of improved agricultural tools and implements. Thus, on the whole, although the progress made during the year under review has not been quite commensurate with the high hopes of all concerned, the Government of the Province is not prepared to see it suffer from causes outside its control. The uneasiness which took such a firm hold on the depositors of joint-stock banks at the outbreak of the war, affected the depositors of co-operative banks in a small degree. The directors of the latter felt that they could refund all deposits that matured, but they could not at the same time issue liberal loans on *rabi* sowings, which was, indeed, very necessary both in view of the failure of previous crops and of the peculiar circumstances of the moment. To meet this extraordinary situation the Government granted to banks a limited sum in loans where otherwise the *rabi* seed advances would have been considerably jeopardised and Rs. 2,55,000 was received from Government for this purpose. The loan was to be repaid in two annual instalments, but the recovery of the banks was so rapid that it was repaid in full long before the loan fell due. The Central Societies showed a small increase, but the financial position of these societies on the whole improved during the year under notice. The reserve fund increased from 3.11 to 3.86 lakhs of rupees while the proportion of the paid-up share capital and reserve fund to the working capital rose from 15.9 per cent. to 18.1 per cent. and deposits increased from 40.34 to 42.29 lakhs of rupees. Among agricultural primary societies the year has been more noticeable for re-organisation than expansion, but the number increased from 2,560 to 2,716 due to the conversion of affiliated societies of the old type into corporate self-managing village societies. Among non-credit societies the chief feature of the year has been the creation of four cattle insurance societies, which are largely experimental, and Government, we are glad to note, has promised to give them special aid, should such be necessary.

In the Central Provinces and Berar, we gather from the Report for 1914-15, the working of the Co-operative Societies, notwithstanding difficulties of all kinds arising from the failure of crops and the incidents of the war, went on all right, presenting many encouraging features. Notwithstanding the need for caution in expansion the number of Societies of all kinds has increased, during the year, from 2,213 to 2,297; membership from 40,413 to 44,084; and working capital from 65 to 72·5 lakhs of rupees. Yet only a fifth of the number of applications for registration could be accepted owing to lack of facilities for adequate control and supervision. Many unregistered societies, we are told

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are springing up in all directions in the Central Provinces and Berar and these require special care and supervision. In his resolution on the Report the Chief Commissioner takes note of the criticism generally levelled at it that the Co-operative movement is degenerating in those Provinces into a mere money-lending concern, and this criticism though carping in its character, will, says the Chief Commissioner, serve the purpose of warning against a great danger. Money-lending as the most obvious of all the advantages of co-operation, receives the largest amount of attention at the first stages, and as the movement is more correctly apprehended, its other advantages will not fail to receive the attention of the people.

The Report from the Punjab shows, that the initial impetus given to the Co-operative movement in that Province has not been kept up, the reason given being the same as in other parts of the country, namely the war in Europe and the failure of harvests at home. But despite the fact that there has been no increase in the number of societies and that of the members, there has been, it is interesting to note, an increase in the working capital of 7·25 lakhs of rupees. The Punjab Government observes that the year has been of a character to show a marked relief from both the dangers to which the societies under present conditions are exposed and also the vitality which has saved them from those dangers; and indeed nothing bears better witness to the solidity of the foundations on which the movement is based in that Province, than the manner in which it has passed through the crisis. Owing, however, to the general stagnation of business, and the consequent inability of the members to obtain loans from the societies, they have been obliged to have recourse to the usurious money-lenders to the extent of some 10 lakhs of rupees. Also, village societies have had in some cases to ask their depositors to wait, but the central banks have been able to meet their obligations, and there is everywhere evidence of the confidence of the cultivator in the soundness and stability of the movement. One of the most gratifying features of the time of stress through which the co-operative societies have generally passed has been the readiness with which the Government in all the different provinces have them financially. Turning to the financial position of the societies in the Punjab we find that withdrawals of deposits have exceeded receipts by nearly 7 lakhs, but this deficiency has been more than made up by receipts under the head of share payments and interest. There has, thus, been a small increase in the working capital which now amounts to Rs. 1,30,63,842, but this total includes a large amount of profit which has not yet been received. The true working capital may, therefore, be put at Rs. 1,24,74,956, of which all but about 10 lakhs is utilised as loans to members. Of this 10 lakhs of rupees, nearly 2 lakhs have been invested in the form of shares in central societies, and are available at any time for loans to the village societies. The cash in hand is upwards of 7½ lakhs, and the balance is under "stock in hand." From the percentages of the items which compose the total working capital, it is shown, that the societies' own money forms nearly 42 per cent. of the whole, and if to this is added the members' deposits, then the latter forms more than 50 per cent. of the whole. So that from this point of view the position of the societies may also be considered as favourable. To boil the figures down to the definite results attained, the Registrar has had compiled from the societies' ledgers exact figures of the loans hitherto advanced to pay off old debts and mortgages. "The total of these," he says, "comes to Rs. 69,46,710 and Rs. 12,50,668, respectively. .... It may be considered with certainty that Rs. 80 lakhs have been paid to money-lenders and mortgagees, resulting in the satisfying of money debts and mortgages of a considerably larger value. It will thus be seen that members have replaced one form of indebtedness amounting to at least 30 lakhs by another amounting to 72 lakhs, and they are still further this much to the good in so far as the interest they pay on the new form of debt is very much lighter than what they paid on the previous form, while they have recovered cultivating possession of valuable ancestral lands amounting to not less than 8000 acres." These conclusions are based on the calculation that of the working capital 41·7 per cent. consists of shares and profits received, which represent the members' savings, while the remainder, *i.e.*, Rs. 72,36,675 is borrowed money. The fact that seems to stand out is that after paying off

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come to aid 80 lakhs of debt, members have accumu ated savings of half a crore of rupees which they are now using in place of money-lenders' money, a fact which is, indeed, highly satisfactory.

The Reports on the Working of the various Co-operative Societies which we have dwelt upon at length are, it will be seen, suggestive of possible extension in the future, near or remote, rather than of actual progress in the immediate present—owing to the various drawbacks that have been incidentally indicated in the course of this article. One thing, however, that would strike the intelligent and knowing observer is that the Co-operative Societies in India are, so far, mere lending corporations; once the man in need of money obtains it as a loan he is apt to forget the various other calls the idea of co-operation suggests. It would, all the same, spell a ruin to the prospects of the progress of the country to withdraw the Co-operative Credit Act from operatoin because the people have not yet thoroughly realised the highest ideals of co-operation obtaining in the West. The bulk of the loans given, as we have seen, are for purposes of payment of old debts, rents, etc., by members, for which in the not long forgotten past the average borrower had to resort to the modern Shylock, the usurious Indian money-lender whose rate of interest is sometimes as high as 36 per cent. per annum! It is, however, not to be expected, that our illiterate villagers, however intelligent they may be, should be able to grasp true principles of co-operation obtaining in the countries of the West within a measurable distance of time, without undergoing a training for it; and it is inevitable that they should look upon themselves as members of Co-operative Credit Societies, merely as borrowers, and their societies as convenient agencies for securing loans of the nature of *takavies*.

The essential difference between the Co-operative movement in India and that in Europe is dwelt upon at length by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in a lecture recently delivered by him at Allahabad, in the course of which he rightly observes: "The most pressing problem of the (Indian) agriculturist at the present time is how to carry on his existing business without gradually sinking into a condition of virtual serfdom to the money-lender for himself and his entire family. Once the cultivator is freed from bondage to the money-lender for his current requirements he naturally begins to look about and seek new and improved methods of developing his business."

It is hoped, however, that the gradual spread of education among the masses of our people will, in the long run, do much in training them to imbibe a more correct idea of co-operation; and we doubt not that the various Provincial Co-operative Conferences will do a great deal in devising means for spreading such education and knowledge. In this connection the following lines quoted from the Government of India Resolution No. 12—28-1, dated Simla, the 17th June 1914, is highly significant:—

"Co-operation has been, in the widest sense of the term, education both intellectual and moral. When men are associated for business purposes, they feel the need of education..... Illiteracy is a hindrance to the movement, and just as co-operation leads to a demand for literacy, so literacy leads to a demand for co-operation. The effect of co-operation, however, extends beyond this. It does more than merely produce cheap credit; it encourages thrift.....self-restraint, punctuality, straightforwardness, self-respect, discipline, contentment, and thrift have been encouraged."

"The ideals of the movement," justly observes *The Irish Homestead*, "are freedom and solidarity. Freedom of thought for the individual, liberty to act with or withdraw from the society as he chooses. And solidarity or brotherhood in the organisation which offers to all the advantages of unity and strength." It would thus be apparent even to the most superficial observer, that not only the economic salvation of the country, but, also, to a great extent, the regeneration of the national character of the people, depend not to a small extent upon the spread and development of the Co-operative movement; and we have every reason to hope that the movement so kindly and wisely initiated by the Government of India will receive every encouragement and support of our educated countrymen who seem to be so anxious for the spread of primary education among the masses of our countrymen.

RAICHARAN MUKERJEA.

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NOTES

Our Basic Faith.

All joint endeavour for reform, improvement and progress made by bodies of men, giving themselves the name of Convention, Congress, Conference or League, rests on a basic faith. This conscious or subconscious belief is that in this world of ours reform, improvement and progress are possible, nay, certain, and that there is a Something transcending human power and knowledge which makes a favorable response to effort in the right direction. If people did not believe in the possibility and certainty of betterment, if they did not believe in the law of cause and effect, if they did not believe in the Something, call it Power, Person, Oversoul or by any other name, which makes fruition follow right endeavour, either in the life-time of an individual or generation or, after a longer period, they would not sacrifice ease, comfort and wealth, nay, even risk their lives and liberties, in the pursuit of an ideal. We believe that this Supreme Person is our friend, protector, inspirer and guide. We are impelled to action, consciously or unconsciously, by our faith in Him and love of Him. It is meet, therefore, that among all the congresses, conferences, and leagues, held during the latter half of December, there should be some to bear witness to this basic and supreme faith. The Indian theistic movement is one of the world movements which stand for a religion of which the central point is this fundamental faith.

HON'BLE DR. NIL RATAN SIRCAR, M.D.

The Theistic Conference.

The world requires a religion which is a reconciler between sects professing apparently conflicting faiths, and is consequently a unifier of all. More than any other country does India require such a faith. For she is the meeting ground of more living religions than are to be found in any other country. And by her catholicity and tolerance she is fit, too, to be the preacher of such a faith. The work of reconciliation and unification requires that this religion should be tolerant and also appreciative, in due degree, of all faiths that have in any age or clime helped man to any extent in his upward struggle. The masterly presidential address of the Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., delivered at the last session of the Theistic Conference, printed in this number, shows how the catholicity, tolerance and appreciativeness of the Indian theistic bodies stand this test. Indian theists do not believe that God's revelation, inspiration and guidance have been confined to any particular favoured age, race or clime. He has spoken, still speaks and will continue to speak to men and women of all races, castes, and creeds or no-creeds in all lands. This is but the bare truth: it satisfies our idea of a just and impartial God, and does not humiliate or mortify any race, nation or people by excluding them from the circle of "the chosen people of God." The Indian Theistic Movement stands for the ideal of giving opportunities to all, irrespective of sex, race, caste or creed,—opportunities to be and do whatever their powers, manifest and latent, may fit them for. It does not assume any capacity or incapacity in any individual or class. However humble its actual achievement, its aspiration is to hold out the brotherly and sisterly hand of help to the lowly, the fallen, the weak, the depressed, the ignorant and the miserable.

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In these and other ways it humbly seeks to fill the place of a *Yugadharma*, or religion which the age requires, but not to the exclution of other faiths guided by similar principles.

Inter-dependence of Reforms.

All movements for progress are interdependent. Individual instances may here and there seem to contradict this statement, but its general truth is beyond question. We have seen how all endeavours for reform rest on the basic truth of religion. As, however, men and women sunk in the depths of ignorance and destitution cannot make much progress in spirituality, their progress in religious ideas and righteous conduct are dependent on progress in knowledge and material advancement. Material advancement, again, depends on progress in knowledge. As a privileged class is never in favour of universal education, the progress of a whole people in knowledge depends on its possession of political power. Economic progress, too, is not possible without the possession of political power. Social reform, also, depends on the possession of civic rights. The fusion of sub-castes and castes can be facilitated by the State recognising intercaste marriages as valid. But this recognition can be secured only by changing the law, which implies the possession by the people of political power. The "lower" castes rightly desire to occupy a higher position in the social scale. The surest means of doing this is for them to educate themselves and improve their material condition. It must also be recognised that that strenuous united effort which must be put forth to secure political power would require greater social unity and solidarity than the people of India at present possess.

These and other similar considerations show how every reform is correlated with every other. The various pan-Indian and sectional conferences held during the last fortnight shows that it has been recognised that man's life is not a mechanical aggregate of various separate activities, but that it is an organic whole of which no department, sphere or province is uninfluenced by or without its influence on the others.

Disadvantages of a Crowded Week.

Though man's life is an organic whole, it is not possible for each individual to take equal interest in or devote equal energy to the solution of religious, social, political, educational, industrial or other problems. According to one's powers and inclinations one should choose one's particular field or fields of activity. But though the workers must specialise, the public should have time to understand the propaganda, plans, methods and ideals of all the different movements. But this is scarcely possible when we find that in the city of Bombay alone twelve bodies held their sessions during the last eight days of December. And there were other conferences held in Bombay and other places during this period or a few days earlier. Even the big dailies prove unequal to the task of printing in full the presidential addresses, not to speak of their other important speeches. And supposing the editors could do so, where is the newspaper reader who could read all this literature even superficially, it being absolutely out of the question to do so attentively and with reflection?

Nor is it possible for the editors to help their readers with careful and succint summaries of the presidential addresses and other important speeches with comments thereupon. For advance copies of these pronouncements are sometimes not received at all, (that at any rate is our experience), and sometimes received only a day or two previous to the date of a session.

If the presidents were chosen some months in advance and some, in fact, had been so chosen, and if they could furnish the editors with copies of their addresses at least a week in advance, journalists at any rate could do their part much better than they do now. Still the listening or supposed-to-be-listening public and the far larger reading public could not help being bewildered at the mass of more or less ephemeral literature hurled at their heads in the course of a few days.

The only feasible plan, as has been pointed out by many journalists repeatedly, is to hold the various conferences in different parts of the year. But our public men are for the most part dependent for their leisure on court holidays, and Christmas is the only time when there is a vacation throughout India lasting for more than a week. This accounts for the overcrowding of Christmas week with engagements. But it is better to have some sort of deliberation and demonstration than none at all.

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The political platform is the common platform for most educated and public-spirited Indians. The session of the Indian National Congress is therefore *the* function which furnishes occasion for most of the other movements to hold their sessions. But the importance of these latter must not be judged by the subordinate place which circumstances have given them in the public eye.

The Industrial Conference.

India was for ages both an industrial and agricultural country. It is now mainly an agricultural country. Its poverty and the famines which visit some province or other almost every year, are due to a great extent to this fact. If the country is to prosper, the old manufacturing industries of India must, where possible, be revived, and new industries introduced. The object of the Industrial Conference is to devise ways and means for making India an industrial country.

Ship-building.

Sir D. M. Petit, chairman of the reception committee of the Bombay session, after giving an idea of the progress of the cotton manufacturing industry of Bombay, went on to observe:

Having said so much about this industry in vain do I look round to see if there is any other in this city worth mentioning. There was, however, one a few generations ago, which, if it had lived and continued till now, would have reached with the growth of prosperity and civilisation of the world, a dimension possibly even greater than the Cotton Industry and might have contributed still more to the greatness of this city. What I am alluding to is the ship-building industry, which, at one time, flourished to such an extent that it was talked about in distant parts of the world. It is more than a pity that this industry was not fostered and looked after but was allowed to come to an end, otherwise it would have been to-day one of the greatest assets not only of this city but most probably of the whole country.

Tata Concerns.

This city has also been lately the birthplace of two industrial concerns, of an extent and importance, which has not been surpassed until now, anywhere else in the whole of India. I mean the Tata Hydro-electric Works and the Iron and Steel Company. It is the first time in the history of India that such gigantic works have been started by Indian gentlemen, with Indian capital, and they are to-day an example for future generations to start other industrial concerns.

The history of the death of the Indian ship-building industry deserves to be more widely known than it is. No nation can have flourishing industries and commerce which does not possess an adequate merchant marine, as the efforts of Japan in this direction, described in our pages by Mr. Lajpat Rai, show. We ought to direct our energies to the revival of the shipbuilding industry in all maritime provinces.

Sir D. M. Petit agreed with those who want "Government intervention and giving of such help and protection to the industries of the country, as are being given by other foreign Governments and chiefly Japan."

There is no doubt, that such help and such intervention would be of the greatest value for the growth and starting of new industries, to enable them to fight against foreign competition, against concerns much older and therefore much stronger; and any industry in its infancy can hardly hope to fight such competition without Government help and Government support. But while the country is asking for Government intervention on behalf of new industries those who are interested in an industry, which comparatively speaking, is in its youth but not in its infancy, are clamouring for the removal of Government intervention. It may sound paradoxical, but Government intervention in this case, is certainly not in the best interests of this country and the industry concerned. That Government intervention is nothing else but the Excise Duty, a Duty levied on cloth manufactured in our own country, out of cotton grown on our soil and sold in our own markets. Nobody with any sense of justice can with the greatest stretch of imagination consider this duty a fair and equitable one. We know how it was laid, at whose demand, and in whose interest. It indeed disheartens one to a considerable extent when one finds that instead of receiving the fostering care and solicitude at the hands of Government, one has to face and bear a duty of this character.

The speaker was of opinion that

The main difficulty for any one who wishes to start a new industry is that of competing with his foreign competitor, who is much older, better established and stronger than he and consequently can crush him with ease. Therefore, what is the remedy? I find that there is but one remedy which would ensure the success of new industries in this country against their foreign competitors, and that is, fiscal autonomy. Unless this country has got the power of levying duties on foreign imports in a manner that may be best conducive to the support and encouragement of its own manufactures, new industries will find it very difficult and will rarely be able to grow and thrive in this country. Spread of education on a far greater scale, than is at present, the giving of technical instructions in all large cities in the country, the starting of departments of industries where people could go for advice, help and information, are steps which are necessary for the progress and the development of industries in India. If these steps are taken and fiscal autonomy is given in such hands that it could be used in none but the right and proper way, and above all, if co-operation is established on a permanent basis between Government and the people, then with all these, one sees a future in industrial India which would make this land one of the most flourishing, wealthiest and prosperous in the world.

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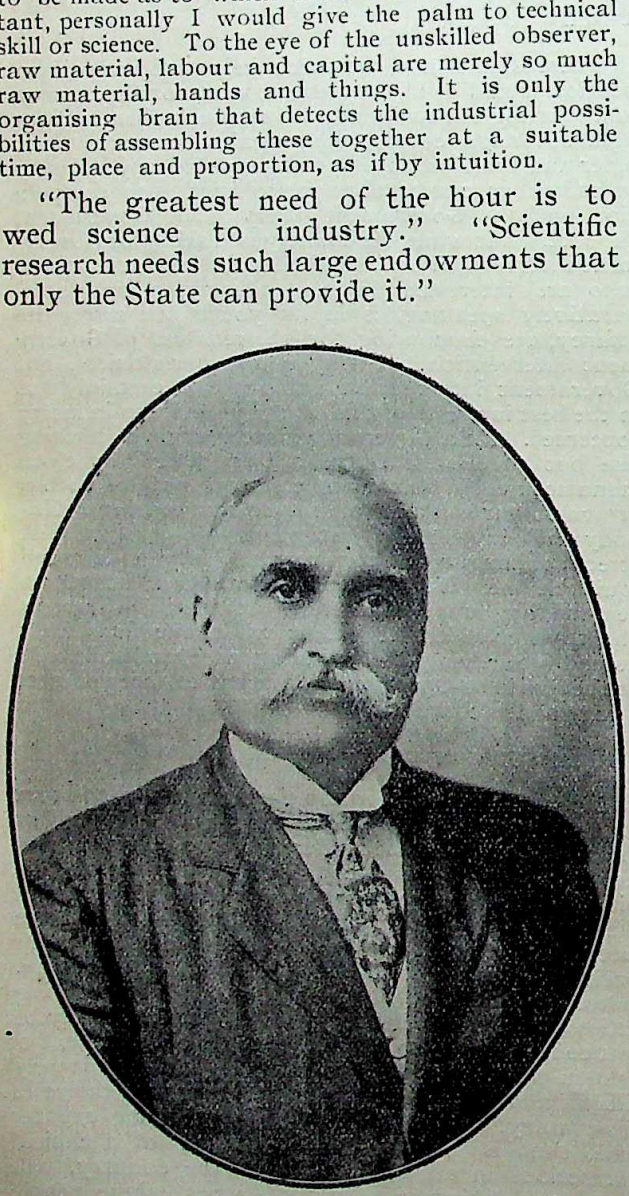
Sir Dorab Tata's Address.

The address of Sir Dorab Tata, president of the Industrial Conference, is entitled to careful consideration because of his experience and the position he occupies in the industrial world.

In his opinion the requisites of an industry are raw material, labour, capital and technical skill or science.

All four are indispensable factors, but if a choice has to be made as to which of them—is the most important, personally I would give the palm to technical skill or science. To the eye of the unskilled observer, raw material, labour and capital are merely so much raw material, hands and things. It is only the organising brain that detects the industrial possibilities of assembling these together at a suitable time, place and proportion, as if by intuition.

"The greatest need of the hour is to wed science to industry." "Scientific research needs such large endowments that only the State can provide it."



SIR DORAB TATA
President of the Industrial Conference.
Photograph by Messrs Bourne & Shepherd

When, however, we talk of scientific education let us be quite clear what we mean. It connotes at the top the machinery for higher scientific study, for the creation of that atmosphere of scientific knowledge and research which will permeate all our industries. Sir Norman Lockyer once said that the greatest economic asset of Germany was not the possession of a few great scientists; other countries possess as good scientists and as good brains; but the possession of a diffused knowledge of science. We want to build up in India that diffused knowledge of science. Below this we want technical schools to increase the skill of our craftsmen, museums and exhibitions to bring this knowledge home to the people in the most practical and instructive manner namely, ocular demonstration, and universal education in order to produce a higher standard of manual labour.

Sir Dorab told our young men that in industrial concerns every one, European or American, who is filling a position of trust and responsibility, began his career at the very bottom of the ladder. He advised our young men to do likewise and not to be impatient at having to begin at the bottom.

While admitting that industrial education in the widest sense of the term is primarily the function of the state, he said:

I am not one of those who think it is the function of Government to start industries except in those rare cases where their own needs require it. Nor do I think it is the province of Government to finance, in whole or in part, new industries. The main duties of Government are, apart from the domain of education which we have considered, to conduct a scientific survey of the resources of the country; to place full information before the country in the most instructive manner possible; to provide reasonable transport facilities; and to ensure demand by giving to the products of indigenous industry their own custom, and so far as possible that of large public bodies. From this point onwards the initiative must come from the people themselves.

We do not think there is any immutable law fixing the respective shares of the work to be done by the State and the people in the industrial development of a country. Much must depend on the circumstances of a country. And as a matter of fact, we know in Japan (as described in Mr. Lajpat Rai's three articles in this Review on the Evolution of Japan) and some European countries the State has actually done what Sir Dorab says it is not the province of governments to do.

In India Government has hitherto done very little even in the spheres assigned to it by Sir Dorab.

He says as regards Japan:

The result of my inquiries is that no bounty of any sort is paid by the Government on cotton goods coming to India. Not that there are no bounties. Bounties are paid to develop particular markets but not by the Government; they are paid by the Japanese Millowners' Association...but as far as I can ascertain no such bounties are paid even by the Japanese M

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owners' Association on any cotton yarn, cloths or hosiery exported to India.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, however, points out that the new monthly review of trade in Japan, called "Commercial Japan" says that the Japanese Government have decided to subsidise, for a period of ten years, all companies engaged in the manufacture of dyes, chemicals, textiles and other goods. But whether the speaker's information on this point be correct or not, our manufacturers may follow his advice when he says :

What we should do is to find out by a careful study of the facts what the Japanese do to overcome the great disadvantage of having to bring their raw material thousands of miles, and next what they are doing to improve the quality of their output and to meet the taste and requirements of Chinese buyers.

He also advises the manufacturer to give his industry "natural protection" by locating it in consuming centres.

By locating his industry at an inland centre he will be placing himself at a great initial advantage as against Japanese or other foreign glassware that must pay all the haulage to such interior points. But further study of the situation a location will perhaps be found that has the additional advantage of having the right raw material at hand, saving further heavy haulage charges and reducing the cost.

Though a free-trader by education no less than by association, he was not opposed to a moderate protective duty as an integral part of our fiscal system. He referred to the unfairness and oppressive character of the cotton excise duties. His message to the conference was : "Educate, Organise, Co-operate." "Organisation is our weak point."

We must be constantly dinning into the ears of the people the remarkable things that have been achieved in other lands, much less favoured than ours, by the application of science to industry. The application of science to industry reduces, among other things, the disparity arising from muscular development between one race and another, and the advantages of climate. It is in fact a great leveller. But even more than to the ears, our appeal must be to the eyes of the people, because impressions gained through the eye are proverbially more potent than those derived by any other means. I strongly commend to this Conference and all friends of industrial advancement, the great importance and utility of holding exhibitions and starting industrial museums in as many cities as possible, to demonstrate to the public the vast possibilities of a combination of science and industry. More than lectures and more than museums and exhibitions are of course the concrete examples of great industries raised and worked on the soundest lines.

Industrial Conference Resolutions.

Dr. H. H. Mann, Principal of the Agricultural College, moved a resolution earnestly recommending the establishment of a technological faculty at the principal Indian universities, development of the already existing technical institutions, opening of new ones and gradual introduction of technical instruction in primary and secondary schools. The resolution further appealed to the men of capital and industry to help young Indians technically trained in finding practical work and employment. This was followed by a resolution demanding fiscal autonomy for India. The next resolution trusted that the imperial Government will arrange for India's voice in any treaties which may be arranged between the International Powers so far as Indian fiscal interests were concerned and that at any rate it shall be accorded the most favoured nation treatment. Then followed resolutions urging the repeal of the cotton excise duty, demanding the abolition of the system of indentured labour, and urging the Secretary of State that in placing orders for the Government of India he should give preference to such firms as offered facilities to Indian students for practical training in technology.

On the second day of the proceedings the Conference adopted resolutions recommending (1) to start and revive various minor and cottage industries, (2) appointment of Indian commercial attaches to the principal British consulates to look after Indian commercial interests, urging Government to purchase all their requirements as far as practicable from this country, suggesting to the Government that there should be standing exhibitions of the nature introduced by the Commercial Department at all the presidency towns and important trade centres, and recommending the establishment of industrial banks similar to those found in foreign countries.

Sir Dorab's Confession of Faith.

Sir Dorab concluded his able, suggestive and thought-provoking speech with a "confession of faith." He said :

Every Indian worth his salt must ask himself "How best can I serve my country ?" I have chosen the path of industrial development, because I am passionately convinced that it is to our industrial progress that we must look for the future re-generation of India... More even than political rights what every true Indian patriot longs for is the growth of an Indian nationality, firm and united in its love for and honour of the Motherland. The road to that nationality is economic progress.

A country's position in the scale of nation depends chiefly upon its industrial development. For instance, Germany is what she is mainly owing to

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the great advance she has made in her iron, chemical and other industries.

But if Germany had been a dependent country like India, would it have been possible for her to make the rapid and phenomenal industrial advance she has made? With the unfair and oppressive cotton excise duty, with railway rates which favour foreign articles, with neglected and undeveloped water-ways, with no mercantile fleet of our own, and in the face of numerous other disadvantages due to our political powerlessness, it is a task of the greatest difficulty for us to make progress in industries.

Nevertheless, though never forgetting that industrial and political progress are mutually dependent on each other, it is self-help on which we must and ought mainly to rely. Weak whining is contemptible. It is for this reason that we like the manly self-reliant tone of Sir Dorab's address, though we think Government ought to do more for the industrial development of the country than what he would expect it to.

Western Industrialism and Our Handicrafts.

Western industrialism can justly boast of its achievements, but it has also been to some extent soul-killing, disruptive of family ties and destructive of home influence, and morally and physically injurious. India has already copied to some extent western industrial methods and organisation, and the prevailing tendency is to go further in this direction alone. Two problems, therefore, face us in consequence. How are we to have industries of the western type without importing at the same time western industrial evils; and, if they be an inevitable accompaniment of such industries, how are we to minimise them? How can injury be prevented to the heads, hearts and bodies of the factory operatives? The second problem is connected with our cottage industries, our small crafts or handicrafts. Owing to the abuse of political power by the East India Company and others and to foreign competition, many of them are dead and most are in a decadent condition. Is it possible to revive and strengthen them? And if so, how can that be done? Cottage industries are undoubtedly far better than big factory industries physically, morally and socially. They are also more conducive to the development and conservation of the artistic genius of a people. It is not merely in and by its literature that the soul of a people expresses and nourishes itself. Its arts also serve the same vital purpose; and not merely the fine arts, but the crafts also. The factory operative tends to become a part of the machinery; whereas the craftsman is able to give full play to his intelligence and artistic talent.

These questions ought to receive prominent attention in an industrial conference. As agriculture is our chief industry, it should also receive adequate attention. But in its recent session the Industrial Conference did not pass a single resolution on the essential need of agricultural education for all Indian villages, or on any other question directly connected with agricultural development. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President made passing, though emphatic and significant, references to agriculture as "the oldest as well as the largest industry of the country." But they had nothing to say regarding our crafts. And the conference passed only a colourless resolution on the starting and revival of cottage industries.

The First Indian Commercial Congress.

To the uninitiated, to those, that is to say, who stand outside the business world, it might seem superfluous to have a Commercial Congress in addition to the Industrial Conference. But in modern times, business, like many other things, is highly specialised, and there are many divisions and sub-divisions. While industry is concerned mainly with production, commerce is chiefly concerned with the distribution of what is produced, with export and import and exchange. And considering the gigantic proportions which Indian inland and foreign trade has assumed, surely there ought to be a separate organisation to look after our interests in this line.

Speech of Mr. D. E. Wacha.

Mr. D. E. Wacha was fitly elected chairman of the reception committee of the first Indian Commercial Congress. In his speech welcoming the delegates, he carried his hearers back to that dimly lighted past when, as "history informs us on the authority of great historians and travellers who flourished more than 3,000 years ago," India carried on trade "on the one hand with Arabia, Persia, Asia Minor, Syria

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Egypt, and even distant Greece and Rome, and on the other with Java, Borneo, China and Japan." Regarding present times Mr. Wacha observed:

I am strongly of conviction from my study of the history of the world's international trade for the past fifty years that our rulers are on the whole following a policy, though not without some grievous mistakes now and again, which is certain, to lead to the greater material prosperity of the land. We should all try to realise here the remarkable dictum of that great economist, Dudley North, given over two hundred years ago that "The whole world as to trade is but as one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons."

As "commerce cannot exist without agricultural products which could be safely exported to foreign countries after what may be necessary for home consumption," "it should, therefore, be the constant aim and object of this Commercial Congress to stimulate the agricultural (including the breeding of live stock) and mineral prosperity of the land."

Mr. Wacha laid stress on the institution of Agricultural Banks on the lines of the Egyptian Agricultural Bank with such modifications as may be deemed essential. He also spoke of the incalculable advantage of commercial education based on high scientific knowledge of a practical character. He expressed his earnest hope that

Indians of enterprise and commerce will devote specific attention to the incalculable advantages of possessing a mercantile fleet of their own. As you all know the vast sea-borne trade of the country is carried on in foreign bottoms and thus a part of the annual wealth by way of freight inward and outward is carried away by foreign ship-owners. Ship-building is an art not unknown to India, and it is an historical fact that along with a large number of war-ships for the British Navy, during the latter part of the eighteenth and almost the whole of the nineteenth century, built in the Bombay Dockyard by those great Parsee master builders, Wadias, merchant vessels were also built of a most durable type. It is much to be wished that this art of ship-building was again revived on a sure and solid foundation which may lead to the greater mercantile prosperity of the country and be also in times of emergency a tower of strength to the Government itself.

Speech of Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, President of the Commercial Congress, delivered an able and informing address. The account which he gave of the dimensions of Indian foreign commerce in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries will be new to many. He also spoke of India's ancient maritime trade.

Of the gathering over which he presided he rightly observed:

Here is no recognition of racial distinctions but a unification of all races and interests on a common platform, and in this attempt to establish commercial unity we may perhaps discern the preparation of India for ultimate political unity.

Drawing a comparative picture of India's foreign trade in ancient times and in our day, he said:

She had a large foreign trade and a well-equipped shipping which took her wares even to the most distant regions then known. But large though that trade was it pales into insignificance when we compare it with figures in the trade reports of the present times published by the Government of India, and large though that shipping was, it must have been nothing to the huge tonnage which serves our ports at present. The one regrettable feature is that

SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY
President of the Commercial Congress

while the shipping was ours, the present shipping is not our own; and just as we have lost the carrying trade so we can scarcely hope that Bombay will ever regain her former position as one of the great ship-building centres of the world.

The difference pointed out in the last sentence between ancient and modern times is vital and should never be forgotten. India can never attain full commercial prosperity until she has her own merchant vessels.

The paramount necessity of a commercial congress will be understood when we remember that

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At both the Wheat and the Cotton Conference the Indian commercial community was completely ignored by Government. Such exclusion of some of the Indian chambers from important discussions of matters relating to Indian trade would have been impossible were all the chambers federated on the lines of the proposed Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce. But the impelling reason for an early session of the Commercial Congress is the paramount need for the speedy formation of an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce in view of the expected settlement at the close of the war of important issues affecting Indian trade interests.

The *raison d' etre* of the Commercial Congress will be clearer still from the following extract from Sir Fazulbhoy's speech:

Ours is not a self-governing country, and the voice of the people must in any case be united and very strong indeed to influence the policy and action of the authorities. The subjects of a Dependency must of necessity be at a serious disadvantage. So long as the Government of a country is not thoroughly national in spirit and sentiment and personnel; so long as it is, from its constitution and the accident of its foreign character, more or less exclusive; with all its benevolent intentions and desire to promote their material welfare, it must to some extent at least be ignorant of the true feelings and the real needs of the people. The difficulty is considerably enhanced when the Government is subject to the powerful influence of the ruling nation, which has sometimes conflicting interests, and an effective industrial and commercial organisation which can make that influence irresistible. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India is powerless to shape its commercial and industrial policy with a sole eye to Indian interests. The British manufacturer and the British merchant, with their votes which they know how to use to the best advantage, are masters of the situation. In the result the Government of India has on many an occasion to adopt a line of action at once repugnant to it and prejudicial to the interest of the people. It has not a free hand, and in fiscal matters is practically helpless. For instance, even for the purposes of revenue customs duties cannot be imposed upon British manufactures along with other manufactures unless countervailed by corresponding excise duties, whether the home-made articles compete with the imports or not. Again we have lately seen the deplorable sight of a strong British syndicate attempting to get from one of our Provincial Governments a practical monopoly for the manufacture of Cement. It is useless to multiply instances. The outstanding feature of the situation is that the Government of India does not lack the will to take the right course in industrial and commercial matters, but has not the necessary freedom of initiative and action. We the people of this country must therefore do all we can to strengthen its hands, and an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce with periodical Commercial Congresses should provide the machinery through which we can make our support effective.

Sir Fazulbhoy's demand that India must have fiscal independence, fiscal autonomy, self-government in commerce and industry, leaving complete liberty of action to the Government of India in matters relating to commerce and industry, will be heartily endorsed by every Indian who has any knowledge of Indian economics.

The President pointed out that we must concentrate all our forces on the question of the customs duties.

In any scheme of additional taxation,—not an unlikely contingency should the War continue some time longer,—the customs will and ought to, have, not only an important, but a predominant position. In every country these duties, bating one or two exceptions, are the most productive sources of revenue. In India, however, this source has been insufficiently tapped. Whether Free Trade or Protection wins in the end, there can be no doubt that a very careful revision of the tariff has become increasingly necessary in view of the financial needs of Government.

His observations on our waterways deserve to be quoted.

The waterways are very inadequately developed; indeed, in certain respects we are losing ground. Channels which were once navigable and which once served as highways for the cheap transport of heavy merchandise have either become completely silted up or choked with weeds and their mouths blocked by bars. The rapid extension of railways has also contributed to the neglect of the watercourses. No serious attempt has yet been made to restore the river systems of the country to their former satisfactory condition. The result is, we have numerous stagnant pools, malaria and other diseases. The natural drainage of the land is thus becoming blocked. The improvement of the rivers and watercourses will not only restore this drainage and facilitate the movement of merchandise, but will provide canals for the purposes of irrigation at a minimum of cost. Larger production of raw materials through improved irrigation will certainly increase our exports at the same time that it will add to the financial resources of the agriculturists and enable them to consume larger quantities of finished articles whether manufactured at home or imported from abroad.

He rightly complained that

Railway rates are at present adjusted in such a way as to be more favourable to foreign articles than to articles which are exchanged as between province and province and district and district.

And that

Railway loans are raised in Great Britain and it is a long standing demand that Railway rupee loans should be thrown open to the Indian people. This is an opportune moment for effecting the great change and affording to the people of India an opportunity to have their share in the railway development of this country, as great Britain will not respond at present to any Indian or Colonial loans, so pressing are our own financial needs.

Commercial Congress Resolutions.

The Commercial Congress adopted a resolution establishing an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce and another

Urging respectfully that Indian trade and commerce should be given adequate representation on Councils of the Empire and that for this there should be two elected seats in the Imperial Council and at least one elected seat in each of the Provincial Councils.

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Among the other resolutions passed were the following:

It is highly expedient in the true interest of Indian Commerce and manufacture that at any Conference or Conferences to be hereafter held for the purpose of considering and arranging International Commercial treaties the Government of India should be adequately represented thereon.

Government be requested to institute a thorough inquiry into the question of the incidence and comparison of Railway rates and their effects on the trade and commerce of the country, both internal and foreign, with a view to give every facility to the Indian manufactures of cheap transport throughout the country, and that in order to put Indian industries on equal footing with foreign ones, the low rates charged for foreign goods be applied in case of Indian products although the load or the lead may be less than the standard one required.

This Congress urges on the attention of Government the desirability of stimulating and extending well irrigation where it may prove most economical and profitable to the cultivators.

That in order to provide facilities for the transport of goods it is desirable that a complete and uniform system of through communication by water should be provided, wherever practicable, between centres of commercial industrial, or agricultural importance, and between such centres and the sea.

That in the opinion of the Congress the utility of the British Consular Service would be materially enhanced if consular officers were authorised to communicate direct on application, available information sought by accredited British inquiries in foreign countries, instead of being compelled, as at present, to supply such information only through the medium of the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade; the Congress also earnestly recommends the appointment of Indian Commercial attaches to provincial British Consulates.

That having regard to the great advantages resulting from the extensive employment of untaxed Alcohol for industrial purposes and for the generation of powers and the increasing demands for petrol for motor purposes, this Congress is convinced that the retention of the existing duty on Alcohol for such purposes is a very serious obstacle to the progress of the Indian industries and that a letter be addressed to the Government requesting them to exempt, from duty, Alcohol for industrial and power purposes in particular.

Mr. Wacha's Address at the Indian National Congress.

THE NEED OF VIRILITY.

In the course of his address of welcome as chairman of the reception committee of the 30th Indian National Congress Mr. Wacha said:

Virility in a people is as much essential as material prosperity to their orderly and healthy progress. There should be a happy co-ordination of the arts of war and peace. Material prosperity alone is prone to lead to effeminacy or as the poet has said "men decay where wealth accumulates." So too excessive exercise of virility alone is unproductive of prosperity and often leads to stagnation if not arrest of all social progress and welfare. History teaches us that that nation survives the longest which possesses in itself both the elements of virility and material prosperity in the highest degree. Indeed, Great Britain has herself shown to the world, in this unhappy war, a brilliant instance of what co-ordination of great wealth and material resources with a spirit of virility can achieve. Are we not entitled to say that this co-ordination alone has enabled her to raise the large army of over three millions without any previous compulsory military service. Wealth alone at this hour could not have accomplished this miracle which is the admiration of the world. Side by side with her material prosperity was to be discerned all through that fostering and stimulating of the soldierly spirit in her militia first, in her volunteers next, and lastly, in her territorials. We all devoutly hope that, profiting by this great achievement, Great Britain will not deny any further to the Indian people the exercise of arms, the want of which for so many years, has led to their emasculation.

THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORM.

He aptly characterised the Morley-Minto Reform as "the homeopathic dose of popular reform" and complained of "the niggardliness of the boon" of a slightly "freer discussion of the Budget," which "in no way reflects popular wants and wishes."

Thus, if we consider the principal features of the Morley-Minto Reform we find that they are so exceedingly defective and hardly in harmony with the growing popular sentiment and wishes that it is inevitable that sooner or later the defects which presently accompany them will have to be removed.

ROYAL COMMISSIONS.

The mountain of the Decentralization Commission "has laboured to produce a ridiculous mouse." It has been often said of Royal Commissions that

They are generally known to be devices for solving difficult or inconvenient problems. They seldom solve them. Their character has been well typified in the following couplet.

"Promise, pause, prepare, postpone,
And end by letting things alone."

Regarding the Public Service Commission Mr. Wacha observed:

In this matter of the Public Service no finality can ever be reached, be there as many Royal Commissions or other devices, so long as Indians are deliberately baulked under various pretexts of their legitimate aspirations and ambitions.

GENESIS OF UNREST.

Regarding the genesis of unrest Mr. Wacha quoted the following observations of James Russell Lowell, the great American scholar, statesman and poet:

"It is only by the instigation of the wrongs of men that what are called the rights of men become turbulent and dangerous, It is then only that they syllogise unwelcome truths. It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous but the revolts of intelligence. It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable

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and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy."

To British officials, and non-officials, whether here or in England, who are fond of "stand-pattism" may also be commended the following quotation made by Mr. Wacha from Buckle's "History of Civilization."

"Men have recently begun to understand that, in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency and concession. It will show utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilisation and an advancing democracy. It will show that for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive polity; that within certain limits, innovation is the solid ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure but also widens its entrance; and that even in a material point of view no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the State. Neglect of these truths has entailed the most woeful calamity upon other countries."

Government as Customer.

In his presidential address at the Industrial Conference Sir Dorab Tata said: "Once the right kind of article is produced—of a quality and at a price which will stand comparison with the imported article—the custom of Government is immediately forthcoming." That may be true, at least so far as the experience of great and successful capitalists like Sir Dorab goes. But the question is to what extent, if any, Government help and encouragement are required to bring an industrial concern up to the standard of efficiency when it would be able to produce "the right kind of article." If one is able to produce an article which in price and quality can stand comparison with the imported article, he may even be able to do without Government custom in some cases, as Dr. Johnson was able to do without Lord Chesterfield's patronage of his English dictionary after it had succeeded in gaining popular approval.

Five Hundred Thousand Officially Going Hungry.

In reply to a question asked by the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Ray in the Bengal Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Birley replied on behalf of the Government:

The affected area comprises 1,115 square miles out of the total area of Bankura district, which is 2,621 square miles. The population affected is 502,837, the total population of the district being 1,138,670. The classes principally feeling distress are cultivators, weavers, agricultural labourers and beggars. Small tenure-holders are also affected.

Private estimates put the number of the famine-stricken people much higher,—something like 8 lakhs. But supposing, as Government says, that about half the district is affected, it is difficult to see why famine should not be declared in the affected area. Government simply says:

Government are aware that considerable and widespread distress prevails in the district of Bankura. Government have adopted such measures as are necessary to meet the situation. Government do not propose to declare a state of famine in the district; this decision not in any way limit the scope of the measures taken for the relief of distress.

No reasons are assigned for Government's decision not "to declare a state of famine in the district"; it is simply added that "this decision does not in any way limit the scope of the measures taken for the relief of distress."

The decision may or may not limit the scope of the measures taken for the relief of distress, but the limits are ruthlessly drawn by the amount of money available for relief measures; and according to Mr. Birley's reply,

Government have sanctioned Rs. 3,75,000 for agicultural and land improvement loans, Rs. 50,000 for gratuitous relief, and Rs. 1,00,000 for relief works in Bankura district.

So Government grants come up to rupees five lakhs and a quarter. Supposing one spends the minimnm of 2 pice per head per day on an average to keep alive the famine-stricken people, five lakhs of the sufferers would require five lakhs of rupees per month. The distress made itself felt earlier than September. But supposing the people began to feel the pinch of hunger only from September last, adequate relief measures would have required, during the last four months of 1915, twenty lakhs of rupees; instead of which we have a Government grant of five lakhs and a quarter. And private relief-workers can under no circumstances have spent more than fifty thousand rupees.

It is, therefore, urgently necessary for Government to make more ample grants and employ a much larger staff of official relief-workers. We do not know whether this will be done. But whether Government do their duty fully or not, we should

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Photograph by the Bankura Sammilani.

FAMINE-STRICKEN PEOPLE OF THE DISTRICT OF BANKURA.

not refrain from doing ours. Help will be badly needed for 7 or 8 months more. Principal Mitchell of the Bankura College writes to Dr. D. N. Maitra of the Bengal Social Service League :—

The nights are now bitterly cold, and many are suffering ; for their houses are in such a bad state of repair that it is impossible to keep out the cold.

The gathering at the Thana every Sunday is a pathetic one. Many of the doddering old men and women are on the edge of the grave. Some are clamorous but the majority are patient. On Sunday last I noted one feeble very old man. He had to wait over 4 hours for his turn, but never an impatient word did he utter. We rewarded him by giving him an extra seer. It is a touching sight to see the children crawl up to the sacks as the work of distribution proceeds. Little tots of 4 and 5 sit on the ground near the table and scrape up the dust and dirt on the offchance of picking up a few extra grains of the precious food.

I fear our work must continue at least for another 7 months. It is not a bright prospect. At present there is a slight improvement in the condition of the people, for what paddy there is in the 'sole' lands is now being harvested. But the real pinch has to come and we must be prepared to meet it.

There are thousands of poor people in this district who are now being alive by the noble work Government is doing and the generous help sent to them by you and others. But we need more help. Oh that people could see the sights I witness every Sunday. But help will come. It has come so far most unexpectedly, most generously. Our Father above has heard the cry of the children and aged. He bids us feed the hungry ones. They have a right to live. We, also, have heard the cry. We hear it every day. We are bound to respond.

It should be borne in mind that Bankura is the poorest district in Bengal. This statement is not a random one based on a vague impression or surmise. We make it after looking at the figures relating to the area and revenue demands of all the districts of Bengal. This poor district has few rich men. Hence outside help is very urgently needed.

The Bankura Sammilani, of which the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Digambar Chatterjee is president and the editor of this paper is vice-president and treasurer, has opened relief-centres in Unions Numbered 10 and 11 in Khatra Thana, and Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Raniband Thana and at village Harh-

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masrah in Taldangrah Thana. We gratefully acknowledge elsewhere the contributions received, since our last acknowledgment, and earnestly solicit more help. The giving for which we plead is even the giving in excess of ability. "Most giving is measured by what one has after he has got all his wants satisfied. Rarely does giving spring from self-denial, the real diversion of expenditure from self to others. But this is the only giving which binds the world closer, and yields the giver the best returns. The prevention of waste, the exercise of more careful economy, the omission of easy and needless expenditure, would yield to almost every one a fund for sympathy. To do without things we need in order to supply the greater need of others would keep the fund large, and to many people would open a new world of satisfaction."

Half-fed District Pays 104 Per cent Revenue.

In the Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Presidency of Bengal for the year 1914-15 it is stated :

"The majority of the people in the Burdwan Division look to agriculture as their principal means of livelihood. The weather conditions during the year were not favourable to agriculturists, as the rains ceased abruptly in September and so the outturn of the crops was below normal. The cultivators were, however, compensated to a certain extent by the high prices of food grains which ruled throughout the year.

In the Appeal for Help issued by the official Bankura District Relief Committee over the signature of the District and Sessions Judge and sometimes signed by the Magistrate and Collector also, who is a member of the Committee, it is written in explanation of the cause of the present famine :

"The distress is the more acute on account of previous bad seasons. In 1913 a large area in the northern portion of the District was devastated by the great Damodar flood. Last year [in 1914] the rains ceased early in September and the yield was very poor in most parts.

Regarding the year 1915, we find in Mr. Birley's reply previously referred to :

The distress in Bankura district is due to short and ill-distributed rain-fall in June, July and August, resulting in damage to the winter rice crop and making transplantation impossible over a large area.

It is officially admitted then that the very poor district of Bankura has had bad luck during three successive years. But this singular misfortune does not seem to have impaired in the least its revenue-paying power. On the contrary, it appears to have increased its capacity to meet the revenue demands of Government. For such is the machine-like "efficiency" of the administration, that paragraph 58 of the Land Revenue Administration Report for 1914-1915 is able to tell us :

The table in the margin shows the districts in which collections attained the prescribed standard of 100 per cent. or more on the current demand. Of the remaining districts the percentage was nearly up to the standard in Malda (99·2), Noakhali (99·2), Hooghly (99·09), Jalpaiguri (99), Chittagong (98·7), Midnapore (97·9), Rajshahi (97·6). Bakarganj (97·5) and Khulna (97·09). In the other 13 districts the decline in the percentage was due mainly to the depression in the jute trade as stated above.

Percentage of collections in districts	
(1) Bankura ..	104·9
(2) Burdwan ..	104·09
(3) Darjeeling ..	101·8

We wonder whether there was exultation instead of "depression" in Bankura owing to successive years of bad luck. It stands at the top of the list of the districts which paid more than cent per cent! The unconcerned spectator may admire the perfection of the wonderful revenue-reaping machine, but those whose limbs may have been caught in its wheels may be pardoned for not entertaining that sort of feeling. They might even mutely appeal to Lord Carmichael or whoever else has the power to heal their wounds and bind up their fractured limbs, and for future years to import a little more of human failings like sympathy into the machine.

Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta.

Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, who has recently returned to India from London, had a very brilliant career in India at school and as a student of the Bombay Grant Medical College, where he obtained almost all the prizes and scholarships meant for meritorious students. Proceeding to England for higher medical studies as a Tata and Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai Scholar, he joined the London Hospital.

There he successfully obtained the degree of M.R.C.S. and M.A.C.S and also won a prize in Anatomy. He then passed the first F.R.C.S. and at the early age of 26 stood at the top in the M. D. Examination and was awarded a gold medal finally securing the coveted degree of M.R.C.P. ; and for these rare achievements a public dinner was given in his honour at the Hotel Cecil by distinguished Indians residents in London. He was the first Indian after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century to be appointed a clinical assistant in the various departments of the London Hospital, where he subsequently acted as a pathologist, as Assistant Director of clinical laboratory and as an assistant clinical pathologist—a

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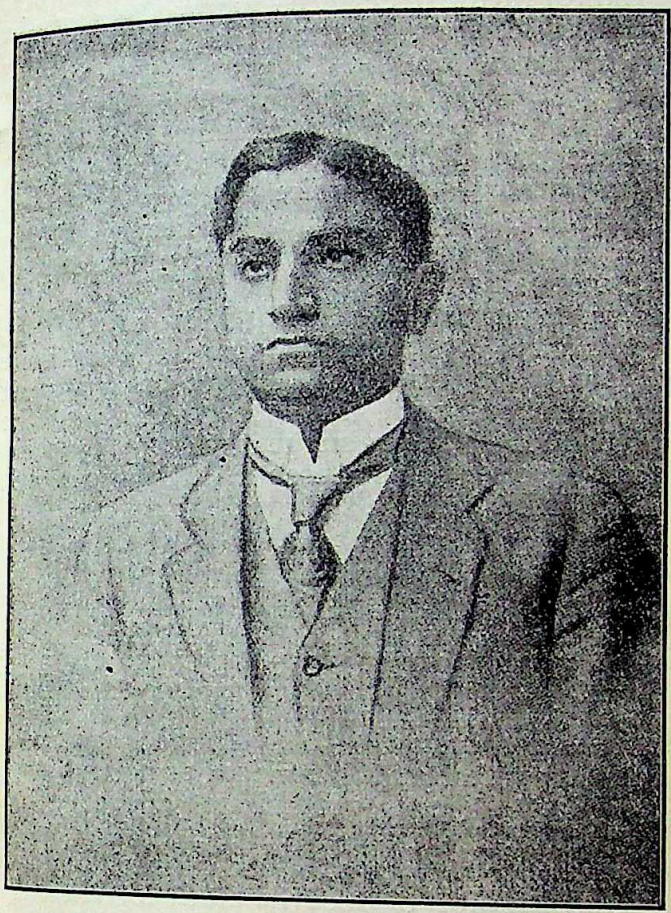

DR. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA, M.D.

these posts he fulfilled with great ability and credit to himself.

The Gujarati tells us that

Side by side with his brilliant University career, both in Bombay and in London, he has strenuously worked in numerous movements of public usefulness and has been an indefatigable champion of the cause of Indian students in the United Kingdom. He has been a General Secretary of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology. He was also for two years President of the London Indian Association. He had the distinction of being a member of the important deputation that waited upon Lord Crewe under the presidentship of Sir M. M. Bhownagree for representing the case of Indians in South Africa. After the declaration of war in Europe, he has been an active supporter of the Indian Ambulance Corps and worked zealously with Mr. Gandhi of South African fame. He worked hard in the cause of the Indian Students for admission to the Officer's Training Corps. He was also appointed a member of the British Indian Congress Committee and a member of the Committee of the Indian Social Club in London. In face of poverty and various other difficulties, Dr. Mehta has won brilliant laurels and fought his way up to an eminent position.

India has reason to be proud of students like Dr. Mehta. His success sets one thinking of the reasons why the State does not adequately recognise Indian talent in the medical and sanitary departments.

Reason for not appointing Indians to high posts in the Medical Services.

The late Surgeon-General Harvey's name was a very well-known one in his life-time in this country. As a professor in theCalcutta Medical College and as organizer of the first Medical Congress in this country, one should have expected him to sympathize with the aspirations of Indian medical graduates. But he had not the strength of mind to resist the temptations of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and not to fall a victim to their ways of thinking. When more than 15 years back, the question of reforming the medical services of this country was before the British Medical Association, Dr. Harvey, in his capacity as Director-General of Indian Medical Service, opposed the proposal of reform, in a "note" which will hardly commend itself to any fair-minded person. He wrote :

> "The principle of *detur digniori* sounds well, and is followed as far as may be by the Indian Government, subject to the limitation that it takes the most worthy of its own officers for its own appointments, and does not throw them open to the world. If it did, it might conceivably get better men for particular appointments, *though it is doubtful if the best men in any branch would come to India on speculation for the salaries given.*"

Of course it is convenient for Dr. Harvey to ignore the existence of competent medical men who are 'natives' of the country. No, *the best men in any branch* need not come to India on speculation. In India itself there are best men available who are competent to teach every branch of the medical profession. Of course, Dr. Harvey writes:

> "The service is open to all natives who choose to compete, and it would be most undesirable to open it to men who have never left India, and are ignorant of Western manners and modes of thought."

The first portion of the above sentence, that is, "the service is open to all natives," is a myth. Dr. Harvey has not told us what "Western manners and mode of thought" have to do with one's professional competency. But there are many "natives" who have been trained in the Universities and medical schools of Europe and America and have distinguished themselves by their original work and professional competency who would try to qualify

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themselves for the professorships, if these appointments were thrown open to the world. There are many "natives" who have taken the highest academical degrees and diplomas in Medicine and Surgery—not only in India but in Europe and are quite capable of discharging the duties of professors in the Indian Medical Colleges, not only with great credit to themselves but with great benefit to all concerned. Then the great bugbear of Dr. Harvey, namely that "an outsider ignorant of the language and customs of the country would be much handicapped in the competition for practice," would altogether disappear.

But then is it absolutely necessary that those "natives" who have never left their country should not be appointed to high posts in their own country simply because they are ignorant of "western manners" and modes of thought. This is a very dangerous doctrine if followed out in practice. Is not the English education imparted to Indian youths in colleges and schools in India, calculated to train them in the Western manners and modes of thought? Lord Macaulay pleaded for higher education in these terms. "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, words, and intellect." Dr. Harvey must admit then that the system of education which Macaulay introduced in India and whose efficacy has been borne testimony to by some of the best English statesmen and administrators of India, must have proved a failure if he insists that the professional competency alone of a "native" trained in English is no qualification for his appointment to a high medical appointment in his country, because he has never left India! Do the natives of Australia and Canada leave their own country to qualify themselves for high medical appointments in their own colonies?

That there is a great deal of bias against Indians being appointed to high posts in their own country, every one knew very well. But of Dr. Harvey no one should have expected this. The success of his Medical Congress was mainly due to the "natives" working hard for it. Therefore it pains one to see that he should have in the most public manner cast reflection on the professional ability of an Indian gentleman—a late member of the Indian Medical Service—whom he says he had twice nominated to the Chair of Materia Medica in the Calcutta Medical College. Dr. Harvey should have explained in what respect his nominee was not a success. In India, an impression prevails that no one can aspire to any professorship in any of the medical colleges in the country unless he is thoroughly Europeanised.

Turning to the Grant Medical College, Bombay, Drs. Parekh and Kirtikar were never confirmed as Professors in that institution and no one ever had the hardihood to even suggest that they were not successes as professors. They were not confirmed because they were "natives."

Sir K. G. Gupta on "Young India" and "Old India."

Some months ago, a contributor writes to *India*, a dinner was given in honour of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, and friends of all races and creeds gathered to congratulate him upon the notable victories he has won for Indians in England in the course of his studies. It will be remembered that when he was to be passed over at the London Hospital for a post he had legitimately won, and simply because of the colour of his skin, he refused to submit to injustice, and eventually triumphed. Since that time he has proved himself able to bear with dignity and credit the responsibility still higher posts have placed on him.

Everyone, says the same writer, who comes into touch with Dr. J. N. Mehta is impressed by his modesty, and when occasions arise which need a strong hand, his force of character often causes surprise. Beneath the quiet demeanour there burns a strong sense of justice, and when it is impelled to action unexpected power becomes manifest.

On the eve of his departure, the members of the London Indian Association gathered at the Caxton Hall to wish him Godspeed. Sir. K. G. Gupta, in the course of the speech which he made on the occasion observed:

> There is a gulf between young and old: the young think the older men too cautious, and the older men do not like the manners of the young, considering them wanting in respect. It will be better for all when it is recognised that no nation can get on without its old and its young; the gulf between the two ought not to exist, for the years merge one into the another. The young men must be ready to take the places of those, like Mr. Gokhale and Sir P. M.

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Mehta, whose work here was done. But he insisted that preparation was necessary; that it was absurd to consider that a young man could suddenly blossom out into a politician to be trusted without studying politics. Just as law, medicine, and science, so politics required long preparation. He urged his hearers to to take politics seriously, to study all sides. "When you have done that," he added, "you will find that old men have their uses." He compared the administration of a country to a steamer, saying that the younger generation, strong, fearless, pushing, were as the motive power in the engine-room of a steamer; but a steamer guided only by the engineroom would soon come to grief; it needed the older men on the bridge to direct its driving power. He referred with pleasure to the friendly co-operation prevailing among Indians in this country; they allowed no difference of creed to interfere with their social intercourse; they knew they were Indians first, and Hindus, Moslems, Parsis, and Christians afterwards. He said that Dr. Mehta was going back to India at a critical period; toleration of differences did not exist there as here, and he begged his young friends to realise that they must not only preserve in India the spirit of toleration and co-operation they had learned here, but endeavour to extend it throughout the various communities. The education of the masses was imperative in the effort to dispel prejudice and bigotry. "As long as we quarrel over a cow or a question of language, we cannot stand united. We must compose our differences, recognise that it is common service which counts that union is strength; till we have learned that lesson, all talk about nationalism is moon-shine."

Sir K. G. Gupta's observations were all to the point. Old or young, we should all have patience with and respect and consideration for one another. That is so far as patriotic men and women are concerned. For the opinions of self-seeking, servile and cowardly youngsters or old fogies no one need care a pin. Nor need one be influenced by the opinions of thoughtless young hotheads, except so far as it may be necessary to convince them of the error of their ways and bring them back to the path of sanity and duty.

Rebels in South Africa & India.

In the twentieth century there has not been any rebellion in India, not at least of the same kind or magnitude as in South Africa. Indian conspirators or rebels have, however, been punished far more severely than De Wet and his followers. But now even the lighter punishments inflicted upon De Wet and his followers have been remitted, as the following telegrams show:

De Wet and one hundred and eighteen prisoners who had been sentenced for high treason, have been released. De Wet in an interview emphasised the necessity for Anglo-Dutch amity. Discord and past misunderstanding should cease.—"Reuter."

Forty-five prisoners, convicted of high treason are still imprisoned. Their cases will be considered later.—"Reuter."

The release of De Wet and his followers has created a favourable impression in Holland where the British policy of magnanimity is contrasted with the German method,—"Reuter."

Forty-five rebels are still imprisoned in Johannesburg. The conditions on which the others were released include a promise to abstain from politics and public meetings and not to leave their districts without permission until the expiration of their sentences.—"Pioneer" Cable.

Among the reasons why De Wet and his followers have been treated leniently are the facts that the Boers are self-governing and their kinsmen the Dutch in Europe are an independent neutral nation whose good opinion is of some value.

Conspirators and rebels in India ought to be punished. But it is bad statesmanship, if also not something more, to magnify and dignify hairbrained boys, and wicked robbers, be they were boys or older men, into rebels.

What Veteran Teachers Think of our Boys.

Our boys have got a bad reputation with the Anglo-Indian tin-gods, official and non-official. Perhaps Bengali boys are considered the most wicked, and then Deccani and other boys. But their teachers, who ought to know them best do not seem to think so. At the farewell reception given to Dr. J. C. Bose by the students of Presidency college, where he was a professor for the last 31 years, and where the students are almost all Bengalis, in concluding his reply to the Principal James and addresses of the boys, the great professor had something to say about our students.

Turning to the Indian students, he could say that it was his good fortune never to have had the harmonious relation between teacher and pupils in any way ruffled during his long connection with them for more than thirty years. The real secret of success was in trying at times to see things from the student's point of view and to cultivate a sense of humour enabling one to enjoy the splendid self-assurance of youth with a feeling not unmixed with envy. In essential matters, however, one could not wish to meet a better type or one more susceptible to finer appeals to right conduct and duty than Indian students. Their faults were rather of omission than of commission, since in his experience he found that the moment they realised their teacher to be their true friend, they responded instantly, and did not flinch from any test, however severe, laid on them.

That is the testimony of a teacher of world-wide reputation.

The past and present students of Wilson College, Bombay, recently assembled to pay tribute to the work of their principal Dr. Mackichan by presenting his bust to the College. The Doctor has been a teacher

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in India for forty years, and has served the Bombay University since 1877 in various capacities as Syndic, Dean and Vice-Chancellor, and has thus had to come into close contact with a large number of Deccani youth. Referring to the bust he said :—

It will serve to remind me continually of those amongst whom I have spent these happy years, of the men and women students whose gratitude has been a minister of continual encouragement, of the graduates who have gone forth from the College to serve their day and generation, whose careers have brought honour to their people, and to the College which was proud to claim them as its *alumni*."

"The Indian student," he said, "is sensitive in a remarkable degree to the sympathy and interest manifested in him by his teachers and his guides."

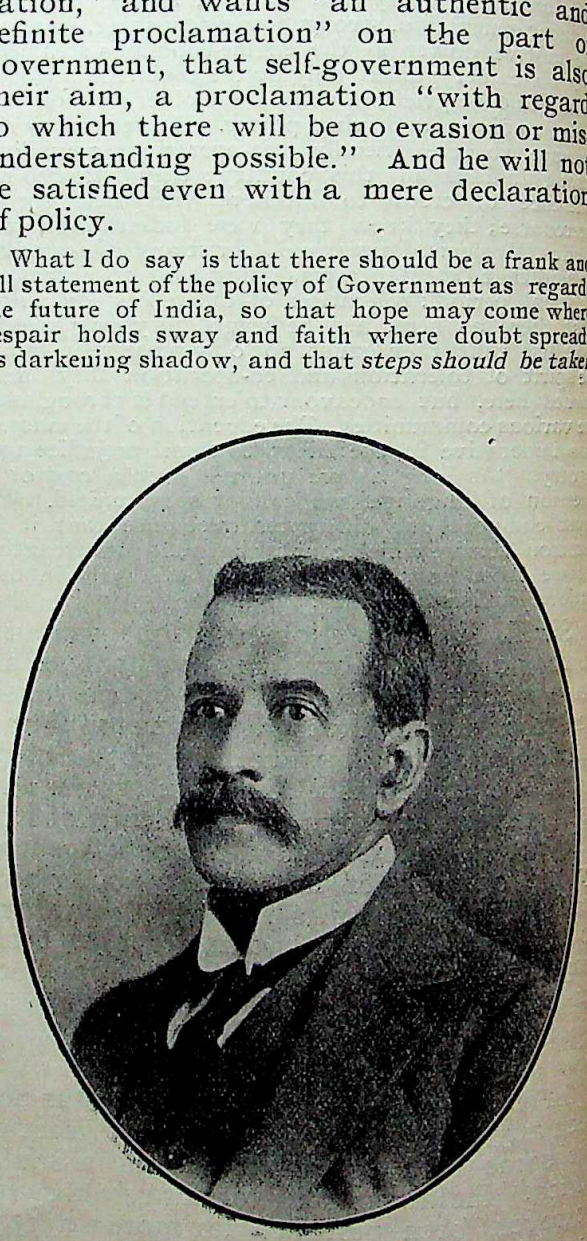
In speaking of the famine-relief work which Principal Mitchell of Bankura College and his boys are doing, he bears the following testimony to our students :—

We have one distribution day—Sunday. On this day we cycle up to Chhatna, generally about six of us. There is no lack of workers. This responsibility is making men of the students. I am proud of them. They are not only enthusiastic, they are sensible and careful and act cheerfully according to instructions.

Sir. S. P. Sinha's Address.

Sir S. P. Sinha's presidential address at the thirtieth Indian National Congress was a clear and well-reasoned pronouncement, though it was not a great speech, nor one which can be called satisfactory in all its parts from the people's point of view. His praise of the British Government, of British statesmen connected with India, of the British nation and of the Indian Civil Service, would require some qualification. But when all deductions have been made, the address, considering his career and personality, was more significant than any that might have been delivered by Mr. Lajpat Rai or by Mr. B. G. Tilak, had they been called to fill the presidential chair. For, Things-as-they-are, under British rule, has been very propitious to him. He is an eminently successful lawyer. He has obtained wealth, high position and honours. He has been the first Advocate-General in Bengal, and the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He has been in the inner councils of Government, taking part even in forging some of the fetters for the Indian Press. It is clear, then, that the Shoe of British Rule has not pinched Sir S. P. Sinha very hard, whatever the case may be with its other wearers. And what does such a person, favoured by fortune as well as by the British Government, say? He wants self-government, described by him in the words of Abraham Lincoln as "government of the people, for the people, and *by the people*." True, he says the goal is not yet, but he also says that he refuses "to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination," and wants "an authentic and definite proclamation" on the part of Government, that self-government is also their aim, a proclamation "with regard to which there will be no evasion or misunderstanding possible." And he will not be satisfied even with a mere declaration of policy.

What I do say is that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow, and that *steps should be taken*



SIR SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA,
President of the 30th Indian National Congress.

to move towards self-government by the gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire.

The definite reforms and remedial and progressive measures which he demands are:

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Firstly—The grant of commissions in the army and military training for the people.

Secondly—The extension of local self-government.

Thirdly—The development of our commerce, industries and agriculture.

Regarding the first he goes into details as follows:

1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness.

2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests, and that a military college or colleges should be established in India where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission.

3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and

4th. That the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. This has no real connection with the three previous claims, but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are justified on the same ground of political expediency.

He gives very satisfactory reasons why we should have a reasoned ideal of our future. As to the reasons why we should have self-government he said:

A British Premier early in this century very truly observed, "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government." Says a recent writer in a well-known British periodical, "Every Englishman is aware that on no account, not if he were to be governed by an angel from heaven, would he surrender that most sacred of all his rights, the right of making his own laws..... He would not be an Englishman, he would not be able to look English fields and trees in the face, if he had parted with that right. Laws in themselves, have never counted for much. There have been beneficent despots and wise law-givers in all ages who have increased the prosperity and probably the contentment and happiness of their subjects but yet their government has not stimulated the moral and intellectual capacity latent in citizenship or fortified its character or enlarged its understanding. There is more hope for the future of mankind in the least and faintest impulse towards self-help, self-realisation, self-redemption than in any of the laws that Aristotle ever dreamt of." The ideal, therefore, of self-government is one that is not based merely on emotion and sentiment, but on the lessons of history.

He quoted the opinions of some English statesmen, from John Bright to our present Viceroy, to show that ultimate self-government for India has been their ideal, too. As for that matter, an earlier pronouncement, perhaps the earliest, which is a century old, is to be found in the following extract from the *Private Journal* of the Marquis of Hastings:

A time not very remote will arrive when England will on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects. so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice and to maintain with probity towards her benefactress that commercial intercourse in which she would then find a solid interest.

But the pity is that British proclamations and pronouncements have raised hopes to fulfil which earnest efforts have not yet been made. They have been treated by the bureaucracy as mere scraps of paper. This has been clear to foreigners, too. As Sir S. P. Sinha himself says:—

This is what M. Chailley says (I am reading from page 188 of the translation by Sir William Meyer): "Had England taken as her motto 'India for the Indians,' had she continued following the ideas of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the national party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give entire autonomy to the Indians *but that is not now her aim.*" (The italics are mine.) Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who to use the classic words of Lord Morley, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institution are the special privilege of the West? Can any one wonder that, many of these young men, who have not the same robust faith in the integrity and benevolence of England as the members of this Congress, should lose heart at the mere suspicion of such a policy, and, driven to despair, conclude that "the roar and scream of confusion and carnage" is better than peace and order without even the distant prospect of freedom? Fifteen years ago, Lord Morley said: "the sacred word 'free' represents, as Englishmen have thought until to-day, the noblest aspiration that can animate the breast of man." Therefore, an Englishman will be the first person to realise and appreciate the great insistent desire in the heart of India, and I say with all the emphasis and earnestness that I can command that if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character. For my part, I believe with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy is still the policy of the great English nation.

Should Sir S. P. Sinha's conviction be founded on fact we should be glad indeed. But no proclamation, declaration, promise or pledge can persuade us to believe that his conviction is not a hallucination; we have had enough of them. It is action alone which can produce the same conviction in our minds as in his.

Having formulated the ideal of self-rule, he counselled patience, for "the path is long and devious and we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the promised

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land." We, too, are not in favour of impatience, as manifested in throwing bombs or things of that description. But what we want to say is that Sir S. P. Sinha's counsel of patience was as superfluous as the proverbial carrying of coal to Newcastle. For are we not the most patient people on earth? The French Canadians were conquered by Great Britain after she set foot on Indian soil; they have got self-government. The Boers got self-government *immediately after* being conquered. India was never conquered in that sense; and yet after a century and a half of British rule we are told to patiently wait *even for the beginning of self-rule.* The French Canadians and the Boers being of European descent, they might be thought to have a God-given right to self-rule. But how is it that America granted self-rule to the uncivilised Filipinos within a few years of conquering them, and has promised them independence in a decade or two? We repeat that we are the most patient people on earth. But England has not appreciated our patience, possibly because her own sturdy sons are cast in altogether a different mould, as the history of the methods they adopted to win their rights amply bears out. But it will not do for us to imitate their ways. We shall be patient, but not inactively patient. We must be patiently active to win our birthrights. Sir S. P. Sinha says:—

> Let us argue out for ourselves freely and frankly the various ways by which we can obtain the priceless treasure of self-government. It seems to me that it is possible only in one of the three following ways:—
>
> First, by way of a free gift from the British nation.
>
> Second, by wresting it from them.
>
> Third, by means of such progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition as will, on the one hand, render us worthy of it and on the other, impossible for our rulers to withhold it.
>
> Now, as to the first. Even if the English nation were willing to make us an immediate free gift of full self-government—and those who differ most from the Congress are the first to deny the existence of such willingness—I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be worth having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity.

Regarding the first way and the speaker's comments thereupon (which are not without much truth) we desire to draw attention to what Mr. Lajpat Rai wrote about the Evolution of Japan in our last November number:

> The Anglo-Indian and British critics of Indian nationalists are very fond of charging the latter with impatience and of pointing out to them, day in and day out, that Rome was not built in a day; that most of their troubles are due to a want of initiative on the part of the Indians themselves; that representative and democratic institutions are foreign to the genius of the Eastern people; and that it is unreasonable for them to demand what the British have built up after centuries of effort and struggle. We are also very often told that institutions grow from below and can neither be imposed from above nor grafted from without. Many of these statements are at best half-truths, and fallacious. Some are absolutely stupid. This is proved by a study of the growth of institutions in the new world, but even more forcibly is this demonstrated by the development of Japan and the revolution in China.
>
> Japan is an object lesson to those who deprecate the granting of constitutions by sovereigns without agitation, without pressure from the people. She is an example and a successful example of how a Government can educate a people in democratic methods by the grant of democratic institutions. Modern Japan was hardly out of her teens when her monarch decided to give her a constitution and granted her Parliamentary Government.
>
> Japan is a singular example of a democracy being trained by responsibility and trust. It was not a case of first deserve and then desire. It was a case of a father showing his entire confidence in his child and handing him over the reins before he had proved his fitness by the standards set up by Western nations. No education is so effective as that afforded by a position of responsibility.

Of course, it is not feasible to win self-government by an armed conflict with the British power. But we have certainly not exhausted the resources of what is known as constitutional struggle to win self-rule. Rational and moral influence and very great pressure of other kinds may be brought to bear on the British people without using physical force or shedding a drop of blood: Let us think out all the peaceful methods of constitutional struggle which may be necessary to adopt according to changing circumstances, and actively follow them. But it should be remembered, that though we must be firmly resolved not to use any violence, nor to shed anybody's blood, we should ourselves be prepared to undergo every kind of sacrifice and suffering to the uttermost.

Before discussing the third means of attaining the goal of self-government, Sir S. P. Sinha reminded the audience of a parable in Mr. Edwin Bevan's book on "Indian Nationalism."

> He likens the condition of our country to that of a man whose whole bodily frame, suffering from severe injuries and grievous lesions, has been put in a steel frame by a skilful surgeon. This renders it necessary for the injured man, as the highest duty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages even in a steel frame until nature resumes her active

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processes. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh require time: perfect quiet and repose, even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well. An attempt to walk too soon will only make the matter worse, and above all, the aid of the surgeon is indispensable and it is foolish to grudge the necessary fee.

Quite so. But have we not waited "quietly and patiently in splints and bandages—even in a steel frame," for more than a century and a half, and have we not paid the surgeon's fee more handsomely than any other people on earth? He must be a precious surgeon who would confine the limbs of his patient with splints and bandages until they are atrophied and paralysed or until the poor fellow dies, and who, in order to realise his fee, would keep his patient in perpetual tutelage. It was high time the British Surgeon took off our bandages and allowed us also to manage our property in order to convince us and the world that he was a really capable and conscientious man.

Sir S. P. Sinha proceeded to say:—

We are left, therefore, with the third alternative as the only means of attaining the goal of self-government. When we ourselves have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and prevent external aggression, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to concede the fullest autonomy to India.

But, as regards securing internal peace and preventing external aggression, the speaker himself told his hearers later on:—

There can be no true sense of citizenship where there is no sense of responsibility for the defence of one's own country. "If there is trouble, others will quiet it down. If there is riot, others will subdue it. If there is danger, others will face it. If our country is in peril, others will defend it." When a people feel like this, it indicates that they have got to a stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, and the system which is responsible for this feeling is inconsistent with the self-respect of normal human beings.

I shall be the first to acknowledge that various steps have been and are being taken by the Government to promote the right spirit of self-help in the country, but I feel that hitherto the Government has not only ignored but has put positive obstacles in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help in this the most essential respect.

How then can we advance in any particular direction if, as he says, "positive obstacles" are put in our way?

Regarding the ability to manage our own affairs, we should like to know which nation has acquired that power and learnt that art to perfection, and which has not made and is not still making serious blunders in managing its affairs. It is responsibility which develops ability. No nation is so unselfish and wise as to be able properly to manage the affairs of other nations. Administrative ability is not a mysterious thing. The nation which in India, under circumstances of great depression, still produces great seers, great poets, great scientists, great fighters, certainly contains thousands of men who can manage the affairs of the country.

The speaker wanted free institutions to be established for the whole of the country,—"not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress." There is no charm in the words "gradual" and "cautious" nor need we dread the sound of the words "sudden" or "revolutionary." Whether one uses the word revolution or not, a radical change there must be, and there must be a point of departure, an instant when Government must break with the past, in however mild a manner, or small a way. And the radical change required is this: Public servants belonging to the I. C. S. or other Services are nominally public *servants*, they are actually the masters of the people. They make and administer the laws, they levy, collect and spend the taxes, and they give the people as much or as little education and medical help as they think fit. What we want is that public servants should really be *servants*, carrying out the policy laid down and the laws made by the people, collecting the taxes levied by the people themselves, and spending them in the way laid down by them; &c. This is a radical change, and this change must be made.

If men like Sir J. D. Rees, who thinks that Gurkha and Sikh sepoys, no matter whether literate or illiterate, drafted into the Indian Civil Service, are sure to make competent magistrates and judges,—if men like him can be the arbiters of India's destiny, surely there are thousands of Indians who are far more competent to make self-government a success in India.

The so-called "lower" castes of Hindus have been told from time immemorial that they can become Brahmans after several births, or even at the next birth, if they lead good lives; and they have, generation after generation, waited patiently for the good time coming after several births. But,

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such is the "impatience"-breeding power of the Time-spirit, even their proverbial patience has been exhausted ; so that many a so-called "low" caste now claims to be twice-born. Our British friends and their followers must excuse us if we do not profess to be satisfied with the vague and indefinite hope of self-government held out for the great-grand-children of the great-grand-children of the great-grand-children of our great-grand-children (though we are afraid even this might be considered much too definite a promise !) : we want something for ourselves within our own life-time. We want to see India enjoying civic freedom before we die.

Time required for Education for Civic Responsibility.

And this is not a preposterious demand or expectation. When a British or an American or a French boy is born, he is not born with the statesman's portfolio or the general's baton. Nor is it solely or mainly heredity which makes him what he becomes when grown-up; for if heredity were so important a factor in the making of men's character and capacity, the sons of most of the poets, generals and statesmen would have become poets, generals and statesmen. It is chiefly by association and education and the bearing of responsibility that the boys of independent nationalities become what they do. Give us and our boys the education and the opportunity, and it is certain that a decade or at the most two decades will find a generation quite ready and able to shoulder any burden. We do not find very big trees in the midst of arid deserts. They are found in the company of other trees equal to or only a little smaller than themselves. Shakespeare was the greatest dramatist among other great dramatists. Lord Roberts was the greatest general among other great generals. Similarly our great poets, our great scientists, the few administrators and judges whom the British Government elevates to high offices, the great Indian captains of industry like Tata, the Indian winners of Victoria Crosses, all these are not rare or accidental products; there are large numbers of other Indian men who are fully their compeers or only a little less gifted than they. And there may be others among the rising generation with even greater gifts and capacities.

For decades the Congress has prayed for commissions in the Army, Simultaneous examination and so forth; are we an inch nearer the goal? It is good to be patient, but it is absurd to preach patience to a proverbially patient people.

Military Careers.

Sir S. P. Sinha's reasons for demanding Commissions in the Army and military training for physically and otherwise qualified persons in all provinces are irrefutable. We will quote one passage.

> I take leave to point out, therefore, that it is not correct, at any rate at the present time, to assert of any sections of the Indian people that they are wanting in such physical courage and manly virtues as to render them incapable of bearing arms. But even if it were so, is it not the obvious duty of England so to train them as to remove this incapacity, as they are trying to remove so many others, especially if it be the case, as there is some reason to believe it is, that it is English rule which has brought them to such a pass ? England has ruled this country for considerably over 150 years now, and surely it can not be a matter of pride to her at the end of this period that the withdrawal of her rule would mean chaos and anarchy and would leave the country an easy prey to any foreign adventurers. There are some of our critics who never fail to remind us that if the English were to leave the country to-day, we would have to wire to them to come back before they got to Aden. Some even enjoy the grim joke that were the English to withdraw now, there would be neither a rupee nor a virgin left in some parts of the country. I can conceive of no more scathing indictment of the results of British Rule. A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice and righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself that after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes.

The reference to ancient British history in the last sentence ought to prove convincing, if not interesting. The argument is concluded as follows:—

> Reason and convenience, justice and necessity, all support every one of the claims I have put forward; and if a definite advance is not made in these respects, it will be difficult to believe that the war has changed the "angle of vision" of our rulers. It will be impossible to retain faith in what was proclaimed by the present Premier "that the Empire rests, not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights."

In reading the address, one should never forget, as suggested before that it is not a man having any just or unjust grievance against the British Govern-

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ment and people, not a "pestilential agitator," who speaks, but that it is Sir S. P. Sinha, the favourite of fortune, who has been specially favoured and decorated by the British Government. And then it will be clear that he has voiced the irreducible minimum of the immediate and urgent demands of the people of India. Will the Anglo-Indian papers which are praising his address, honestly advocate definitely and earnestly the conceding of those demands?

Prof. Karve's Address.

In the opening paragraphs of his presidential address at the Indian Social Conference, Prof. Dr. D. K. Karve discoursed on the principles and processes of the reform movement. He said :—

We cannot help changing. Inspite of ourselves we are not to-day what we have been. "Why not then change intelligently ?" asks the reformer. It is the privilege of man alone to consciously adjust himself with his surroundings, and all that the reformer does in the case of social life is to consciously probe social evils and devise, as an intelligent being, means to remove them.

There is one prejudice against reform with regard to which Prof. Karve wished to clearly state the reformer's position.

When we ask our brethren and sisters to overhaul social customs and institutions, we are accused of irreverence, of an irreligious spirit. Let me give a flat and emphatic denial to the charge. Far be it from me and from us to lay sacrilegious hands upon the teachings and precepts that are still pulsating with a spiritual life, and that are a perennial source of guidance to frail, tottering man. It is not there that the iconoclastic axe of the reformer is ever laid. He is impatient, as all nature is, of the dead and the effete, which, he, as the representative of the living principle of the race, cannot rest till he has done away with, lest it should rot and putrify and give rise to fatal pestilence. Let no one, therefore, labour under the misconception that reform is an undermining of faith and a violence to the susceptibilities of the religious and righteous. On the other hand faith in the ultimate triumph of Good is the very essence of the spirit of reform. The reform movement, therefore, would not seek to undo that which is the very source of all life and health. It would only seek to bury the dead and clear the ground for all healthy and vital operations of social life.

In the Professor's opinion the greatest need of Indian society at the present day is education. The first thing that we ought to look to is universal education. The social reformer is, however, more closely concerned with the education of women. As has been observed in the Educational Despatch of 1854, by the education of women "a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men." Prof. Karve regretted that Government have not "displayed one-tenth of the activity in the cause of women's education that they have in that of men's, though even the latter falls immensely short of the needs of the country."

India is proverbially a land of famines. But never was the dearth of material food so sore as that of the food of the mind. Indian children, particularly girls, are starved educationally. It is really very

PROF. D. K. KARVE, E. A.,
President of the Social Conference.

strange that the government of the land should discuss the quality of the food-stuff when the need of the hour demands any edible article just to keep body and soul together. Not an ideally efficient education, but a sort of rough and easy education—that is what is immediately wanted. Let every boy and girl learn the mere rudiments, the three R's, and we shall be content for the present.

He suggested a practical measure for the more rapid spread of girls' education. "We ought to go in for co-education of

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boys and girls in the primary schools, at any rate in the lower forms. If girls were admitted to boys' schools for the primary standards, women's education would advance by strides." There can be no objection to the acceptance of this suggestion. But even boys' schools are quite inadequate in number, and the numerical strength of the classes is unalterably fixed by departmental rules.

Vernaculars as Vehicles of Education.

In Professor Karve's opinion "the one defect of the present course of education that is perhaps the most disastrous in its effects is that of the medium of instruction."

It is indeed a very pianful anomaly. It has been sapping the energies and undermining the intellectual calibre of our youths all these years. I wonder the educational experts with the Government have not yet seriously noticed it. In the case of boys there are perhaps reasons, other than educational, which may reconcile us to the present state of things, though the evils are but too apparent to a careful observer. These reasons, however, do not exist in the case of girls, most of whom will be called upon to fill the humbler office of the upholder of homes and hearths. The strain involved in receiving instruction through a foreign tongue that tells so severely upon the boys is bound to do greater harm to the girls. We cannot afford to have the future motherhood of the land thus enfeebled and enervated by this extra and uncalled-for strain. We ought to devise a system of education that will ensure all the good of the present course and yet will be free from its evils.

The speaker's idea is based fundamentally upon the recognition of two principles.

(1) That the most natural and therefore efficient medium of instruction is the learner's mother-tongue. (2) And secondly, that women as a class have different functions to fulfil in the social economy from those of men. These two principles will commend themselves to all dispassionate thinkers and have been accepted by educational experts. Whenever the day for the wholesale adoption of vernaculars as media of instruction throughout the whole educational course for boys comes, we ought not to wait for it in the case of girls. There are no political or economic reasons present, and the sooner we begin to impart all education—primary, secondary, higher—to girls through the vernaculars, the better it will be for the race.

Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar also said in his presidential address at the Theistic Conference :—

Another important and closely connected question is the high education of our girls, how far and in what direction the University and high school courses may require to be modified to suit the needs of women and how the physiological drain of public examinations on the adolescent female constitution may be avoided or minimised in the interests of the race. A programme of University Extension for women with systematic courses of lectures in various subjects in the vernacular followed by examinations and diplomas is one of the practical needs of the hour.

Professor Karve suggested that "in framing these secondary and higher courses of studies," in the vernaculars, "we may be guided by the Japan women's university."

The speaker then made two very welcome announcements. One was that he had been authorised by the managing committee of the Hindu Widow's Home Association to announce that they were prepared to start, by way of an experiment in the direction of higher education through the medium of the vernaculars, college classes as the natural development of their Mahilasrama or Girl's High School. "Already a contribution of no less than ten thousand rupees has been promised by one of my colleagues at the Mahilasrama." The other announcement was that Miss Krishnabai Thakur, at present the Lady Superintendent at the Mahilasrama, had offered a donation of Rs. 4,000 towards the equipment of a small library for the institution.

Prof. Karve concluded his practical and stimulating address with observations showing the need of pushing considerably forward the marriageable age of girls, pointing out how there is an extensive field for useful social work for maidens who choose not to marry and for widows, and directing attention to the condition of the depressed classes.

"Sita and Lakshman."

It is narrated in the Ramayan that when Ram, Sita and Lakshman were in exile in the forest, the *Rakshas* Marich appeared before them in the shape of a golden deer. Sita insisted on having that lovely creature as a pet. So Ram reluctantly went in pursuit of it. Very wilily it led him far from their leafy abode in the forest. Unable to catch it alive, he shot an arrow at it, and the *Rakshas* died, crying with a voice imitating that of Ram, "O brother Lakshman, I die!" Hearing this cry, Sita urged Lakshman to go to the help of Ram. Lakshman tried to assure Sita that Ram could not be in danger and that the cry must be the stratagem of some *Rakshas*. But Sita still urged him to go, imputing improper motives for his reluctance. When Lakshman was thus con-

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pelled to leave her alone, the *Rakshas* Ravan appeared in the form of a mendicant, and while she was in the act of giving him alms, carried her off. The subject of our frontispiece is Sita taking Lakshman to task.

An Explanation.

We are sorry owing to some irregularity in the delivery or miscarriage of postal articles to or from England, we are unable to publish in the present number the serial we had promised to print, *viz.*, "The Face at the Window" by Mr. Louis Tracy. We shall redeem our promise as soon as "copy" is received from England.

Girls' Education in Boys' Institutions.

Prof. Karve suggested in his presidental address that if girls were admitted in boys' High Schools, the education of girls would be facilitated; and he gave instances of High Schools where girls read in the same class with boys. In provinces, like Bombay and Madras, where no purdah is observed this is a practicable plan: but in Bengal and Bihar and the United Provinces, it is not yet practicable. We are ourselves in favour of it, but there would be opposition from the guardians of the boys and the school authorities, and the guardians of girls, too, would, for obvious reasons, be unwilling to try the experiment.

The Professor also suggests that instead of increasing the number of colleges for women, girls may be sent for higher education to boys' colleges. This would be a practicable plan in provinces where no purdah is observed. In others, too, it may be tried. But if higher education for women is to spread and succeed in the purdah-ridden provinces, there must be separate Colleges for women; for there are few men's Colleges which would admit women students. More than a decade ago a daughter of Dr. P. K. Ray and a daughter of the late Mr. R. N. Ray studied in the Calcutta Presidency College. But when about 5 years ago Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar wanted to place his daughter and his niece there, they were not admitted; they subsequently joined City College.

Classes in boys' colleges are already overcrowded. There can scarcely be any room there for girls.

Prof. Karve's suggestion that there should be more scholarships for girls, we heartily endorse. In fact, whether girls are to be educated in women's colleges, or in men's colleges with the help of scholarships, what we urge is that both Government and the people should spend as much for the education of girls as for that of boys.

The Home Rule League.

The latest information regarding the proposed Home Rule League, given by the Associated Press, is that at the adjourned meeting of the Home Rule League Conference held at Bombay, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea presiding, Mrs. Besant at the outset made a statement in which she said she would be guided by the elderly members of the Congress Committee and Moslem League members. Mr. Mazharul Haque said that he and his Musalman friends were entirely in favour of forming a Home Rule League. Mr. G. P. Ramsamy proposed an amendment that consideration of the league formation be postponed till the Congress and the Moslem League make their report. Many opposed him, prominently Mr. Jehangir Petit, Dr. Gour and Mr. Rasul. Many Musalmans also were against it. There was a most heated and excited discussion. Mrs. Besant eventually accepted the amendment, which being put to the vote, was carried, nearly 30 representatives of Hindu and Musalman public opinion voting against it.

This means that nothing can be done to form a League before another precious year has passed. And probably at the Lucknow Congress, too, the slackers would muster strong to put off the consideration of the formation of the League for another year, on some pretext or other.

There are some people who seem to think that there is some supreme virtue in delaying. When the war is over, the British Empire constitution is sure to be recast. The Colonies have already made their demands and have their plans ready. But India will be always "cautiously and patiently considering whether a Home Rule League should be established at all." Unbiassed foreigners like the late Mr. John Page Hopps, Editor of the *Coming Day*, declared their conviction years ago that Indians were fitter for Home Rule than the Russians were for their Duma; but we are ourselves still unable to believe that we are fit. The poison of subjection has impaired our confidence in

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ourselves. We very much require the splendid youthful virtue of self-assurance. We also ought to learn to make up our minds quickly. Time and tide wait for no man.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

Let those who are in favour of Home Rule work for it incessantly, leaving the extremely wise and extremely cautious and extremely level-headed to deliberate as long as they can.

The Urgent Need of Self-rule.

Many people seem to think that self-government, self-rule, or Home Rule is a mere sentimental need. They do not understand that India's poverty, ill-health and ignorance require *immediately* to be attacked with great vigour and earnestness with a view to their ultimate total removal in as short a time as possible. Under bureaucratic rule, India is the poorest, the most unhealthy and the most ignorant among civilised countries, and her poverty and unhealthiness are not diminishing, and education is spreading at a slower pace than that of the snail. The remedy is Home Rule.

Inter-Caste Dinner.

The all-Hindu inter-caste dinner organised by Hindu reformers with the object of doing away with caste differences was held at Bombay on December 28, 450 guests attending. The dinner was a great success in point of its being attended by members of various castes of the Hindu community from the Bombay Presidency as well as from Madras, Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Sind and the Central Provinces. Of the eight hundred invitations issued by the organisers, over four hundred were accepted. About 450 sat down to dine, including about 50 ladies. The guests included many ladies and gentlemen of position and culture. There were 125 Brahmins among them and twenty members of the depressed or "untouchable" classes. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in the course of an after-dinner speech, said the dinner was for the great purpose of bringing about closer social fellowship between caste-divided members of the Hindu community. Sir Narayan concluded by exhorting all present to have the courage of their convictions and to be firm against any opposition.

Mahomedan Educational Conference.

At the Bombay Mohamedan Educational Conference held at Poona,

Haji Yusuf Sobani, President of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome address in Urdu. In the course of his address the Chairman said, so long as the scope of primary education was not widened, the progress of the Mahomedan community was impossible and in order to achieve this object it was necessary that the Government should make primary education not only free, but compulsory. They should congratulate their Hindu fellow-countrymen on receiving the charter of their University. Although the Mahomedans were the first in the field, they had reached the goal before them. But they should remain inactive no longer. It was advisable that they accepted the charter as it was offered. It was said the Mahomedans were disloyal (cries of No No), but this was not the case.

In the course of his address, the President, the Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, referred, in dealing with the education of the masses, to Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and observed :—

I am afraid public opinion, which at the time was not very well instructed, did not express itself with sufficient clearness and definiteness. Since then, however, opinion has in this connection grown with remarkable rapidity, so that at the present day there is an universal demand for free and compulsory education. As practical men we do not expect that such a measure can be applied all at once throughout India. But there can be now no difficulty whatever in accepting the principle and enforcing it in selected areas. A commencement might well be made by empowering the Municipalities in larger cities to levy an educational cess for establishing primary education on a free and compulsory basis. I have no doubt that such a measure will be welcomed by all classes of the people and receive their hearty co-operation. While this experiment is carried on in larger cities, the District Municipalities and the Boards should receive ample grants to maintain primary schools in sufficient numbers to meet the want of every town and village. Here I take the opportunity to invite the especial attention of the Government and the Legislative Council of Bombay to the extreme expediency of placing upon the statute book the measure known as the Sindh Paisa Cess Bill, which was introduced as far back as 1907 for promoting popular education among the Muhammadans of Sindh, whose need in this connection is particularly pronounced. The Muhammadan representatives of this Presidency are, I believe, all agreed as to the need for such a measure and the general consensus of Muhammadan opinion is now strong in its support.

We are very glad that both Hindus and Musalmans now want free and compulsory education.

Regarding the establishment of more Universities Mr. Rahim said :—

"Several proposals for establishing additional

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Universities at Dacca, Bankipore and Nagpur have been published. What has happened to them? Lord Hardinge has repeatedly announced that there is need for many more Universities in India and, if I may respectfully say so, never was a truer word said. We not only want more Universities but also many more colleges and schools. Otherwise additional Universities will lose half their significance.

Considering the prominent place which the question of a Mahomedan University has occupied in the mind of the community, the President's observations thereupon are worthy of attention.

Now, what have been the community's expectations? You may remember that from the very outset it has been working for an University which should have the power to affiliate colleges other than the Aligarh College, that is, an University based to that extent on the model of the existing Universities. Aligarh was to be the centre and the Aligarh College would have been the principal and for sometime at least the only affiliated college. All the advantages which a residential and teaching University offers would have been available in their fullest measure at Aligarh. They expected that, when other colleges were ready to be affiliated, conditions relating to residence and teaching similar to those that obtained at Aligarh would, as far as possible, be enforced under the supervision and direction of the University. That is the development which the community had before its eyes when the scheme for an University was launched. Such an University would have partaken of the character of a residential and teaching University more than of the merely examining Universities such as the Government Uuiversities. People of all parts of India enthusiastically contributed to this scheme in the expectation of having an University whose jurisdiction might be extended in suitable circumstances beyond the limits of Aligarh. It is largely believed that the expectation was to a great extent encouraged by the Government. However that may be, the reason does not seem to be clear why the Muhammadans or the Hindus when they came forward to establish Universities at their own expense should be told that they were to have a charter, only if they conformed rigidly to the Oxford and Cambridge type and not to the type hitherto recognised by the Indian Government. I can quite understand that beyond certain limits the affiliation of distant colleges may not be desirable: and it is a reasonable matter for consideration how far the jurisdiction of an University which has its centre at Aligarh should extend. I do not see any good ground why negotiations should not take place with the Government on that basis.

As, if a Muslim University be founded at Aligarh, it will mostly serve Upper India, Mr. Rahim, deriving encouragement from the launching of a scheme for a separate University for Mysore, proceeded to suggest the establishment of a University in Hyderabad.

For many years, the Muhammadans of India have been looking towards Hyderabad for a similar movement and I can think of no other measure which would be so well calculated to advance the educational interests of the community in Hyderabad itself and generally in the south and the west. The matter should be properly and respectfully impressed upon the attention of His Highness the Nizam's Government.

Omissions in Sir S. P. Sinha's Address.

The Congress Presidential address should not be expected to be an encyclopaedia, and any attempt to deal with all public questions can only make it a dull and lengthy conglomeration of unconnected topics. But the President is naturally expected to have something to say on important current topics which have interested and excited the public mind. Two of these are the Indian Civil Service (temporary provisions) Bill and the non-publication of the Report of the Public Services Commission. But Sir S. P. Sinha did not even mention them. The internments according to the provisions of the Defence of India Act, and the various pieces of Press Legislation and their operation should have called forth some comments. Poverty, epidemic diseases and ignorance are always with us. Familiarity has not bred in us any contempt for them. They are the greatest enemies of India. The president of a people's congress should, therefore, have devoted greater attention to these vital questions than is implied in the more or less casual references that he made to them.

Civic Apprenticeship.

What the president of the Congress said on the subject of local self-government is very important.

If ever we attain our goal of Self-Government, it will not be merely through the expansion of Legislative Councils and their powers, nor yet through the admission of more Indians to Executive Councils or the establishment of a national militia, though all of them have no doubt their proper use and importance in the scheme of our national progress. It will come in a very great measure with the advance and development of local self-government. When, people generally so far understand their civic rights and duties as to be able to manage their own communal business, their roads and drains, their tanks and wells, their schools and dispensaries, it will no longer be possible to keep them from controlling the higher work of administration. Indeed, it is not always possible to do the latter satisfactorily without having served a full term of apprenticeship in the former, and I cannot do better than remind you of what was said by Mrs. Besant in her address to the Congress last December, while supporting the resolution on self-government: "The training for Self-Government is of vital import to our nation to-day. For the government of states is at once a science and an art; and in order that it may be worthily exercised, the lesson must be learnt in local Self-Government, then in provincial autono-

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my, and finally in the Self-Government of the nation; for the work of governing is the most highly skilled profession upon earth..... What then should you do? You should take part in local government wherever it is possible. As it is, take it and practise it, for you will gain experience and you will gain knowledge; and only that experience and knowledge will guide you when you come to speak in larger councils and to make your voice heard over vast areas. So I would plead to you to face this drudgery. It is drudgery, make no mistake; understand the details of local administration and understand how to manage your own drains, particularly your waterworks. Those are the alphabets of self-government: and unless you go through that drudgery, no amount of enthusiasm and love for the country will make your administration a success."

Many of our most prominent men have served this sort of civic apprenticeship, undergone this drudgery. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Munshi Gangaprasad Varma, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, Babu Ambikacharan Mazumdar, Mr. D. E. Wacha, and many others have strenuously worked and made their mark as well in their respective town councils as in wider fields of work. Younger men ought to follow their example.

The State and Industrial Development.

On the question of what the State ought or ought not to be expected to do to develop the industries of a country, Sir S. P. Sinha had this to say:

The first step taken by Japan was to start factories, either financed by Government or with Government control and managed by experts from abroad. In India alone, with the exception of spasmodic efforts, the Government adheres to the exploded *laissez faire* doctrine that the development of commerce and industry are not within the province of the State.

It is high time that this policy were abandoned. The necessity of carrying on demonstration work in agriculture, the greatest industry of the country, on a commercial scale, is admitted by all, and it is only where this principle has been put into practice that agricultural improvements have been taken up by the people. Similar results will follow if the same policy is pursued with regard to other industries and manufactures. They have followed whenever such experiments have been undertaken by the Government, as in the case of aluminium and chrome-tanning in Madras.

The time is singularly opportune. The War has put an end to the enormous imports of German and Austrian goods and Japan is already making great efforts to capture the trade which by right ought to be ours.

Sir S. P. Sinha on the Enlarged Councils.

Though Sir S. P. Sinha declared that it was his "firm belief that the privileges already acquired, if used with industry and moderation and tact, will in no distant future receive considerable enlargement," he did not leave his hearers in any doubt regarding the real character of the enlarged imperial and provincial legislative councils. He remarked:

Well, it does not require much political acumen to discover that we in India are yet a long way off from free institutions and that the reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils.

Revolution in China.

China seems now to be in a very disturbed condition. Yuan-shi-kai, the first president of the Chinese Republic, is said to have consented a few days ago, as the result of voting by representatives of the people, to turn the republic into a monarchy and become the Emperor, the coronation to take place at some suitable future. Whether all this was brought about by the manipulation and wire-pulling of Yuan-shi-kai and the monarchists, and, if so, to what extent, can not be definitely known.

The name is not everything. England is a monarchy and France is a republic. But the French and the English are probably on a par as regards popular liberty. In China Yuan-shi-kai, though styled President of a republic, has wielded almost despotic power. However, in China there seems to be very strong antimonarchical and republican feeling. Hence, it appears, she is on the eve of another revolution.

There is a serious revolutionary movement in China against Yuan-Shih-Kai.—"Reuter."

The military Governor of Yunnan telegraphed to Peking on December 23rd demanding cancellation of the monarchy and execution of its promoters. In a proclamation on the 26th, the Governor declared the Independence of Yunnan.—"Reuter."

A revolutionary leader from Japan says that the other military Governors are expected to join in the revolt which was definitely arranged, a fortnight ago.—"Reuter."

It transpires that the revolutionary movement in China is not confined to Yunnan but has spread to Kwangsi where there is the bitterest anti-monarchist feeling. Porminent revolutionary leaders are hastening to the scene. Yuan-shi-kai has created a crowd of Dukes and other nobles among the Provincial Governors and the Generals, alienating sympathies of powerful personages who have not been so honoured.

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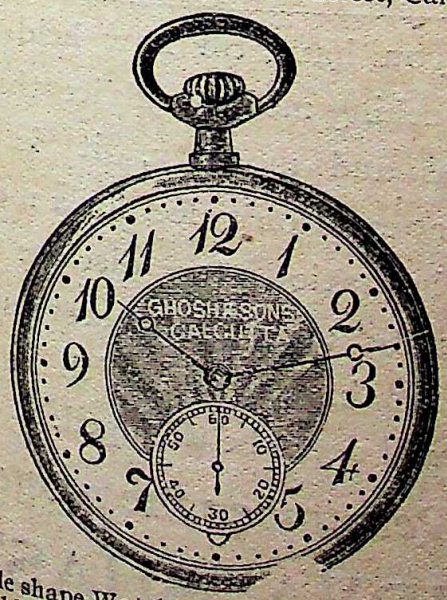

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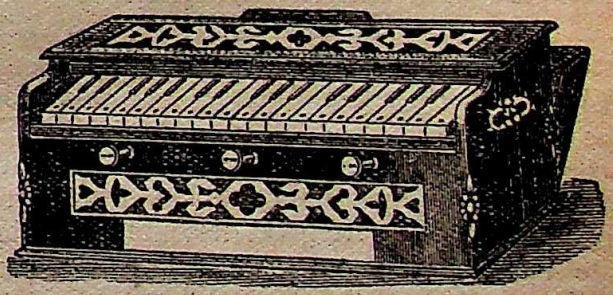

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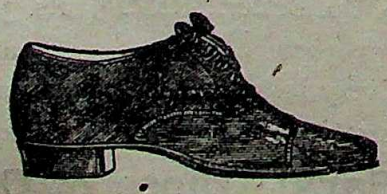

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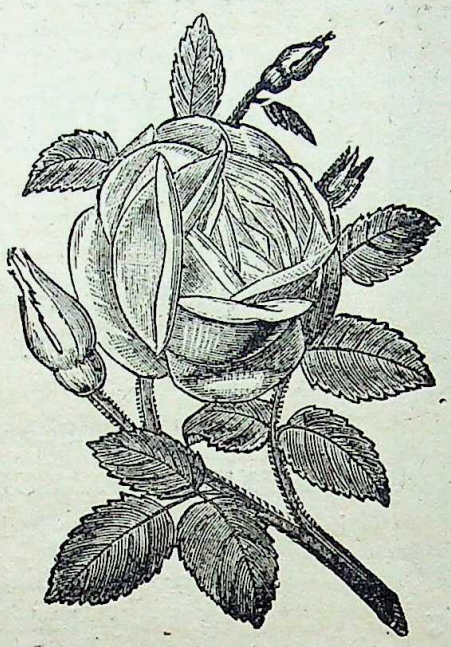

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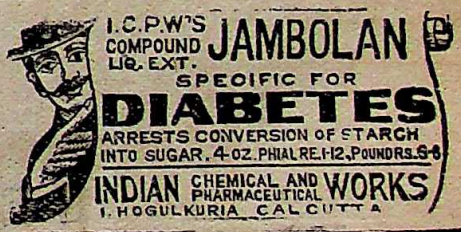

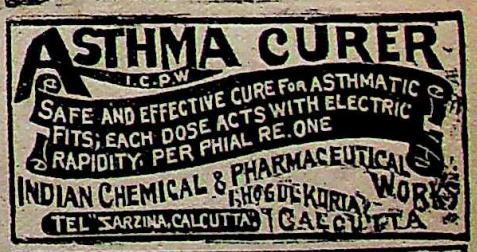

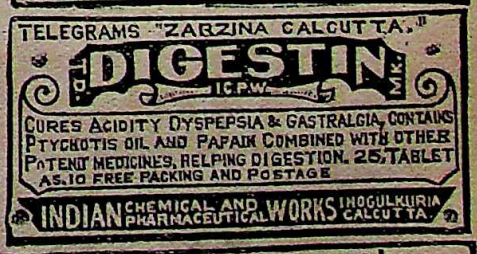

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Contents :

Page

Frontispiece—FASCINATION (in colors)—SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA, ASST. PRINCIPAL, MAYO SCHOOL OF ART, LAHORE 137

Pictorial Supplements—"THE FAMILIAR BLACK UMBRELLA"—GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE ... 141
PROFESSOR J. C. BOSE 188

My Reminiscences (illustrated)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D. LITT. AND SURENDRANATH TAGORE, B.A. 137

The Hindu Concept of Government—DR. SUDHINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., Ph.D., LECTURER, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U. S. A. 142

Juvenile Offenders—B. CHATTERJI, M.A., LL.B. ... 148

The Notion of Kingship in the Sukraniti—R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S. 152

The Place of Indians in the World's Athletics (illustrated)—SACHINDRANATH MAZUMDAR, MEMBER OF THE *Health and Strength League*, AND *the British Amateur Weight-lifter's Association*, LONDON; HONY. INSTRUCTOR AND SECRETARY, PHYSICAL CULTURE BRANCH, *Allahabad Sporting Club, Allahabad* ... 162

A Curious North Indian Superstition and its Persian and African Analogues—SARATCHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L. 171

Ahalya (a poem)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D. LITT. 175

The Shadow on the Path (short story)—ANNIE O. TIBBITS... 175

Guru Govind Singh—SARALA DEVI, B.A.... ... 181

Gleanings (illustrated):
A WIRELESS TELEPHONE MESSAGE ACROSS THE SEA 182
THE WAR'S GREATEST CARTOONIST 184
AN AMPHIBIOUS AUTO 186

Page

Round the World with my Master (illustrated)—A DISCIPLE OF PROF. J. C. BOSE 187

Political Ideals—POLITICUS 190

Home Rule among Savages in the British Empire— 195

Facts about Indentured Labour—MANILAL M. DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B., BARRISTER-AT-LAW ... 197

How to Fight Malaria in our Villages—DAKSHINARANJAN GHOSH, B.A., PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE 199

The Cycle of Spring—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D.LITT. 204

The Indian National Congress : A New Chapter—PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY, LATE EDITOR, THE INDIAN WORLD 207

Indian Periodicals 213

Foreign Periodicals 222

Reviews and Notices of Books—K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW; VIDHUSEKHARA SHASTRI; K.M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B.; AND OTHERS 227

Comment and Criticism—
Pandit Tattvabhushan on the Arya Samaj—"NARAYAN" 230
Teaching of History in Indian Colleges—P. S. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, LECTURER IN HISTORY, ERNACULAM COLLEGE, COCHIN STATE ... 231
The Ideal in History Teaching—PROF. K. A. NILAKANTAN, M.A. 232
The Meaning of Certain Words used by Brahmagupta—F. J. WESTERN... 233

Notes (illustrated) 233

Evening (a poem)—C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., B.SC. 260

Midday (a poem)—C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., B.SC. 260

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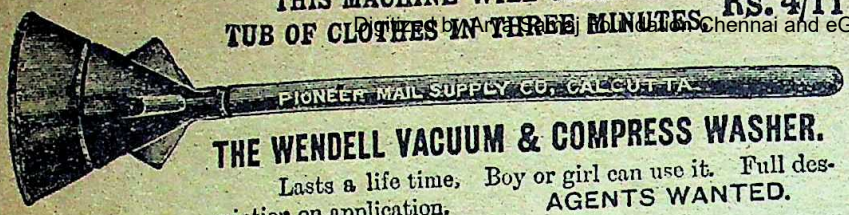

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Index.

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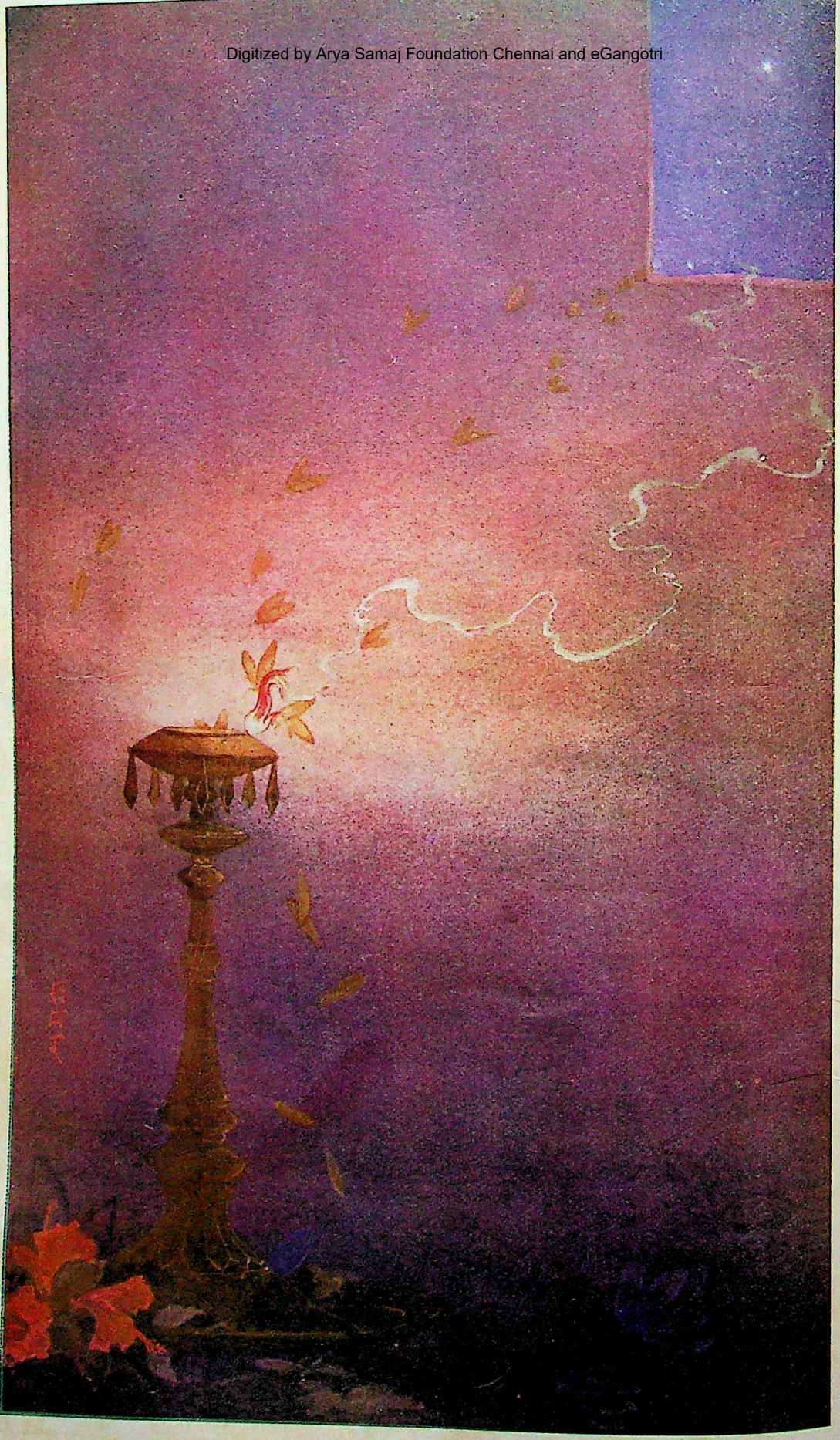

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XIX No. 2 | FEBRUARY, 1916 | WHOLE No 110

MY REMINISCENCES

By Rabindranath Tagore.

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(4) Servocracy.

In the history of India the regime of the Slave Dynasty was not a happy one. In going back to the reign of the servants in my own life's history I can find nothing glorious or cheerful touching the period. There were frequent changes of king, but never a variation in the code of restraints and punishments with which we were afflicted. We, however, had no opportunity at the time for philosophising on the subject; our backs bore as best they could the blows which befell them; and we accepted as one of the laws of the universe that it is for the Big to hurt and for the Small to be hurt. It has taken me a long time to learn the opposite truth that it is the Big who suffer and the Small who cause suffering.

The quarry does not view virtue and vice from the standpoint of the hunter. That is why the alert bird, whose cry warns its fellows before the shot has sped, gets abused as vicious. We howled when we were beaten, which our chastisers did not consider good manners; it was in fact counted sedition against the servocracy. I cannot forget how, in order to effectively suppress such sedition, our heads used to be crammed into the huge water jars then in use; distasteful, doubtless, was this outcry to those who caused it; moreover, it was likely to have unpleasant consequences.

I now sometimes wonder why such cruel treatment was meted out to us by the servants. I cannot admit that there was on the whole anything in our behaviour or demeanour to have put us beyond the pale of human kindness. The real reason must have been that the whole of our burden was thrown on the servants, and the whole burden is a thing difficult to bear even for those who are nearest and dearest. If children are only allowed to be children, to run and play about and satisfy their curiosity, it becomes quite simple. Insoluble problems are only created if you try to confine them inside, keep them still or hamper their play. Then does the burden of the child, so lightly borne by its own childishness, fall heavily on the guardian—like that of the horse in the fable which was carried instead of being allowed to trot on its own legs; and though money procured bearers even for such a burden it could not prevent them taking it out of the unlucky beast at every step.

Of most of these tyrants of our childhood I remember only their cuffings and boxings, and nothing more. Only one personality stands out in my memory.

His name was Iswar. He had been a village school-master before. He was a prim, proper and sedately dignified personage. The Earth seemed too earthy for him, with too little water to keep it sufficiently clean; so that he had to be in a constant state of warfare with its chronic soiled state. He would shoot his water-pot into the tank with a lightning movement so as to get his supply from an uncontaminated depth. It was he who, when bathing in the tank, would be continually thrusting away the surface impurities till he took a sudden plunge expecting, as it were, to catch the water unawares. When walking his right arm stood out at an angle from his body, as if, so it seemed to us, he could

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not trust the cleanliness even of his own garments. His whole bearing had the appearance of an effort to keep clear of the imperfections which, through unguarded avenues, find entrance into earth, water and air, and into the ways of men. Unfathomable was the depth of his gravity. With head slightly tilted he would mince his carefully selected words in a deep voice. His literary diction would give food for merriment to our elders behind his back, some of his high-flown phrases finding a permanent place in our family repertoire of witticisms. But I doubt whether the expressions he used would sound as remarkable to-day; showing how the literary and spoken languages, which used to be as sky from earth asunder, are now coming nearer each other.

This erstwhile schoolmaster had discovered a way of keeping us quiet in the evenings. Every evening he would gather us round the cracked castor-oil lamp and read out to us stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Some of the other servants would also come and join the audience. The lamp would be throwing huge shadows right upto the beams of the roof, the little house lizards catching insects on the walls, the bats doing a mad dervish dance round and round the verandahs outside, and we listening in silent open-mouthed wonder. I still remember, on the evening we came to the story of Kusha and Lava, and those two valiant lads were threatening to humble to the dust the renown of their father and uncles, how the tense silence of that dimly lighted room was bursting with eager anticipation. It was getting late, our prescribed period of wakefulness was drawing to a close, and yet the denouement was far off. At this critical juncture my father's old follower Kishori came to the rescue, and finished the episode for us, at express speed, to the quick-step of Dasuraya's jingling verses. The impression of the soft slow chant of Krittivasa's * fourteen-syllabled measure was swept clean away and we were left overwhelmed by a flood of rhymes and alliterations.

On some occasions these readings would give rise to shastric discussions, which would at length be settled by the depth of Iswar's wise pronouncements. Though, as one of the children's servants, his rank in our domestic society was below that of many, yet, as with old Grandfather Bhisma in the Mahabharata, his supremacy would assert itself from his seat below his juniors.

Our grave and reverend servitor had one weakness to which, for the sake of historical accuracy, I feel bound to allude. He used to take opium. This created a craving for rich food. So that when he brought us our morning goblets of milk the forces of attraction in his mind would be greater than those of repulsion. If we gave the least expression to our natural repugnance for this meal, no sense of responsibility for our health could prompt him to press it on us a second time. Iswar also held somewhat narrow views as to our capacity for solid nourishment. We would sit down to our evening repast and a quantity of *luchis* * heaped on a thick round wooden tray would be placed before us. He would begin by gingerly dropping a few on each platter, from a sufficient height to safeguard himself from contamination †—like unwilling favours, wrested from the gods by dint of importunity, did they descend, so dexterously inhospitable was he. Next would come the inquiry whether he should give us any more. I knew the reply which would be most gratifying, and could not bring myself to deprive him by asking for another help. Then again Iswar was entrusted with a daily allowance of money for procuring our afternoon light refreshment. He would ask us every morning what we should like to have. We knew that to mention the cheapest would be accounted the best, so sometimes we ordered a light refection of puffed rice, and at others an indigestible one of boiled gram or roasted groundnuts. It was evident that Iswar was not as painstakingly punctilious in regard to our diet as with the shastric proprieties.

(5) The Normal School.

While at the Oriental Seminary I had discovered a way out of the degradation of being a mere pupil. I had started a class of my own in a corner of our veranda. The wooden bars of the railing were my pupils, and I would act the schoolmaster, cane in hand, seated on a chair in front of

* There are innumerable renderings of the Ramayana in the Indian languages.

* A kind of crisp unsweetened pancake taken with bread along with the other courses.

† Food while being eaten, and utensils or anything touched by the hand engaged in conveying food to the mouth, are considered ceremonially unclean.

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them. I had decided which were the good boys and which the bad—nay, further, I could distinguish clearly the quiet from the naughty, the clever from the stupid. The bad rails had suffered so much from my constant caning that they must have longed to give up the ghost had they been alive. And the more scarred they got with my strokes the worse they angered me, till I knew not how to punish them enough. None remain to bear witness to-day how tremendously I tyrannised over that poor dumb class of mine. My wooden pupils have since been replaced by cast iron railings, nor have any of the new generation taken up their education in the same way —they could never have made the same impression.

I have since realised how much easier it is to acquire the manner than the matter. Without an effort had I assimilated all the impatience, the short temper, the partiality and the injustice displayed by my teachers to the exclusion of the rest of their teaching. My only consolation is that I had not the power of venting these barbarities on any sentient creature. Nevertheless the difference between my wooden pupils and those of the Seminary did not prevent my psychology from being identical with that of its schoolmasters.

I could not have been long at the Oriental Seminary, for I was still of tender age when I joined the Normal School. The only one of its features which I remember is that before the classes began all the boys had to sit in a row in the gallery and go through some kind of singing or chanting of verses—evidently an attempt at introducing an element of cheerfulness into the daily routine. Unfortunately the words were English and the tune quite as foreign, so that we had not the faintest notion what sort of incantation we were practising; neither did the meaningless monotony of the performance tend to make us cheerful. This failed to disturb the serene self-satisfaction of the school authorities at having provided such a treat; they deemed it superfluous to inquire into the practical effect of their bounty; they would probably have counted it a crime for the boys not to be dutifully happy. Anyhow they rested content with taking the song as they found it, words and all, from the self-same English book which had furnished the theory. The language into which this English resolved itself in our mouths cannot but be edifying to philologists. I can recall only one line:

Kallokee pullokee singill mellaling mellaling mellaling.

After much thought I have been able to guess at the original of a part of it. Of what words *kallokee* is the transformation still baffles me. The rest I think was:

... full of glee, singing merrily, merrily, merrily !

As my memories of the Normal School emerge from haziness and become clearer they are not the least sweet in any particular. Had I been able to associate with the other boys, the woes of learning might not have seemed so intolerable. But that turned out to be impossible—so nasty were most of the boys in their manners and habits. So, in the intervals of the classes, I would go up to the second storey and while away the time sitting near a window overlooking the street. I would count: one year—two years—three years—; wondering how many such would have to be got through like this.

Of the teachers I remember only one, whose language was so foul that, out of sheer contempt for him, I steadily refused to answer any one of his questions. Thus I sat silent throughout the year at the bottom of his class, and while the rest of the class was busy I would be left alone to attempt the solution of many an intricate problem. One of these, I remember, on which I used to cogitate profoundly, was how to defeat an enemy without having arms. My preoccupation with this question, amidst the hum of the boys reciting their lessons, comes back to me even now. If I could properly train up a number of dogs, tigers and other ferocious beasts, and put a few lines of these on the field of battle, that, I thought, would serve very well as an inspiriting prelude. With our personal prowess let loose thereafter, victory should by no means be out of reach. And, as the picture of this wonderfully simple strategy waxed vivid in my imagination, the victory of my side became assured beyond doubt. While work had not yet come into my life I always found it easy to devise short cuts to achievement; since I have been working I find that what is hard is hard indeed, and what is difficult remains difficult. This, of course, is less comforting; but nowhere near so bad as the discomfort of trying to take shortcuts.

When at length a year of that class

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had passed, we were examined in Bengali by Pandit Madhusudan Vachaspati. I got the largest number of marks of all the boys. The teacher complained to the school authorities that there had been favouritism in my case. So I was examined a second time, with the superintendent of the school seated beside the examiner. This time, also, I got a top place.

(6) VERSIFICATION.

I could not have been more than eight years old at the time. Jyoti, a son of a niece of my father's, was considerably older than I. He had just gained an entrance into English Literature, and would recite Hamlet's soliloquy with great gusto. Why he should have taken it into his head to get a child, as I was, to write poetry I cannot tell. One afternoon he sent for me to his room, and asked me to try and make up a verse; with which he explained to me the construction of the *payar* metre of fourteen syllables.

I had upto then only seen poems in printed books—no mistakes penned through, no sign to the eye of doubt or trouble or any human weakness. I could not have dared even to imagine that any effort of mine could produce such poetry. One day a thief had been caught in our house. Overpowered by curiosity, yet in fear and trembling, I ventured to the spot to take a peep at him. I found he was just an ordinary man! And when he was somewhat roughly handled by our doorkeeper I felt a great pity. I had a similar experience with poetry. When, after stringing together a few words at my own sweet will, I found them turned into a *payar* verse I felt I had no illusions left about the glories of poetising. So when poor Poetry is mishandled, even now I feel as unhappy as I did about the thief. Many a time have I been moved to pity and yet unable to restrain impatient hands itching for the assault. Thieves have scarcely suffered so much, and from so many.

The first feeling of awe once overcome there was no holding me back. I managed to get hold of a blue-paper manuscript book by the favour of one of the officers of our estate. With my own hands I ruled it with pencil lines, at not very regular intervals, and thereon I began to write verses in a large childish scrawl.

Like a young deer which butts here, there and everywhere with its newly sprouting horns, I made myself a nuisance with my budding poetry. More so my elder* brother, whose pride in my performance impelled him to hunt about the house for an audience. I recollect how, as the pair of us, one day, were coming out of the estate offices on the ground floor, after a conquering expedition against the officers, we came across the editor of "The National Paper," Nabagopal Mitter, who had just stepped into the house. My brother tackled him without further ado: "Look here, Nabagopal Babu! won't you listen to a poem which Rabi has written?" The reading forthwith followed. My works had not as yet become voluminous. The poet could carry all his effusions about in his pockets. I was writer, printer and publisher, all in one; my brother, as advertiser, being my only colleague. I had composed some verses on The Lotus which I recited to Nabagopal Babu then and there, at the foot of the stairs, in a voice pitched as high as my enthusiasm. "Well done!" said he with a smile. "But what is a *dwirepha*†?" How I had got hold of this word I do not remember. The ordinary name would have fitted the metre quite as well. But this was the one word in the whole poem on which I had pinned my hopes. It had doubtless duly impressed our officers. But curiously enough Nabagopal Babu did not succumb to it—on the contrary he smiled! He could not be an understanding man, I felt sure. I never read poetry to him again. I have since added many years to my age but have not been able to improve upon my test of what does or does not constitute understanding in my hearer. However Nabagopal Babu might smile, the word *dwirepha*, like a bee drunk with honey, stuck to its place, unmoved.

(7) VARIOUS LEARNING.

One of the teachers of the Normal School also gave us private lessons at home. His body was lean, his features dry, his voice sharp. He looked like a cane incarnate. His hours were from six to half-past-nine in the morning. With him our reading ranged from popular literary and science readers in Bengali to the epic of Meghnadvadha. My third brother was very keen on imparting to us a variety of knowledge. So at home we had to go through much

* The writer is the youngest of seven brothers. The sixth brother is here meant.

† Obsolete word meaning bee.

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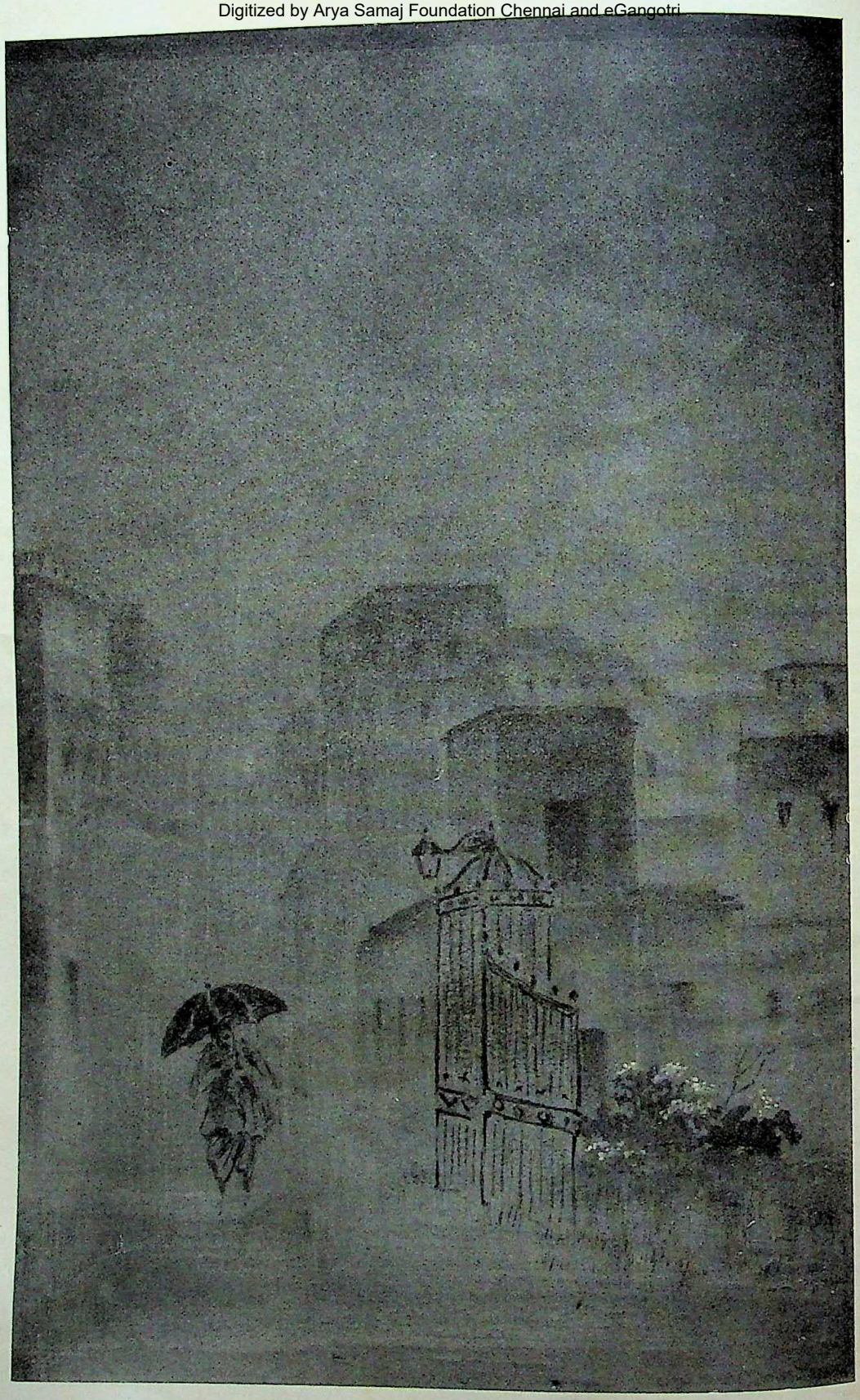

"THE FAMILIAR BLACK UMBRELLA."

From a drawing by
Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rabindranath Tagore.

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more than what was required by the school course. We had to get up before dawn and, clad in loin-cloths, begin with a bout or two with a blind wrestler. Without a pause we donned our tunics on our dusty bodies, and started on our courses of literature, mathematics, geography and history. On our return from school our drawing and gymnastic masters would be ready for us. In the evening Aghore Babu came for our English lessons. It was only after nine that we were free.

On Sunday morning we had singing lessons with Vishnu. Then, almost every Sunday, come Sitanath Datta to give us demonstrations in physical science. The last were of great interest to me. I remember distinctly the feeling of wonder which filled me when he put some water, with sawdust in it, on the fire in a glass vessel, and showed us how the lightened hot water came up, and the cold water went down and how finally the water began to boil. I also felt a great elation the day I learnt that water is a separable part of milk, and that milk thickens when boiled because the water frees itself as vapour from the connexion. Sunday did not feel Sunday-like unless Sitanath Babu turned up.

There was also an hour when we would be told all about human bones by a pupil of the Campbell Medical School, for which purpose a skeleton, with the bones fastened together by wires was hung up in our schoolroom. And finally, time was also found for Pandit Heramba Tatwaratna to come and get us to learn by rote rules of Sanscrit grammar. I am not sure which of them, the names of the bones or the *sutras* of the Grammarian, were more jaw-breaking. I think the latter took the palm.

We began to learn English after we had made considerable progress in learning through the medium of Bengali. Aghore Babu, our English tutor, was attending the Medical College, so he came to teach us in the evening. Books tell us that the discovery of fire was one of the biggest discoveries of man. I do not wish to dispute this. But I cannot help feeling how fortunate the little birds are that their parents cannot light lamps of an evening. They have their language lessons early in the morning and you must have noticed how gleefully they learn them. Of course we must not forget that they do not have to learn the English language!

The health of this medical-student tutor of ours was so good that even the fervent and united wishes of his three pupils were not enough to cause his absence even for a day. Only once was he laid up with a broken head when on the occasion of a fight between the Indian and Eurasian students of the Medical College a chair was thrown at him. It was a regrettable occurrence; nevertheless we had not been able to take it as a personal sorrow, and his recovery somehow seemed to us needlessly swift.

It is evening. The rain is pouring in lance-like showers. Our lane is under knee-deep water. The tank has overflown into the garden, and the bushy tops of the Bael trees are seen standing out over the waters. Our whole being, on this delightful rainy evening, is radiating rapture like the Kadamba flower its fragrant spikes. The time for the arrival of our tutor is over by just a few minutes. Yet there is no certainty. . . ! We are sitting on the verandah overlooking the lane* watching and watching with a piteous gaze. All of a sudden, with a great big thump, our hearts seem to fall down in a swoon. The familiar black umbrella has turned the corner undefeated even by such weather! Could it not be somebody else? It certainly could not! In the wide wide world there might be found another, his equal in pertinacity, but never in this little lane of ours.

Looking back on his period as a whole, I cannot say that Aghore Babu was a hard man. He did not rule us with a rod. Even his rebukes did not amount to scoldings. But whatever may have been his personal merits, his time was *evening*, and his subject *English*! I am certain that even an angel would have seemed a veritable messenger of Yama† to any Bengali boy if he came to him at the end of his miserable day at school, and lighted a dismally dim lamp to teach him English. How well do I remember the day our tutor tried to impress on us the attractiveness of the English language. With this object he recited to us with great unction some lines—prose or poetry we could not tell—out of an English book. It had a most unlooked for

* The lane, a blind one, leads, at right angles to the front verandah, from the public main road to the grounds round the house.

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effect on us. We laughed so immoderately that he had to dismiss us for that evening. He must have realised that he held no easy brief—that to get us to pronounce in his favour would entail a contest ranging over years.

Aghore Babu would sometimes try to bring the zephyr of outside knowledge to play on the arid routine of our schoolroom. One day he brought a paper parcel out of his pocket and said: "I'll show you today a wonderful piece of work of the Creator." With this he untied the paper wrapping and, producing a portion of the vocal organs of a human being, proceeded to expound the marvels of its mechanism. I can still call to mind the shock this gave me at the time. I had always thought the whole man spoke—had never even imagined that the act of speech could be viewed in this detached way. However wonderful the mechanism of a part may be, it is certainly less so than the whole man. Not that I put it to myself in so many words, but that was the cause of my dismay. It was perhaps because the tutor had lost sight of this truth that the pupil could not respond to the enthusiasm with which he was discoursing on the subject. Another day he took us to the dissecting room of the Medical College. The body of an old woman was stretched on the table. This did not disturb me so much. But an amputated leg which was lying on the floor upset me altogether. To view man in this fragmentary way seemed to me so horrid, so absurd that I could not get rid of the impression of that dark, unmeaning leg for many a day.

After getting through Peary Sarkar's first and second English readers we entered upon McCulloch's Course of Reading. Our bodies were weary at the end of the day, our minds yearning for the inner apartments, the book was black and thick with difficult words, and the subject matter could hardly have been more inviting, for in those days, Mother Saraswati's * maternal tenderness was not in evidence. Children's books were not full of pictures then as they are now. Moreover, at the gateway of every reading lesson stood sentinel an array of words, with separated syllables, and forbidding accent marks like fixed bayonets, barring the way to the infant mind. I had repeatedly attacked their serried ranks in vain. Our tutor would try to shame us by recounting the exploits of some other brilliant pupil of his. We felt duly ashamed, and also not well-disposed towards that other pupil, but this did not help to dispell the darkness which clung to that black volume.

Providence, out of pity for mankind, has instilled a soporific charm into all tedious things. No sooner did our English lessons begin than our heads began to nod. Sprinkling water into our eyes, or taking a run round the verandahs, were palliatives which had no lasting effect. If by any chance my eldest brother happened to be passing that way, and caught a glimpse of our sleep-tormented condition, we would get let off for the rest of the evening. It did not take our drowsiness another moment to get completely cured.

* Goddess of Learning.

(To be continued.)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE HINDU CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT

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FAILING to discover in the early records of India genealogies of kings, accounts of wars, and chronicles of conquest and plunder, European historians have sometimes criticised the ancient Hindus as lacking in historical sense. Indeed, they have gone so far as to declare that the people of India are without ancient history.* That these modern critics are essentially materialistic in their views

* Sir Monier-Williams is convinced of the "absence of all history in India" because, forsooth, there is no "narrative of common occurences."—See his *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 205.

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evident; for their conception seems to be based on the notion that history, to be worthy of the name, must be made up chiefly of the titles and dates of rulers, accounts of their dynasties, and records of their changing fortunes of war. Thus, they quite overlook the fact that the ancient history of India, unlike that of any other nation of similar antiquity, is essentially spiritual. This history has never concerned itself specially with so-called "historical events," but gives, instead, information about the religion, the laws, and the customs of the Indo-Aryans. It reflects the development of mind, the progress of culture, and the advancement of knowledge. In a word, it is a story of what has been most important in the actual life of the Hindu people; and its sources are the treasure-trove of Indian literature.

The history of the Indo-Aryans begins with their settlement on the banks of the Indus in the province of the Panjab. Though the date of their colonization is impossible of exact determination, it has been variously estimated at between 2000 and 1400 B.C. Moreover, modern researches seem to indicate that these early settlers were once a branch of the great Aryan family,* and that their ancestors once had a common religion,† a common tongue,‡ and a common home in the table-lands of Central Asia.§ When the Aryans came to India they brought with them a civilization of their own, which is clearly reflected in the *Vedas*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and other ancient writings. From these sources we learn that the Panjab Aryans were chiefly agriculturalists and that they called themselves *Arya*,—a word which comes from a Sanskrit root meaning plough. They knew something of the arts of weaving and carpentry, and they used metals, such as gold, silver, and iron. That they were acquainted with the use of weapons is evidenced by the fact that swords, helmets, armours, and arrows are mentioned frequently in their ancient literature. "Architecture too had made some advance, and there are allusions to 'mansions with a thousand pillars'".* Ships and chariots were also familiar objects referred to by the composers of early hymns.

With the progress of time the simplicity of Aryan life gave place to a more complex and more elaborate system of civilization. But this civilization was not material: on the contrary, it was essentially intellectual and deeply spiritual. To enter upon a discussion of the various phases of this culture is beyond the scope of the present inquiry—suffice it to say that "there is scarcely any problem in the science of ontology, psychology, metaphysics, logic, or grammar, which the Indian sages have not sounded as deeply, and discussed as elaborately, as the Greeks."† Here we are more intimately concerned with those aspects of Indian civilization which bear upon the methods of administration. And since it has been claimed that "the fundamental principle of all Hindu polity is the division of castes,"‡ we shall at once begin with an investigation of the caste system as preliminary to a study of the Hindu concept of government.

The early Aryans of the Panjab were total strangers to caste.§ They were a homogeneous people. They had the same aims and purposes in life. They did not require that division of labor which later became the central factor in the caste system. But as time passed, the Aryans increased in number, spread over a larger area, and came into collision with the dark-skinned aborigines known as Dasyus. A host of new problems now confronted the conquering Aryans. Society had grown larger and more complex: it had outgrown its simpler laws; its numerous functions could only be carried on by a proper distribution of labour. Moreover, the conquered aborigines had become a menace to the Hindu civilization. Hindu society must be kept pure from non-Aryan influences, and at the same time the

* "Though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindu was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family." Max Muller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

† Taylor's *The Origin of the Aryans*, pp. 307, 312-323.

‡ For an exhaustive linguistic discussion showing the "unity of descent" of Indo-European languages, see Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 195, 196, 199.

§ Duncker's *The History of Antiquity*, Vol. IV, pp. 11-13.

* Dutt's *Ancient India*, p. 22.

† Rawlinson's *The Origin of Nations*, p. 109.

‡ Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 242.

§ Max Muller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol, II, p. 305.

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non-Aryan peoples must be given sufficient protection.* How could this two-fold purpose be best accomplished?

When the Europeans, in comparatively modern time, colonized America and Australasia, they faced the same problem which confronted the early Aryan settlers in Hindusthan hundreds of years before. The policy pursued by the European colonizers led to the gradual extinction of the native population. The Indo-Aryans, on the contrary, appear to have been more humane and just in their treatment of the original inhabitants of India. They did not believe in extermination; they endeavoured to preserve, civilize, Hinduize, and absorb the conquered peoples. To be sure their methods of assimilation sowed the seeds of caste; but whatever may be said of the caste system, it had at least one saving grace: it provided a place for the conquered people in the social scheme of the conquering race.

Caste emphasized the interdependence of social groups. It showed that the Vaisyas (cultivators), though by nature excellent farmers, could not successfully devote themselves to agriculture if their land was not protected against the inroads of the enemy by the Kshatriyas (military men). In the same way it was made clear that religion, the chief factor in a man's life, could not be taught by any and every person. Only those who are "inwardly still," who had gone through severe asceticism, practised self-renunciation, and lived holy lives, were fit to minister unto the souls of others. These spiritual teachers, in order that they might fully consecrate themselves to God's work, unhampered by worldly affairs, were to be supported by the community. They were Brahmans. Thus the three classes, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Brahmans,—represented three great interests; that is, the military, the agricultural, and the religious. There was still need of a fourth class to attend to domestic service; and those who performed this necessary work were known as Sudras. They were mostly the aborigines who had not the power to assimilate the higher elements of the Aryan culture. They were not slaves; they simply occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder. †

This four-fold division of the Hindu society was based on *gunas* and *karmas* (qualities and actions).* Each caste (or class, to be more accurate) was formed for the sole purpose of discharging the function for which it had special talent, and each was dependent upon and fired with zeal to serve the other. Thus the caste system in India was simply a logical method of dividing labor with the object of securing a maximum of social efficiency and responsibility with a minimum of social friction.

Caste rules in the early days, unlike what they are at present, were liberal and elastic, admitting of free social intercourse. For instance, intermarriage and interdining were permitted and practised. There was even frequent passage from one caste to another. The Sudras often rose to the ranks of the Brahmans, and the Brahmans were as often degenerated into the Sudras.

The form of government known to the early Aryan Hindus was, of course, monarchical; and the ancient writers often used bold figures to describe the authority of the king. Manu himself describes the chief magistrate as one of the incarnations of the gods.† But this statement, in view of the many restrictions which he laid upon the power of the king, cannot be regarded as anything more than a mere poetic figure introduced to suggest high authority and antiquity. We are no more justified in looking upon the Hindu king as an incarnation of divinity than upon the English king, who calls himself the "Lord's annointed". What the lawgiver sought in calling the king an eight-fold incarnation of the gods was "to idealize into the form of an allegory, the old standard of the rights and duties of kingship". ‡

The king was by no means a lawless

* Nivedita's *The Web of Indian Life*, p. 134.

† "The condition of a Sudra, in the Hindu system, was infinitely preferable to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems. He was independent, his services were optional; they were not agricultural, but domestic and personal, and claimed adequate compensation". Wilson, note in Mill's *The History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 186.

* The whole philosophy of caste as it was has been summed up by the *Gita*, in the sentence *gunas karma bibhagasah* (distinguished according to character and occupation) and by the *Mahabharat* in *karmabhibarnam gatam* (divided into various castes according to occupation).

† *Laws of Manu*, V. 96.

‡ *The Modern Review*, January, 1910, p. 63.

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despot. In the *Mahabharat* we are told that

"One becometh a king in order that he may uphold righteousness, and not that he may conduct himself capriciously. The king is the protector of the world, O Mandhata! If he act righteously he attaineth to the honors of a veritable God upon earth. But if he act unrighteously, he sinketh into hell. All creatures rest upon righteousness; and righteousness, in turn, resteth upon the king. That king alone is a true king who upholds righteousness. If he fail to chastise unrighteousness, the Devas (gods) desert his mansions, and he incurreth obloquy among men."*

Manu is no less emphatic on this point, saying that "he (the king) shall zealously and carefully protect his subjects." "The protection of subjects is the cream of kingly duties." "That king, indeed, is ever worthy of honor who ensures the safety (of his subjects)." Again, "a king who does not afford protection, (yet) takes his share in kind, his taxes, toll, and duties, daily presents and fines, will (after death) soon sink into hell."

The king was enjoined in the discharge of his public duties to be guided by a capable ministry. "Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes, skilled in the use of weapons and descended from (noble) families, and who have been tried."† A learned Brahman was at the head of the ministry, and the King was required not to act without the advice of the Prime Minister. It is significant that the description of the court of King Dasarath, as given in the *Ramayan*, is in strict conformity with the composition of a court laid down by Manu.

"The courtiers of the son of Ikshvaku were richly endowed with good qualities, intelligent, and faithfully devoted to the interests of their royal master. Eight virtuous ministers directed the affairs of the government. The two priests made choice of by him were the illustrious Vasishtha and Vamadeva. To them were added other inferior councillors to the number of six. With these holy sages were associated the ancient priests of the king, discreet, submissive, profoundly skilled in law, and masters of their desires. With the assistance and counsel of such advisers Raja Dasarath governed his kingdom."‡

The *Mahabharat* gives the following well-known description of the ministry:

"Four pure and clever Brahmans well-read in the Vedas, having their teachings fresh in mind; eight strong and armed Kshattariyas; twenty-one Vaishyas; three mild and pious Sudras, regular in their daily prayers; and one duly qualified Suta, well-read in the Puranas—these should be engaged as Ministers. The ministers should be of the age of fifty, clever, void of jealousy and avarice, well-read in the Shrutis and Smritis (there were three Shudras among them), humble, impartial, capable of settling disputes, and not addicted to hunting, gambling, and the kindred vices. Of these Ministers, the King himself should deliberate with a sub-committee of eight Ministers and settle rules. Then these rules should be proclaimed in the kingdom, and shown to all citizens. By such means you should always look after the well-being of your subjects."

As a rule the eldest son succeeded to the throne of the father, and on the failure of the issue the king could adopt a son. The successor was expected to be worthy of the great trust imposed on him, and his succession must be approved by the people. The ancient Hindu literature abounds in instances where the claims of the eldest son were set aside because he lacked kingly qualities and because there was popular opposition to his rules. Yayati disregarded the claims of his eldest sons and chose Puru, the youngest, as his successor, on the ground that Puru was by far the best-fitted man for royal office. The fate of Asamanja was equally tragic. He was driven of the kingdom by his father Sagara because he was an oppressor of the people. Again, when king Dasarath wanted to install his son Rama upon the throne of Ajodhya, he asked for the approval of his subjects. They with their leaders first counselled together, then advised the king to "speedily install thy son, endowed with noble qualities, resembling the God of gods, ever intent upon the welfare of the whole state."

The Hindu books constantly refer to the king as *Dharmavatar* (justice in the flesh). His chief duty was to dispense justice "according to principles drawn from local usages and from the Institutes of the sacred law."* If the king did not wish to try the suits himself, he appointed a learned Brahman to take his place. *Sukraniti* says:

"If a king cannot decide, he should appoint a man learned in the Vedas, of good family, self-controlled, impartial, pleasing, firm, afraid of the next world, calm, and acting to dharma. If a learned Brahmin could not be obtained, then a Kshatriya should be appointed, or a Vaisya who knows the dharma science, but the Sudra should be avoided with care."†

Thus it will be seen that it was not the Brahman class alone, but the Ksha-

* *Mahabharat*, Santi Parva, XC.
† *Laws of Manu*, VII, 54.
‡ *Ramayana*, I, 107, *et. seq.*

* *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 3.
† *Sukraniti*, IV, Sec. 5, 43.

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triya and Vaisya also who were eligible to serve as judges.

Manu gives detailed rules to guide the procedure of the court. Whatever may be the sins of omissions or commissions of which our latter-day jurists may accuse Manu, certainly they cannot charge him with hair-splitting in legal procedure. Professor Buhler is right when he says that Manu "pays more attention to the moral side of the duties incumbent on the judge and other persons concerned, than the technicalities."* Again and again the judges are urged to render just decisions.

"But where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches, and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by the dart of injustice)."

"Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed." †

Manu also gives elaborate laws on evidence. He points out who are qualified to be witnesses and who are not. He provides punishment for those who refuse to give evidence as well as those who bear false witness.‡

It should also be borne in mind that the Hindu King was not regarded as above the law. Neither was he a law-giver. "Law," says Sankar, "is the King of kings, far more powerful than they." The king had little opportunity to play the tyrant as far as the law was concerned: for the law was made by the Brahmanic leaders of the community and was interpreted by the Brahmans. To be sure the king was charged with the execution of the law; but he administered it with the assistance of legal counsellors. Moreover, the Brahmans exercised great control over the arbitary powers of the king. They frequently undertook to depose kings who took the law into their own hands.§ Manu indicates that the misgovernment of a tyrant king not only constitutes a default of the ruler's title, but even a forfeit of his life. "That king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom, (will), together with his relatives, ere long be deprived of his life and of his kingdom."* Thus it is clear that though the ancient form of government in India was monarchical, the rulers were limited, in the exercise of their power, the king occupying the position of one who reigned rather than ruled.

The principal source of the king's income was taxation and the royal domain. The taxes, moreover, were moderate, the ratio of taxation varying according to the value of the property taxed. On an average the taxes seem to run from one-tenth to one-sixth of the produce. As most of the taxes were paid in kind and were proportionate to the produce, they worked little hardship on the persons taxed. In lean years when there was no crop there was no tax.

No one who reflects for a moment on the laws of taxation, and upon the other underlying principles of administration already referred to, will fail to be impressed with the fact that the Hindus had a very well developed system of government between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago.† Nor were the laws which are found in the ancient books were "paper laws"; they were enforced both in letter and in spirit. The early foreign travellers such as Megasthenes, Fa Hian, Houen Tsang, and others, who visited India from the fourth century B. C. to seventeenth century A. D. have eloquently described India as a country where the people were law-abiding, peaceful, and happy. The records of these ancient historians show that India was prosperous under the Hindu kings; that justice was impartially administered; that the people were God-fearing; and that the taxes were equitably levied. These accounts, it should be observed, do not tally with the pictures of poverty, injustice, and oppression so often unjustly associated with the rule of the Hindu rajas by certain modern European writers on government.

It is, of course, not my intention to maintain the thesis that government in ancient India was a model of what constitutes good government. The wonder is that the system of administration could

* Introduction to the translation of the *Law of Manu* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 25, P. XCIX.

† *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 12, 14.

‡ *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 62-67, 119-126, 257-263.

§ Read the accounts of Vena, Parasurama, and Devapi in *Vishnu Puran*, 99, 401, 453; and the Mudra Rakshasa in Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II.

* *Laws of Manu*, VII, 111.

† Dutt's *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, Vol. II, p. 50.

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really be brought to such an advanced state in those primitive times. The ancient government of India may appear very crude to us; but we must not forget the changed character of the times in which we are now living. The phenomenon which goes by the name of the modern state is after all of very recent growth. Professor Bluntschli dates its birth from the year seventeen hundred and forty.*

Perhaps the most significant fact concerning the ancient government of India is the discovery that in the village community there existed the true germs of the representative principle. Now the village community of India was an autonomous institution. "The Indian village or township," says Monier-Williams, "meaning thereby not merely a collection of houses forming a village or town, but a division of territory, perhaps three or four miles or more in extent, with its careful distribution of fixed occupations for the common good, with its intertwining and interdependence of individual, family and common interests, with its provisions for political independence and autonomy, is the original type, the first germ, of all divisions of rural and civic society in mediaeval and modern Europe. It has existed almost unaltered since the description of its organization in Manu's code."†

According to the account given by Manu, each village was an administrative unit. An officer, appointed by the king, was placed over each village; and under him the Village Panchayat (Council of Five) attended to the administration of the village. The officers of one village reported to the officers of ten villages, forming a district. The area gradually became larger and wider. The officers of ten villages reported to the officers of twenty; and the officers of twenty to officers of a hundred; and they in turn to the officers of a thousand.‡ The mutual subordination of the officers of the general government served as a check upon their powers.§ They were, however, mere tax-collectors.||

Each village was then a self-governing community; and its members were practically free and independent. They voiced their wishes and opinions directly or through their representatives, forming the Panchayat. The only important tie which existed between the central government and the village community was to be found in the tax paid by the village to the national government.

In his Minutes of 1830, Sir Charles Metcalfe (once a member of the Governor-General's Council, and afterwards Acting Governor-General of India) thus speaks in favor of the village communities:

"The Village Communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Moghal, Maharatta, Sikh, English, are masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes through the country; the village community collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance, but when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands, will be reoccupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success."

These "little republics" which have existed down through all ages are now rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The Indian people who have had such immemorial training in self-government are now being practically denied their inherent rights in this ancient institution. The enforced disappearance of village communities is mainly due to two causes: first, the centralization of authority in the

* Bluntschli's *The Theory of the State*, Book I, Chap. V, P. 55.

† Monier-Williams's *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, P. 455.

‡ *Laws of Manu*, VII, 115-117.

§ Dunker's *History of Antiquity*, Vol. IV, p. 215.

|| "When we read in the Laws of Manu of officers appointed to rule over ten, twenty, a hundred, or a thousand of these villages, that means no more than they were responsible for the collection of taxes, and generally for the good behaviour of these villages. And when, in later times, we hear of circles of eighty-four villages, the so called Chourasees, and of the three hundred and sixty villages, this too seems to refer to fiscal arrangements only".—Max Muller's *India: What Can It Teach Us?* Lecture II, p. 64.

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English courts, with the consequent withdrawal of powers from the village community; second, the desire of the English rulers for increased revenue, which is being satisfied by making direct settlements with individual tenants instead of a collective settlement with each village commnity.*

Of all the great losses which India has suffered from English domination, "the virtual extinction of the old forms of self-government, and the disappearance of those ancient village communities of which India was the first home among all countries of the earth" is undoubtedly the most deplorable.

Iowa City.
U. S. A.

* Dutt's *Economic History of India*, p. 120.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS

WE propose to give here a short sketch of the arrangements which exist in western countries for juvenile offenders.

It is needless to say that with the increase of interest in Social Sciences all civilized countries have adopted special measures and organised special institutions for the treatment of youthful offenders, whether actual or potential. In most of the countries these measures were taken during the first half of the nineteenth century and in one country, viz., the Netherlands, refuges called "Godshins" were founded as early as the 14th century, for the care and shelter of 'neglected youth and indigent old age.' The general features characterising all these institutions are the same, viz., the segregation of youthful offenders from hardened criminals, more humane treatment of juveniles than is offered to the ordinary convict, industrial and moral education, and the predominance of private influence and enterprise over state interference.

It would be sufficient for our purposes to notice at some length the arrangements which exist in England and in the United States of America, it being remembered that in the latter country the subject has been more thoroughly dealt with than anywhere else, and that it has actually set the example to England. The institutions existing in Germany are also deserving of notice as having largely influenced English opinion on the matter. Some other countries will only come in for a passing notice.

The United States owed her first reformatory to the efforts of the great American philanthropist Edward Livingston. Established in 1825, the institution still continues in its new home in Randall's Island near New York. There are now reformatories in almost all the states of the union, but those at New York and Massachusetts have attracted worldwide attention, both on account of the high standard they have set before themselves as well as for the elaboration of means adopted to reclaim juvenile adults. It is these which deserve special notice.

The state reformatory at Elmira, New York, came into existence in 1889 and was established with the avowed object of compassing the reformation of the criminal by psychological treatment as it were. The principle on which it was worked, was that crime should be attacked in its beginning by other than punitive and prison methods. It was held that the youthful offender was more sinned against than sinning and his crime was due largely to inherited defects and to insalubrious surroundings. Society, therefore, had no business to punish him; he had a claim to be differently treated. Society puts him in a prison and after a hard and mechanical treatment lets him off, no better, and possibly worse, than before. Where was the utility of such treatment? On the contrary, it was the duty of society to regenerate him, to change his nature, improve his physique, and give him a new mental equipment, so that when again at large he might be better able to take care of himself, to earn his living by reputable means and not go back into crime again. These are the principles on which the

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great institutions of Elmira, and of Concord in Massachusetts are run. They are like boarding schools in their treatment of the inmates. The education, thorough and carried far, includes languages, music, science and industrial art; diet is plentiful and luxurious, amusements and varied recreation are permitted. There is a well stocked library and a newspaper is conducted by the inmates.

The care taken to reform youths of criminal tendencies, however, goes much further. The minimum period of detention is one year, after which an inmate may be let off on parole, but on an average a period of 22 months is necessary to enable the authorities to complete the treatment. The sentence there is indefinite and not a fixed term as in India. Consequently the treatment can have its course. At his discharge the inmate finds work with good wages ready for him. Reports issued by the manager of Elmira claim that 81% of those on parole have done well. The authorities lay a great stress on the principle that physical degeneracy lies at the bottom of the criminal character and great attention is paid to the development of nervous energy and to the strengthening of the normal functions of the body. So much for adult youths.

There is a similar institution for women at Sherborne, Mass., for women with sentences of more than a year. The majority of women in this institution are convicted of drunkenness, an offence seriously noticed in this state, the ordinary sentence being 2 years. Women convicted of other offences are also sent here by courts with a view to their reform. Thus of the 352 inmates, there were 200 convicted of drunkenness, 63 of offences against chastity and 30 of larceny.

There is yet another remarkable institution at Freeville, New York, known as the "George Junior Republic." It is Utopian in its ideals, but the details are strictly carried out. It has its own laws, legislature, courts and administration, and everything is in the hands of the "citizens." The place has an atmosphere of its own, and children whose antecedents have been hopeless, were known to have developed a strong and independent character after residence here.

Let us now turn to the English system. In olden days the main idea in England was to use the same penal methods for all criminals, young and old. Boys and girls laughed at imprisonment and there were striplings of 13 and 14 who had been committed ten, twelve, sixteen or seventeen times. The evil assumed such huge proportions that in London alone 200 "flash houses" frequented by 6,000 boys, trained and proficient in thieving and depredation, could be found.

It was due to the protests of Charles Dickens, as every reader of "Oliver Twist" will know, that England realised the situation and the first Reformatory School Act was passed in 1854. Earlier attempts to check the evil had no doubt been made but they proved quite insufficient to meet the evils, so much so that in the year 1854 no less than 14,000 juveniles passed through the prisons, 46% of whom had been committed more than once.

The Reformatory School Act (1854) substituted the school for the gaol and all judicial benches were empowered to send delinquents to schools when they had been guilty of acts punishable by short imprisonment, the limit of which was at first fourteen and became afterwards ten days. There was, however, a serious flaw in the Act inasmuch as it provided that a short period of imprisonment in gaol must precede reception into the reformatory. This was opposed by more enlightened opinion as inflicting an indelible prison taint on the youths and was done away with in the act of 1899.

Existing reformatories or "Senior Home Office Schools," as they are called, numbered 44 in 1907 and receive all juvenile offenders up to the age of sixteen who have been convicted of an offence punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment. The number of inmates in 1906 was 5586 and must be deemed highly satisfactory when compared with the figures of 1894.

The measures so far adopted, however, left out of account the large number of adolescents between the ages of 17 and 21 who supply about half the number of habitual criminals. The treatment could only be applicable to youths under sixteen as this was the age of criminal majority in England.

This led to the foundation of the Borstal Scheme which borrowed its principles from the great American institutions of Elmira and Concord. A penal establishment under state control, which was a half-way house between the prison and

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the reformatory school, was started at Borstal in 1902. A selection was made of juvenile adults sentenced to not less than six months.

"They were divided on arrival into three separate classes, penal, ordinary, special, with promotion by good conduct and industry from the lowest to the highest, in which they enjoyed distinctive privileges. The general system, educational and disciplinary, was intelligent and governed by common sense. Instruction, both manual and educational, was well suited to the recipients; the first embraced field work, market gardening, and a knowledge of useful handicrafts; the second was elementary but sound, aided by well chosen libraries and brightened by the privilege of evening association to play harmless but interesting games. Physical development was guaranteed by gymnastics and regular exercises."

The result was striking. Youths who were 'rough untrained cubs' when they came, soon improved in demeanor and left the prison on the high road to regeneration. Private agencies, however, contribute not a little to the permanent reformation of these youths, by their efforts to find work, etc., for them, when they come out of the prison. The Borstal Association, founded under the patronage of distinguished persons in English public life, has done specially good work in this connection. Experience showed that although originally offenders committed to only six months' imprisonment were eligible for Borstal treatment, thoroughly good results could only be achieved with sentences of a year's duration. The limit has thus been gradually raised and now all adults between 16 and 21, whether convicted to penal servitude or to imprisonment, are admitted.

The Borstal system however did not bring within its scope the class of young criminals who were sentenced to terms of ten days and under for trifling offences. These young offenders, once having had the fear of prison taken away, were found to come back again and again. The Prevention of Crime Act of 1908 remedied this defect in the law and now the Court has power to pass sentence of detention in a Borstal institution for a term of not less than one year nor more than three on those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who by reason of criminal habits or tendencies or association with persons of bad character require such instruction and discipline as appear most conducive to their reformation. The establishment of other Borstal institutions is authorised by the Act, while a very useful provision is the power to release on licence if there is a reasonable probability that the offender will abstain from crime and lead a useful and industrious life. The licence is issued on condition that he is placed under the supervision or authority of some society or persons willing to take charge of him.

This does not complete the list of measures or of institutions which exist in England for the welfare of offending youth. There is also a class of institutions for the reformation of potential criminals meant to strike at the very root of juvenile criminality. These are the industrial schools. They were founded on the principle that those who had a tendency to lapse into evil ways could be kept on the right path by proper preventive treatment. Consequently in 1856 the Industrial Schools Act was passed but was applied at first to Scotland only. Next year it was extended to England. There were 45 schools in the beginning but in 1907 there were 102 in England and Wales and 31 in Scotland.

These industrial schools are, again, of two sorts, the truant schools and the day industrial schools. The provisions of the Education Act of 1871 and 1876 led to a large increase in the number of children committed for breaches of the law and to the establishment of these two kinds of schools. The truant school is self-explanatory, and the day industrial school is a school where children do not reside but receive their meals, their elementary education and a certain amount of industrial training. The total admission of truant schools in 1907 were 1368 boys and the number actually in the schools on the last day of the year was 1125 with 2568 on licence. The total number who attended the day schools in 1907 was 1951 boys and 1232 girls.

There are certain institutions in France and Germany which should come in for a short notice.

A remarkable institution is the French colony at Mettray. It was founded by M. Demetz, a judge, who aghast at the evils inflicted upon children whom he was compelled by law to imprison, founded a small colony in 1840 called the "Societe Paternelle." The motto of the Society was "the moralization of youth by the cultivation of the soil." Gardening, vine dressing, the raising of stock and the breeding of silk-worms are the principal employment of the

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inmates. The directors keep their charges so fully employed that they are quite tired when they go to bed and have no time to chat or romp about in the dormitory. Many colonies have been founded on this model. In France, the very young, viz., those under 12 years of age, are placed out in the country with families unless they can be again entrusted to their parents or committed to *Maisons Paternels* containing 20 or 30 with a large staff.

In Germany there are many kinds of correctional institutions. Many private persons have also devoted themselves to the work and a most remarkable institution is the one founded by Dr. Wickern, called the Raube Haus near Hamburg. From a single cottage it has grown into a hamlet of twenty houses, each house having between 12 to 16 inmates. A marked feature of the institution is the number of 'brothers,' young men of good character who qualify for rescue work as superintendents of homes, prison officers and schoolmasters. They keep in touch with the inmates day and night, eat with them, sleep in their dormitories, direct their labour, accompany them to chapel, join in their recreations and sports. The instruction given in trades, in farming operations, gardening and fruit-raising.

This completes our survey of the arrangements which exist in the principal Western countries for the reformation of juvenile offenders. It now remains for us to consider how far they are instructive to us.

One thing stares us in the face at the very outset. It is the paucity of institutions of any kind whatsoever which can undertake the reformation of our erring youths. All the provincial governments have no doubt one reformatory school each in their respective jurisdictions. Some of the provinces have a juvenile jail for adults between the ages of 17—21, but we are not certain that all have one. But when we compare our needs, and our population is some index of our needs, with what we have got, we have to hang our heads in shame.

Compare the cases of England and Bengal. England has a population of about 42 millions, Bengal has 45, and hence the comparison would be a very apt one. In England, we have seen, there were 44 reformatories and 102 industrial schools, besides the reformatory at Borstal which is also a big institution, in the year 1907. The figures for 1914 are not available but there can be no doubt that they would be higher than those of 1907.

On the other hand what do we find in Bengal? We find that for the whole presidency and the province of Bihar and Orissa there is one reformatory at Hazaribagh and there is a juvenile jail at Alipore which does not accommodate more than 300 at the outside. This shows how grossly negligent the Government have been in the care of the growing manhood of the nation. The injustice will be all the more apparent when we compare the number of boys (juveniles) treated and discharged by the various English institutions with those which received similar treatment here in Bengal. During the three years of 1904, 1905 and 1906, 3573 boys and 480 girls were placed out by the various English reformatories, of whom about 80% found regular employment.

During the same period again, the Industrial Schools had placed out about 8909 boys and 2505 girls, of whom about 87% found regular employment.

We have yet to show what the Borstal Jail did in this direction. It placed out and discharged 12,482 juveniles during the period of three years referred to above and about 50% of them are reported to have done well.

If we strike a total we find that 24,964 juveniles had been treated and discharged from the various institutions in England during the three years of 1905, 1906, and 1907.

Let us now look at Bengal. The Jail Administration Report for 1914 shows that during the year *750 juveniles* were received in the Juvenile Jail at Alipore and 665 were discharged. It also shows that during the year 112 youthful offenders under the age of 15 were received under the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897. We have no figures to show the number of juveniles under 15 who were discharged during the year. Consequently we can add up the figures showing the number received during the year to form some idea of the activity in this line. We find that 862 juveniles in all were received by the two institutions in Bengal during the year 1914.

Now compare these figures with the figures for England already quoted divided by three. And what a striking difference! It may be argued that criminality is not

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so rampant in Bengal as in England. Apart from the soundness or otherwise of this proposition, I say there is much room for improvement even if it be accepted to be true. I know from personal knowledge how shabbily youngsters who are brought to court are treated in India. I give a specific instance. Two boys aged 12 and 14 were hauled up by the police on a charge of theft. The boys had stolen some iron lathes from the Ry. Godown and sold them to a smith. Now it was evident from the evidence that the boys were practically waifs, and in all probability they had been thieving this from before. But the magistrate sentenced them to whipping. They were of course whipped and let off to pursue their career of thieving unobstructed as before. This was done in a provincial capital under the very nose of the government.

This is not a solitary instance either. Anybody who is conversant with the working of the Indian Courts will bear testimony to the fact that juvenile offenders in India are more sinned against than sinning. It cannot therefore be said that in India there is no need for more institutions on the lines of the English reformatories and Industrial Schools.

In comparing the cases of England and Bengal I have not mentioned the recent arrangements made in Calcutta for the trial and detention of juvenile offenders. These institutions are at present rarely a year old, though fraught with great possibilities.

It would be doing injustice to ourselves if we did not refer to non-official efforts in India in this connection. It is no doubt a sad comment on the public spirit of educated India that while most of the best managed institutions of Europe and America had their origin in and are being run by non-official enterprise, in India there should be none at all of their kind. I know only of one in Calcutta, viz., The Refuge in Bow Bazar Street, which is only a refuge for the waif and stray but is capable of being developed under proper guidance into one of the institutions of the type to be found in Germany or France.

I shall now close with another suggestion. Some non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council should interest himself in the treatment of juvenile offenders in India and should introduce a bill on the lines of the Prevention of Crimes Act (1908) of England. The Courts could then do away with short sentences on juvenile and adult offenders, and could send them to a house of reformation for a period sufficient to mend them. The American method of *indefinite sentences* is obviously unsuited for India where the governing body is not drawn entirely from the people.

Another thing in which the non-official member may interest himself is the arrangements which at present exist in the various juvenile jails in India for imparting industrial and other education to the boys and girls who are confined there. The proposed Jails Commission has been indefinitely postponed and it now entirely depends on us whether we shall remain where we are in the matter of jail administration.

B. CHATTERJI.

THE NOTION OF KINGSHIP IN THE SHUKRANITI

(Compared with the notion prevailing in contemporary Europe.)

BY R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

THE subject of political thought and institutions in Ancient India still awaits the investigation of scholars. It is a subject of absorbing interest, and, of course, it is impossible to overestimate its importance. For lack of thorough investigation into the subject, there is a good deal of unjustifiable dogmatising about it. Theories are confidently propounded for which there is no sufficient warrant. For instance, the view is generally prevalent, particularly among occ

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dentals, that the ancient Hindus knew only one theory of Kingship, viz., that the King is the representative of God on earth, and rules by Divine Right. The view expressed in the maxim नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः ("No King but is the representative of God Vishnu") is the only one that is supposed to have prevailed in Ancient India. It is also generally believed that there was no liberty in Ancient India, that the people never enjoyed the right of self-government, that the numerous governments that ruled over the different parts of the country were all absolute and arbitrary. The people were never consulted in carrying on the administration; there was no government even by law; the will of the monarch was supreme. I am not at present concerned with the question how far, if at all, these views are correct. I want simply to urge that the study of this subject is marked by utter lack of the true historical spirit. Large generalisations are made without a thorough and critical examination of even all the available materials, and preconceived notions enthroned as reasoned conclusions. It may suit statecraft to reiterate views which are not quite in accord with facts, but scholarship ought to have no other aim than that of finding out the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The available materials on the subject are indeed not too numerous, but even such as they are, they have not yet been critically and thoroughly examined with the result that the history of political thought and institutions in Ancient India is still to be written.

I must, however, own with pleasure that within recent years the subject has received a greater measure of attention from scholars. And there seems every reason to think that the commonplace notions on the subject will undergo a good deal of revision in the light of the new knowledge that is being acquired through the assiduity of our eminent scholars. The credit of giving a fresh impetus to this study belongs to Mr. R. Shamashastry B.A., of Mysore, whose publication of *Chanakya's Artha-Shastra or "Science of Politics"* in 1905-06 was a literary event of the greatest importance. The *Arthashastra* throws a flood of light not only on the political condition of Ancient India in the reign of Chandragupta but also on the political thought and institutions that were current at the time. The interest aroused by the *Arthashastra* has been kept up, and to a certain extent diffused among laymen by Mr. Narendranath Law's "Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity," published last year. His book is based on the *Arthashastra* and gives a good popular account of the government and administration in the reign of the great founder of the Magadha Empire. Probably inspired by the example of Mr. Shamashastry, Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar of the Bengal National Council of Education has published a translation of the *Sukraniti*, and his introductory volume in which he proposes to treat of such important questions as (1) the data of ancient Indian economics, (2) the data of Ancient Indian Polity or Constitution, (3) the data of Ancient Indian Public Finance, (4) the data of Ancient Indian Jurisprudence and (5) the data of Ancient Indian International Law, is awaited with the greatest interest.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar is very enthusiastic in his praise of the *Sukraniti*. He says—

> "Strictly speaking, the position of *Sukraniti*..... is unique and unparalleled. It is, in the first place, a manual of guidance to Kings and statesmen, as well as the Bible of the Demos—at once the work of a Machiavelli and a Rousseau. In the second place, it is a handbook of economics, politics, ethics and what not."

I confess, I do not feel the same glowing enthusiasm for the treatise, and, rather think that it is not at all necessary to indulge in such extravagant praise in order to show that, on the whole, it is a remarkable production on ancient Indian Polity. It contains in all five chapters. The first treats of the duties of Kings. The second deals with the functions of the Crown Prince and other state officials. The third gives general rules of morality to be observed by princes and people alike. The fourth chapter, which is a very large one, consists of seven sections and deals with the characteristics of friends, neutrals and enemies, with treasure, arts and sciences, social customs and institutions, the administration of justice, with fortresses and the army. The last chapter is a miscellaneous one, and lays down additional rules of morality calculated to promote the welfare of the state and the people. It is thus a comprehensive treatise and discusses various questions concerning government, administration, the organisation of national

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military resources, war and general morality.

The design of this paper is a modest one. It does not seek to attempt an exhaustive review of the *Sukraniti*, but simply aims at considering the notion of Kingship as found in it. After fully setting it forth, I propose to compare and contrast it with the notion of Kingship as it obtained in Europe, in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In order to properly appreciate this comparative study of the notion of Kingship as it obtained in Ancient India in the period represented by the *Sukraniti* and in Europe in the corresponding period, it is necessary to determine the age of the *Sukraniti*. The fact that the *Sukraniti* is highly praised by the *Kamandakiya*, another but less important treatise on polity, and that many verses from it are quoted in the latter, clearly proves that the age of the *Sukraniti* must be anterior to that of the *Kamandakiya*. Now with regard to the age of the *Kamandakiya* Dr. Frederic remarks as follows in a report submitted by him to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the Sanskrit literature of the Island of Bali:

"It appears that the most popular work on the Polity in that island is called *Kamandakiya Nitisara*. The researches of Sir Stamford Raffles and Crawford show that the predominance of Buddhism in the island of Java obliged the Hindu inhabitants of that place to retire in the fourth century of the Christian era with their household gods and their sacred scriptures to the island of Bali. It has also been shown by the same authorities that since the period of their exile they had not any religious intercourse with India. It would, therefore, follow that the Sanskrit work now available in Bali, including the *Kamandakiya Niti* are of a date anterior to the 4th century A. D."

It would not, therefore, be wide of the mark if we conclude that the *Sukraniti* must have been written sometime before the 4th century A. D., and that it embodies political thought and institutions and the system of administration that obtained in Ancient India in the early centuries of the Christian era. So when we consider the notion of kingship in the *Sukraniti* it must be borne in mind that we are considering a political notion that prevailed in Ancient India about two thousand years ago.

The important verses bearing on this point are most of them contained in Chapters I & II of the *Sukraniti*. I must quote them here in full, in order that my critics may be able to judge for themselves how far the inferences I draw from them are correct.

"The prince who is virtuous is a part of the Gods. He who is otherwise, is a part of the demons, an enemy of religion and oppressor of subjects. (139-40)

"The king who is restrained, valorous and skilled in the use of arms and weapons, who is the queller of foes and independent of *Niti*, who is a man of parts and has acquired the arts and sciences, who is not an associate of the lower classes, who has long views, who respects old men and attends to Niti, and who is respected by meritorious men is known to be a part of the gods. (667-70)

"The King who is otherwise, is a part of the demons and gets hell. (171)

"Sovereignty in a kingdom is deprived of its beauty if there is the King only, but there are no ministers, well desciplined kinsmen and restrained offerings. (189-90)

"The gods ruin and cast down the King who is not a protector, the Brahman who is not a performer of penances, and the rich man who is not charitable. (239-40)

"Those Kings are like oxen (*i.e.* fools) by whom their army is not increased, by whom princes are not made to pay tribute, and by whom subjects are not well protected. (249-50)

"The King who is much attached to actors, musicians, prostitutes, athletes, oxen and lower castes deserves ignominy and is exposed to enemies. (253-54)

"The king who is inimical to the intelligent, who is pleased with cheats and does not understand his own faults, creates his own destruction. (255-56)

"The subjects desert a king who is uncharitable, who insults men, who practices deceipt and uses harsh words, and who is severe in punishment. (277-78)

"People do not take to a king who is very cowardly, procrastinating, very passionate and excessively attached to the enjoyable things through ignorance. (279-80)

"Vena was ruined through vice and Prithu was prosperous through virtue. So the ruler should cultivate his interests by placing virtue in the front. (137-38)

"King Dandakya went to the dogs by taking to one of these six enemies, viz., sensuousness; Janmejaya through anger, Rajarsi Aila through cupidity, Asura Batapi through folly, Rakshasa Paulastya through vanity, and King Dambhodbhava through passion. But the powerful Jamadagnya and the fortunate Ambarisha ruled the world for a long time by giving up these six enemies. (287-92)

"The King should not oppress the poor people by seeking his own interest. For they, dying through repression, ultimately ruin the King. (319-20)

"The King is honoured, because of these qualities. It is not birth that makes a King. He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour. (363-64)

"The ruler has been made by Brahma a servant of the people, getting his revenue as remuneration. His sovereignty, however, is only for protection. (375)

"The Monarch who follows his own will is the cause of miseries, soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated from his subjects. (Chapter I, Lines 7 & 8)

"The King who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him, is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth. (Chapter II, lines 515-516)

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"One should not do anything that is good to the King but is harmful to the people. (Do. 547)

"If the King be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should desert him as the ruiner of the state. (549-50)

"In his place for the maintenance of the state the priest with the consent of the ministers should instal one who belongs to his family and is qualified. (551-52)

"The written document with the King's seal is the real king. The king is not a king. (Do. 587)

"When the king is addicted to immoral ways people should terrify him by taking the help of virtuous and powerful enemies. (Chapter IV. Sec. I, 225-26)

"So long as the man is virtuous, only so long is the king. Otherwise both the king and the people are ruined." (Chapter IV, Sec. 1, 227-28)

I have quoted those verses which bear on the nature of kingship; in other words, those which state what was the position of the author of *Sukraniti*, first, with regard to the source of the king's authority, and, secondly, with regard to the all-important question, *viz.*, what should be the attitude of the people towards a king who is bad, wicked, and oppressive. There are other verses which describe the duties and functions of the king and the manner in which he should rule, and administer justice and generally behave towards his subjects, to some of which I shall have to refer later on. For the present, I want to consider what light the *Sukraniti* throws on the questions mentioned above. Those questions, I need hardly say, are among the most important and basic ones in political philosophy and history, and it is precisely on these and similar questions as affecting Ancient India that erroneous notions prevail.

What then are conclusions warranted by the above verses with regard to these questions?

In the first place, it may be noted that the *Sukraniti* does not lay down the proposition that every King, whether good or bad, is a representative or a part of the gods. It makes a clear distinction between a good king and a bad king, and distinctly maintains that it is only the former who is a part of the gods. The latter it describes as a part of demons, not of gods. Again, it clearly says that kingship does not arise from, nor is it a prerogative of birth. It is virtue alone that makes kingship. A king is a king only as long as he is virtuous. As soon as he deviates from the path of virtue and follows the path of vice he ceases to be a king. The conception is not unlike that of the Chinese held by them since the time of their great national teacher and philosopher, Confucious. The Chinese conception is that a ruler receives his mandate from Heaven, but that mandate must be held to have been exhausted, if and as soon as he shows signs of mis-government, so that it is no disobedience of God's mandate or will to resist or depose a bad ruler; he has exhausted Heaven's mandate, and it is but right that he should be replaced by another to whom that mandate has been transferred. Thus the theory of the divine right of kings is combined with the equally divine right of the people to resist or depose them in case they take to evil ways, and bring suffering and misery to the country. The theory of the *Sukraniti* does not ascribe divinity to every king; it is not every king that is a part of God, or to speak in the language of Confucious, receives a mandate from Heaven. It is only the good king that receives such a mandate, the bad king being a part of the demons from whom alone he may be said to have received his mandate. In one respect, I may remark incidentally, the Chinese theory appears to me to be superior to that of the *Sukraniti*. The latter cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the position of a king who is good for some time, but for some reason or another, changes his ways, and in the end, turns out a bad and oppressive ruler. Whose part is such a ruler? Of the gods or the demons? He cannot be a part of the gods at one time and of the demons at another. On the other hand, the Chinese theory would maintain of such a ruler, that he, indeed, received his mandate from Heaven, but that mandate was exhausted, when he degenerated and became a bad ruler. This is, however, by the way. What I wish to urge is that the theory of the divine right of kings, as commonly understood, finds only a partial and qualified support from the *Sukraniti*, which applies it to good kings only.

The *Sukraniti* does not explicitly consider the question as to the source of the king's authority. But since it ascribes divinity to a good ruler, it may fairly be inferred that, according to it, such a ruler, at any rate, derives his authority from God. But there is at least one verse which contains the germ of the theory that the ultimate source of political power is the authority of the people. Verse 188

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(line 375) of Chapter I, distinctly describes him as a servant of the people, his services as such being remunerated by the revenue he obtains. In other places also, it strongly insists that the king should do nothing that might displease the people. In lines 754 and 755, of Chapter I, it says that in any dispute between his officers and subjects, he should side with the latter, and further it is said that he should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men. It would indeed be too much to maintain that these precepts are inconsistent with the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Nevertheless, I think it is permissible to hold that the idea of the king being the servant of the people whom he ought to do everything in his power to please, and whose side he should take as against his officers, contains the germ out of which the theory of the sovereignty of the people would have fully evolved, if the conditions of Ancient India, which, on account of the existence of numerous independent kingdoms which did not hesitate to war against one another, when it suited their interests or purposes, required all power to be vested in some central authority, had been more favourable to steady and orderly development of political thought.

The next question is, what has *Sukraniti* got to say with regard to the attitude of the people towards a bad ruler who misgoverns the kingdom and sacrifices the good of the people and the State to his own selfish interests? This question it approaches and considers in four different ways, one being negative, and the rest positive. In the first place, it nowhere lays down the duty of unconditional obedience and non-resistance. If the author of the *Sukraniti* had believed in the doctrine of non-resistance, he would certainly have mentioned it in this treatise. But he is not content with merely maintaining a negative position with regard to this question. He strongly denounces a bad king as an ox (i.e. as a fool), as a thief, as an exploiter of the people's wealth and urges (1) that the people should terrify him by taking the help of virtuous and powerful enemies and (2) if this is not found sufficient, even to desert or depose him as the ruiner of the State, and place any other qualified member of the royal family on the throne in his place.

The *Sukraniti* also adopts what may be called the historical method in dealing with this question. It points out that as a matter of fact, the subjects *will* rise against a ruler who oppresses them, whether their doing so is or is not morally defensible. The doctrine of non-resistance may or may not be an ethically sound one. But the advocates of this doctrine apparently ignore one fact, *viz.*, that the power of mere abstract theory is never so great as to overweigh all practical considerations. The author of *Sukraniti* has carefully avoided this error to which mere doctrinaire philosophers are liable. He recognises the force of facts and maintains that a bad ruler is always exposed to dangers both from within and without, that the people, when they groan under misery and oppression, cast all abstract theories to the wind, and work for the destruction of the wicked ruler. Lines 319-20 of Chapter I, clearly state that if the king oppresses the people, they, dying through repression, ultimately ruin him. Again, in lines 7 and 8 of Chapter II, it is stated, that the monarch who follows his own will, soon gets estranged from his kingdom, and alienated from his subjects. And the author illustrates these inevitable results by citing historical instances of monarchs, such as Vena and Dandakya who brought ruin upon themselves by their vices and wickedness. He goes even further, and sees divine sanction for this fate of oppressive and vicious rulers. For, in one verse, it is stated that the gods ruin and cast down the king who is not a protector. The destruction of a wicked monarch who neglects his duties and is guilty of misgovernment is not only a popular act, it is a divine act also. Thus the author of the *Sukraniti* maintains both directly and indirectly, that it is no wrong to resist a tyrranous and vicious ruler.

I have thus far considered the position of the *Sukraniti* with regard to (1) the nature of Kingship and (2) the attitude of the people towards a bad ruler. It will be seen from what I have said above that the view generally held that the Ancient Hindus never knew any other theory of kingship than that the king rules by Divine Right, that he is entitled to receive the unconditional obedience of his subjects, and that he should in no case, be resisted, whatever may be his character as a ruler, finds no support from the *Sukraniti*.

I now proceed to consider the notion of kingship as it prevailed in the West in the

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early centuries of the Christian era so that we may be in a position to institute a comparison between it, and that in the *Sukraniti*. The subject is exhaustively treated in "A history of Mediæval Political Theory in the West," by R. W. Carlyle and A. T. Carlyle, and the information embodied in this essay is for the most part derived from that book.

The political theory of the Middle Ages with regard to kingship has a double source. In the first place, it is founded upon the theory represented by the Roman Lawyers from the second to the sixth century, and secondly, upon the theory represented by the Christian Fathers from the second to the seventh century.

The Romans were not such keen political theorists as the Greeks, whose contributions to political thought are perhaps unparalleled in the history of political speculation in the ancient world. The notions of the Romans were, however, profoundly influenced by Greek culture and institutions. And the Roman Lawyers, from the second to the sixth century, maintained that there was only one ultimate source of political power, and that was the authority of the people. According to them, even the Emperor owed his authority to the people. Ulpian says that the Emperor's will is law, *but only because the people choose to have it so.* (The italics are mine.) And Ulpian's view sums up the universal theory of the Roman Lawyers. The view is extremely remarkable, because it invests the Emperor with unlimited personal authority, while at the same time maintaining that that authority is based upon the will of the people. It may be compared to Hobbes's theory of the social contract, which maintains that though the sovereign power derives all its authority from a covenant entered into by the people, it has, at the same time, an absolute right to the submission of the subjects, singly as well as collectively.

A different note is sounded by the Christian Apostles and Fathers and it is interesting to trace the growth of their notion of kingship from the rise of Christianity down to the Middle Ages.

The thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans contains the following important passage bearing on this subject:—

"Let every soul be in subjection unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to the good work but to the evil. And wouldst thou have no fear of the power? Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise from the same; for he is minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Wherefore, you must needs be in subjection, not only because of the wrath but also for conscience' sake."

Here we have the notion clearly and strongly expressed that the king derives his authority from God, that to resist him is to resist God, and that therefore it is a sin to do so. The king is regarded as a minister of God and his duty is to encourage the good and to repress the evil. There is no idea that the king himself might be an evil one, nor as to what should be done in case he is a bad ruler and fails to discharge his duties.

The same view is urged by St. Peter in his first letter. He says:—

"Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme; or unto governors as sent by him for vengeance on evil doers and for praise to them that do well."

This new theory of kingship, from which the theory of the Divine Right of Kings was developed in subsequent ages in all its fulness, owes its origin to Christianity, which at least in its early periods seems to have produced a reactionary effect upon political thought. All new religions and sects are apt to produce a class of fanatics inclined to defy the existing social, political and religious order, and the early Christians formed no exception to the rule. A section of them abused the conception of individual liberty emphasised by Christianity, and betrayed anarchical tendencies. They were suspected of disloyal designs, and some of them went so far as to evince a contempt for all government. St. Paul, St. Peter, and other leaders of the Church had to guard against these undesirable tendencies. But in so doing they went to the other extreme, and expressed views which were subsequently developed into the theory of the Divine Right of Kings.

The Christian Fathers inquire into the origin of government and maintain that the institution of government is not primitive, but was made necessary by the vices of human nature. They hold that God made rational beings in His own image, not to be lords over each other but

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to be lords of the irrational creatures, and that, the government of man by man is not part of the natural order of the world. In the state of nature, they say, all men did not require coercive government, because they were all good, and freely and willingly obeyed the wise. But in course of time degeneracy set in, and sin entered the world. And the birth of sin rendered coercive government necessary. Thus, according to the Fathers, government is a Divine institution, and its object is to neutralise and remove the evil effects of sin in human society.

If government is a divine institution, the question arises: what is the position of bad rulers? One of the Fathers, Irenœus discusses this question, and his answer is that often God gives men evil rulers to punish their wickedness. The ruler, according to him, is not only the minister of God's remedy for sin, but the instrument of his punishment. Thus in the view of Irenœus, a bad ruler no less than a good one, derives his authority from God and is entitled to obedience.

Another Father, St. Ambrosiaster, describes the king as the "Vicar of God," and says that "the king has the image of God as the Bishop has that of Christ." He also agrees with Irenœus in thinking that the sacred character of the office of kingship cannot be lost owing to any misconduct of the ruler. St. Augustine expresses the same view with a certain added emphasis. He says that even rulers of the worst type such as Nero receive their power through the providence of God, when He judges that a nation may require such rulers. St. Isidore is of the same opinion. He concludes that a wicked ruler is appointed by God just as much as a good ruler. The character of the ruler according to him is adapted to the character of the people: if they are good, God will give them a good ruler; if they are evil, He will give them an evil ruler. Evidently, he ignores the theory that government owes its origin to the entry of sin, as well as the fact that it is not good subjects that require a good ruler so much as bad subjects. St. Gregory the Great goes even further. Referring to the conduct of David towards Saul, he points out how David is said to have refused to lay his hand on him and even to have repented of cutting off the hem of his garment. He takes Saul to stand for a wicked King and David for a good subject, and concludes that David's attitude shows that "good subjects will not even criticise rashly or violently the conduct even of bad rulers: for, to resist or offend against a ruler is to offend against God, who has set him over men."

Commenting upon the position of St. Gregory the Great the authors of the book 'A history of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West" to which I am indebted for this information, remark:

"There can be no doubt that we have here the doctrine of the sanctity and Divine authority of the ruler in a very strong form: even the seventeenth century apologists of the Divine Right hardly go further in preaching the necessity of obedience and the wickedness of resistance. It is from the doctrine of St. Gregory the Great that the religious theory of the absolute and irresponsible authority of the ruler continually drew its strongest arguments, both in the Middle Ages and later."

Again they remark:

"In St. Gregory the Great, we find in definite and systematic form a theory of the source of authority in Government which is very sharply contrasted with that which we have seen to be characteristic of the legal writers. They trace the source of all authority in the State to its fountainhead in the people. St. Gregory traces the authority of rulers directly to God. The history of Mediaeval political theory is very largely the history of the struggle between these two views, in which, however, for many centuries the combatants change places. For, at least from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, it is the Imperialist Party which defends the theory of the Divine authority of the ruler, it is the ecclesiastical which maintains that his authority is derived from the people."

I have thus traced the rise and growth of the notions which ultimately crystallised into the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Dr. Figgis in his excellent book on "The Divine Right of Kings" has well summed up the theory as fully developed. He says:—

The theory of the Divine Right of Kings in its completest form involves the following propositions:—

(1) Monarchy is a divinely ordained institution.

(2) Hereditary right is indefeasible. The succession to monarchy is regulated by the law of primogeniture. The right acquired by birth cannot be forfeited through any act of usurpation, of however long continuance, by any incapacity in the heir or by any act of deposition. So long as the heir lives, he is king by hereditary right, even though the usurping dynasty has reigned for a thousand years.

(3) Kings are accountable to God alone. Monarchy is pure, the sovereignty being entirely vested in the king whose power is incapable of legal limitation. All law is a mere concession of his will and all constitutional forms and assemblies exist entirely at his pleasure. He cannot limit or divide or alienate the sovereignty, so as in any way to prejudice the right of his successor to its complete exercise. A mixed or limited monarchy is a contradiction in terms.

(4) Non-resistance and passive obedience are

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enjoined by God. Under any circumstances resistance to a king is a sin and ensures damnation."

The theory of the Divine Right of Kings lingered in England till the Revolution of 1688. The first two Stuarts were the strongest advocates of the theory, and James I., wrote books and made speeches in support of it. "Nowhere," says Mr. Gooch in his little book on *Political thought in England from Bacon to Halifax*, "is the Divine Right of Kings . . . . . more concisely formulated or defended with more unfaltering conviction than in the pages of the British Solomon." In his treatise on the "True Law of Free Monarchies or the mutual duty betwixt a free king and his subjects," James I., says:

"A good king will frame all his actions according to the law; yet he is not bound thereto but of his good will and for good example to his subjects. He is master over every person, having power over life and death. For though a just prince will not take the life of any of his subjects without a clear law yet the same laws whereby he taketh them are made by himself or his predecessors."

James I., held that "a wicked King is sent by God as a plague on people's sins, and it is unlawful to shake off the burden which God has laid upon them." "The wickedness of the king," he says, "can never make them that are ordained to be judged by him to become his judges." "Patience, earnest prayer and amendment of their lives are the only lawful means to move God to relieve them of that heavy curse." In his speech to Parliament in 1689, he declared:

"Kings are justly called gods; for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth. For if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and to be accountable to none. And the like power have kings. They make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising up and casting down; of life and death; judges over all their subjects and in all cases, yet accountable to none but God. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things and to make of their subjects like men at chess."

But the doctrine became more and more unpopular; a long struggle ensued between the people and the Crown in which Charles I., lost his head and with the Revolution of 1688, the theory of an original contract was substituted for that of the divinity of kings. "The doctrine of non-resistance," says the historian Gardiner, "was false in itself and hung like a blight for many years over the energies of England. If it had ever obtained general recognition, it would have cut at the root of all that has made the nation what it is."

We have now enough materials before us to enable us to draw a comparison between the notion of kingship in the *Sukraniti*, and that which prevailed in Europe till the ninth century A.D. and lingered in England so long as the Revolution of 1688. Those materials fully warrant the conclusion that the notion of kingship as found in the *Sukraniti* was much more advanced than that of Europe in the corresponding period. True, the development of our political thought was arrested, and we do not seem to have made further progress until, of course, the establishment of British rule inaugurated altogether a new era in our national history, thought and life. But the political thought of Ancient India as reflected in the *Sukraniti* was undoubtedly superior to that of contemporary European thinkers and writers. The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings as first formulated by St. Paul, St. Peter, and other Christian apostles and subsequently developed by St. Gregory the Great and other Christian Fathers finds no counterpart in the *Sukraniti*. The *Sukraniti* does not predicate divinity of every king, it does not say that bad kings derive their authority from God as much as good kings, and are sent by Him as a punishment for men's sins; nor does it advocate the doctrine of unqualified and unconditional non-resistance. According to the European theory, every king, good or evil, is a representative of God: according to the theory of the *Sukraniti*, it is only the good king who is a representative of God, the evil one being a representative of Satan. According to the European theory an evil king is an instrument of God's wrath for men's vices and sins, no such view is maintained by the *Sukraniti*. While the European theory lays down the duty of non-resistance even in the case of oppressive rulers, the *Sukraniti* preaches that such rulers should be resisted and even, if need be, deposed, if less stringent methods of bringing them to book are found to be of no avail. In short, the theory of the *Sukraniti* is a greater approximation to the modern theory of constitutional monarchy except in one particular, *viz.*, that it ascribes divinity to a good and virtuous King.

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It would not be amiss if I conclude this essay with a brief reference to a few other salient features of the political thought as found in the *Sukraniti*. The *Sukraniti* is a treatise both on politics and ethics. Like the ancient Greeks, the ancient Hindus did not separate politics from ethics. The two were blended together. Nor can it be said that the modern divorce between them has not had certain evil consequences, in particular, the consequence of lowering the standard of international morality. Dr. Jowett, in his Introduction to Aristotle's Politics, says:

"During the last century, enlightened philosophers have been fond of repeating that the State is only a machinery for the protection of life and property. But the ancients taught a nobler lesson, that ethics and politics are inseparable; that we must not do evil in order to gain power; and that the justice of the State and the justice of the individual are the same. The older lesson has survived; the newer is seen to have only a partial and relative truth."

In the same way, Mr. Earnest Barker in his little book on "Political thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day" says:

"Political philosophy in itself, and apart from other studies is essentially an ethical study, which regards the State as a moral society and inquires into the ways by which it seeks to attain its ultimate moral aim. Assuming a moral ideal for all human institutions, and therefore for the State as one of the greatest of these institutions, political philosophy interprets the State in terms of ethics, and seeks to determine its relation to the moral constitution and development of man."

The author of the *Sukraniti* would have cordially agreed with these authors in the view that the society and the State have both a moral end. Aristotle's phrase that "man desires first to live and afterwards to live well," is well-known. Both he and Plato held that the end and aim of Government is the active promotion of virtue,—of a better and a better life, until it attained as much perfection as is possible in this world. The author of the *Sukraniti* holds the same view, and hence, we find him constantly insisting upon the practice of virtue both by the king and the subjects, and also urging that the king should promulgate not only laws, strictly so called, but moral exhortations also.

The necessity of the State and the government for human evolution is recognised by the author of the *Sukraniti*. In lines 131-32 of Chapter I, it is stated that "without the ruler the subjects do not keep to their own spheres." Again in line 187 of the same Chapter, the *Sukraniti* says,- "the subjects, however vicious, must not be without a king."

The *Sukraniti* declares that the Government should not be only moral but also powerful. It does not advocate the doctrine that the State is Force; such a doctrine it would have condemned as immoral, as opposed to the moral aim and purpose of the State. But it *does* advocate the doctrine that the State is Power and holds that real national prosperity is impossible without both Morality (Niti) and Power (Sakti). The thirty-fourth line of Chapter I, says that "where there are both *Niti* and Might, there flourishes all-round prosperity." This doctrine that success depends both on *Niti* and *Shakti* deserves to be noted. A nation cannot attain to greatness and prosperity, if it acts morally but fails to become powerful. On the other hand, mere power will not bring greatness and prosperity, unless a nation's aims and methods are strictly moral. Power comes to ruin if and when it is divorced from morality.

As the *Sukraniti* regards power as essential to prosperity, it has no sympathy with weak, timid, and pleasure-seeking monarchs who neglect the military resources of their kingdoms. In lines 245-248 of Chapter I, the eight principal functions of the king are mentioned, and two of them are: (1) conversion of princes into tributary chiefs and (2) quelling of enemies. In line 641 of Chapter I, again, it is said that the king should be mindful about strength, prowess and daily preparation for war (*Utthana*). And in lines 15-16 of Section VII, it is declared, that the army is the chief means of overpowering the enemy, and that therefore the king should carefully maintain a formidable army. And in fact, two sections of Chapter IV of the *Sukraniti* are entirely devoted to military topics such as "Fortresses" and the "Army."

There is a general belief that there were no checks on the authority of the king in Ancient India. But this is a mistake. There was indeed no Parliament in the modern sense of the word, and no responsible Government. Nevertheless, the ancient Hindus had evolved a political and social system which in practice left very little scope for the exercise of autocratic powers by the king. In the first place, the greatest care was taken of the education of the

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king, who was taught not only logic, economics, the three Vedas, but also in particular, ethics and political science. The *Sukraniti* and other ancient treatises on polity lay the greatest stress on the practice of virtue by the monarch, the object being to develop in him a strong and virtuous character. Secondly the old system as well as tradition required that the king should have a *guru* or preceptor, a man generally of superior intelligence, profound insight and great saintliness. In lines 293-94 of Chapter I, of the *Sukraniti*, it is laid down that, "Augmenting virtue and wealth, which are pursued by the good, and controlling his senses, the king should worship his preceptor." And the *Guru* or preceptor had a recognised and influential position in the Councils of the State. He had a seat in the Council Chamber and was consulted on every important question. And being a *Guru* he expressed his opinions freely and fearlessly, and exercised great personal influence upon the king. And that influence always tended to keep the king on the path of righteousness.

The third check upon the conduct of the King was provided by the institution of ministers. In lines 189-90 of Chapter I, it is stated that "sovereignty in a Kingdom is deprived of its beauty if there is the King only, but there are no ministers." Again, in lines 3 and 4 of Chapter II, it is laid down that "even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a past master in statecraft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers." And in lines 5 and 6 of the same Chapter, it is further said that "the wise ruler should ever abide by the well-thought-out decisions of his ministers—and never by his own opinions."

A still more important and effective check was the institution of a Consultative Assembly—a sort of a Senate composed of the royal kinsmen, friends, ministers, the *guru* and other leading gentlemen specially nominated. Lines 707-8 of Chapter I, of the *Sukraniti* lay down that "the king should discuss royal duties with friends, brothers, sons, relatives, commanders and members in the Council House." The word "members" seems to point to the conclusion that there was in Ancient India a system whereby the king nominated leading citizens as members of his Council—a practice which we find followed in some Native States even to-day. The *Sukraniti* then lays down rules as to the order in which the members of the Council should be seated in the Council Chamber, and enjoins that "the king should receive in written form the opinions of each separately with all his arguments, compare them with his own opinion, and *then do what is accepted by the many*." (The italics are mine). This shows that according to the *Sukraniti*, the king ought to abide not by his own personal opinion but by the decision of the majority of the Council. And when we remember that in ancient times, custom and Shastric injunctions had all the binding force of law and a written constitution, there can be very little doubt that the adoption of the decision of the majority of the Council was the rule rather than the exception. A strong and intelligent king would no doubt be able to win over the Council to his own views; but if the king was weak-minded and inefficient and still declined to follow the deliberate decision of the majority of this Council, and if his obstinacy in following his own personal predilections resulted in sufferings to the people, they could, as I have pointed out above, bring him to book by threatening to go over to his enemies and if need be, to depose him.

The notion that the Hindu kings in Ancient India lived in semi-divine seclusion, like the *Mikados* of Japan before the Restoration, does not find any support from the *Sukraniti*. The picture which it draws is that of a king mixing freely with his subjects, touring throughout his kingdom with a view to ascertain from personal inquiry their wants and grievances, administering justice in person in the presence of the parties, and participating in popular festivals and enjoyments. The greatest stress is laid upon the proper administration of justice, and Section V of Chapter IV of the *Sukraniti* is devoted to the question, *viz.*: How and in accordance with what procedure, justice should be administered? It is laid down in lines 9-13 of the section that the king should administer justice according to the dictates of *Dharmashastras* in the company of the Chief Justice *Amatya*, Brahmans and Priest, but he should never do so singly or in secret. The administration of justice was to be in open Court in the presence of the parties, and the King was always to consult the Chief Justice, the *Amatya*, the Brahmin,

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and the Priest before giving his judgment. The duty of personal inspection of villages and towns is laid down in lines 751-52 of Chapter I, which say that

"The king must personally inspect every year the *gramas*, *puras* or cities, and *desas* or districts and provinces and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers and deliberate upon the matters brought forward by the people."

In conclusion, it may, I think, be justly maintained that the *Sukraniti* embodies, on the whole, a high conception of kingship, comparing favourably with that prevailing in Europe in the corresponding period. If it does not advocate popular government, it must be borne in mind that we are dealing with political thought of more than two thousand years ago, and that, even now, there are thinkers who have no absolute faith in popular government as the best mode of conducting the affairs of the State. We must not judge of political thought in Ancient India by the standards of to-day; to do so would mean that Time is no factor in the progress of human thought and institutions. Why our political thought and life was arrested and we failed to attain to the development of political life such as we find in many countries of the West, is, indeed, an interesting question to which we shall have to give our consideration; but obviously this is not the proper place for doing so. Suffice it to say that the political thought as embodied in the *Sukraniti* is such that we have every reason to be proud of it. If the vicessitudes of our national fortune tended to arrest the progress of our political thought and life, the present times are peculiarly favourable to such progress. And I conclude with a fervent hope that the subject of political science and political philosophy will receive increasing attention from our scholars and writers.

THE PLACE OF INDIANS IN THE WORLD'S ATHLETICS

JUST two months ago a wonderful long-distance running record was established at Poona, by S. V. Dattar, who has run more than the standard Marathan course, almost in an incredibly short space of time. Though he has failed to break the world's running record, he has established at least a record run in the East. We may hope that he will some day lower the world's record established in the last Olympic games, in the near future.

The athletes who are still ahead of Mr. Dattar are three only. In the London Olympiad in 1908 J. J. Hayes, the U. S. A. champion, established the Marathan record by running 26 miles 385 yards in 2 hrs. 55 mts. 18¼ secs. In the last Stockholm Olympic games of 1912 this record of Hayes was broken by K. K. MacArthur and William Gitsham, running 25 miles in 2 hrs. 36 mts. 54·4 secs. and 2 hrs. 37 mts. 52 secs. respectively. Dattar has only these last two redoubtable adversaries to meet, Hayes having retired since. But it will be admitted on all hands that Dattar is the only man to run 27 miles, and considering the greater length of the course, it is a record by itself. It is a matter of deep regret that we Indians do not find a place in the world's athletics, though no other nation in the whole world is more qualified for that honour. It has been proved again and again that the Indians, as athletes, are far ahead of any other nation. For the Indians are born athletes and not made. This statement has long ago been corroborated by English and American experts. The Indians, they say, do not lack anything in the making of athletes. But it has been now the privilege of the Europeans to recognise or not recognise our athletic supremacy, since they are working heart and soul to prove that "A nation is known by its athletes."

In spite of their maintaining that the Europeans are nations of sportsmen, it has been noticed over and over again that they simply refuse to accept the superiority or even the equality of nations black or brown. As a glaring instance of it, we have

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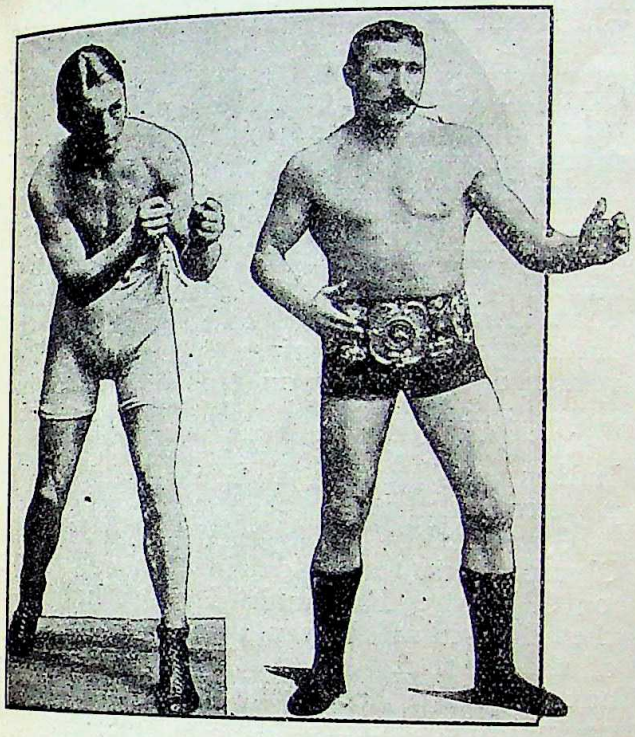
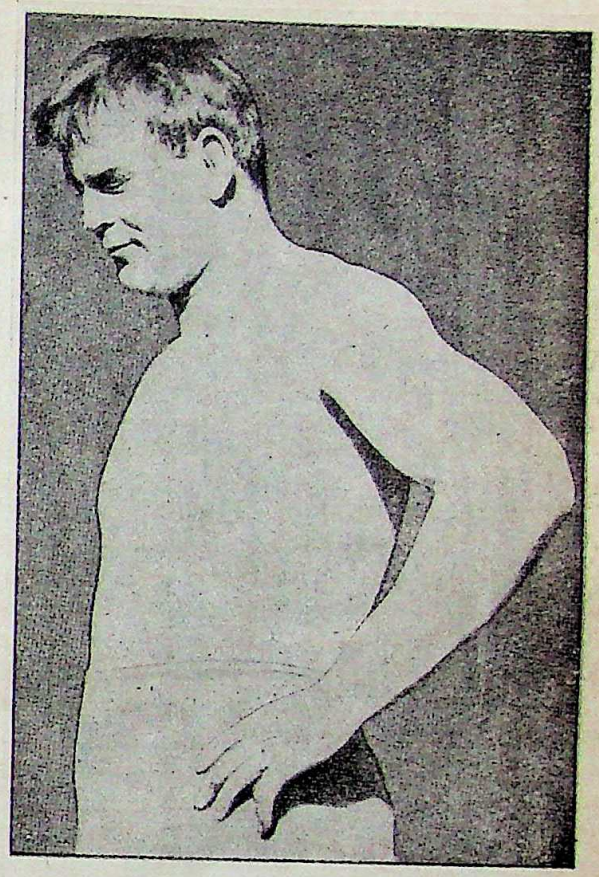
the shameful treatment by the French Boxing Association of Jack Johnson. In 1908 Johnson became the Champion Boxer of the world by defeating Tommy Burns at Sydney and the great Jim Jefferies (who was known as the Emperor of the Boxing



GEORGES CARPENTIER Squaring up to meet a scientific boxer. PAT CONNOLLY.

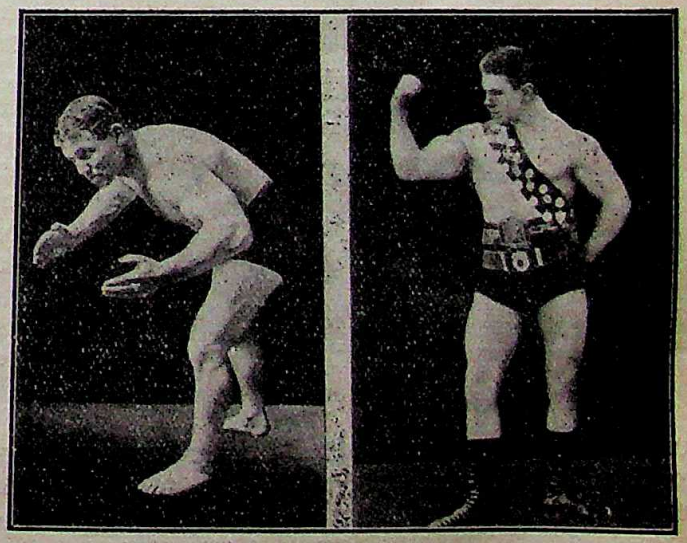
ring) at Reno U. S. A. (1909). A few years later Georges Carpentier, the boy champion, became the Heavy-weight Champion Boxer of France at



FRANK GOTCH, CHAMPION OF THE WORLD.

the age of 17. He also won the welter weight championship of Europe that very year. Having a great promising boxer on its side the French Boxing Association refused to accept Johnson as champion of the world and declared

GOBAR.



John Lemm, The Famous Swiss Wrestler. Geo Hackenschmidt With Championship Belt.

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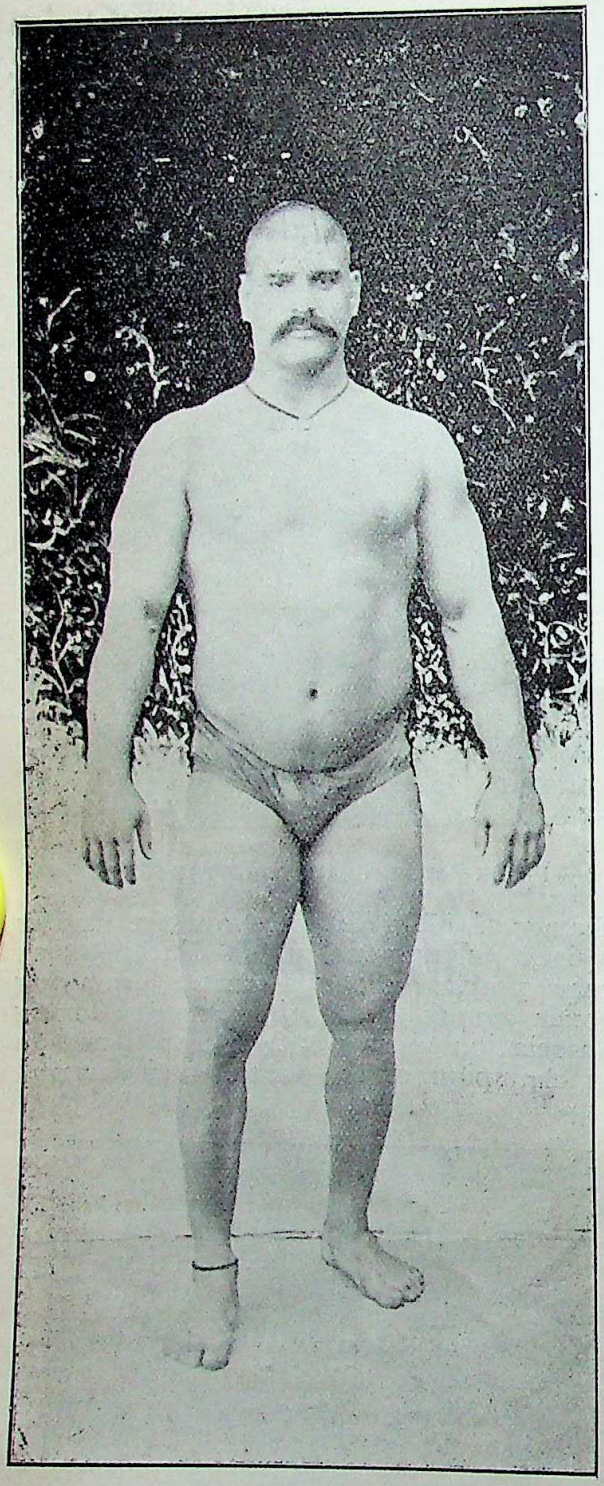

GAMA OF LAHORE.

Carpentier as the white heavy-weight Boxing Champion of the world, inspite of there being three most stubborn and great boxers, Jack Johnson, Sam Langford and Joe Jeanette to wit. Carpentier became the recognised champion consequently, which is perhaps the most shameful presumption, and it places before us a most glaring example of Europe's sporting justice.

It has also become difficult for us to participate in the Olympic games. It was to be held in Berlin this year, and to retrieve her lost honor in the last Olympiad, Britain had started an Olympic Games Fund, to which several famous Indians like Ratan Tata had contributed. The British Olympic Games Committee proposed to take representatives from the British dominions, on the side of England, and South Africa, New Zealand, Canada and Australia were thought fit to participate for Britain. We received information from the offices of *Health and Strength* and *Sporting Life* that it was still undecided whether the Indians would be given a chance. They returned my letter on this subject saying that it could not be published.

Now we shall review the doings of the Indian athletes in various branches of physical culture.

Gymnastics—It is said, that in the Olympic games held in Athens (1892 or 93) Mr. Krishnalal Bysack had won the Individual Gymnastic Championship of the world. It might be a rumour, but we shall feel greatly obliged if any one will please corroborate the fact.

Boxing—There are many Indians who have established their reputation as good boxers. Mr. Gyanada Prasanna Mukherjee, the famous big-game hunter, of Gobardanga, and Mr. P. Mittra of Calcutta are mentioned as only two of the many. In the Inter-University sports Mr. Promode Lal Ray, (Cambridge Trinity), son of the Calcutta barrister Mr. P. L. Ray, has twice won the Inter University welter-weight Boxing Championship. We should have heard more of his exploits had not the University sports been stopped this year. He received his college full blue—a rare honor to an Indian —and now he is in the front working with the British Red Cross Society. The "Boxing," London, had first introduced Promode Lal as a Gurkha, but afterwards they admitted their mistake. In the opinion of some famous English trainers, Promode Lal promises to be a veritable boxing giant like Carpentier; they say,

"Mr. Ray has the rare fighting qualities like Carpentier, in his time he promises to be a world famous boxer."

This proves quite clearly that boxing

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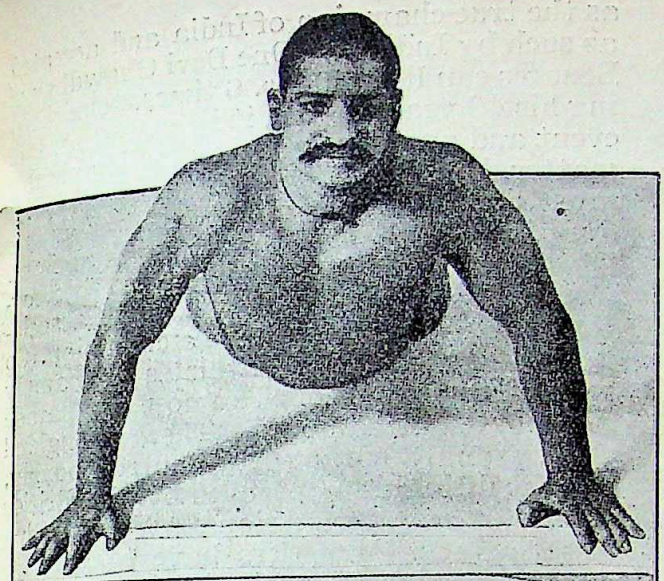
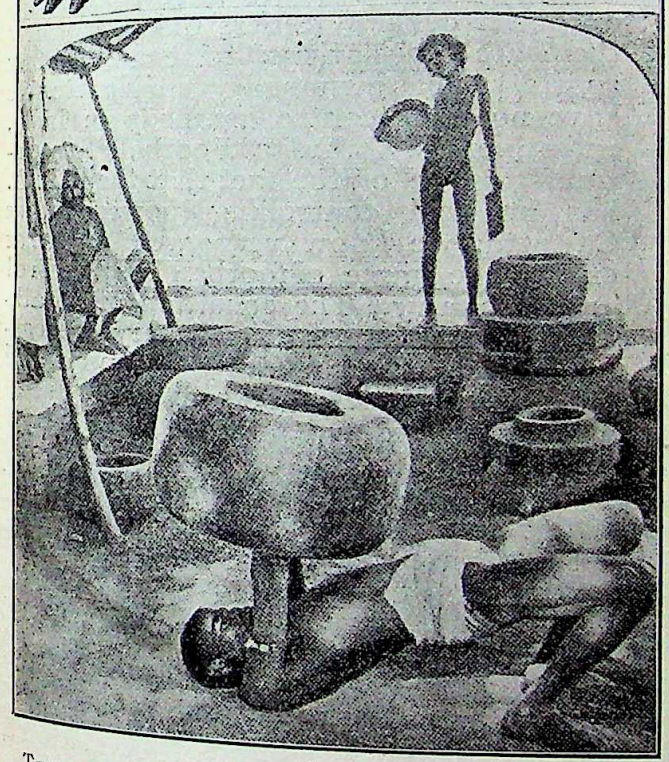
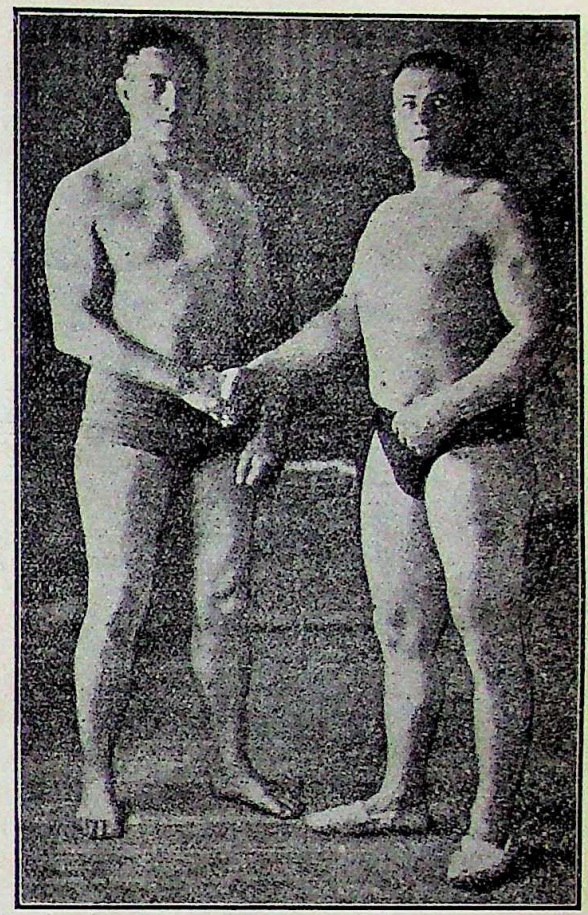




Top.—Ahmud Bux waiting for Armand Cherpillod.

Below.—"Dabee Chowdray, at Benares, a vegetarian, 46 years of age, who is said to have lifted a 960lb. weight. Such feats of strength are not, by any means, rare among the tribes of India, as Rama Murti, Buttan Singh, and the Indian wrestlers have proved on their visits to this country. Gobar, for instance, who is in England now, swings clubs that no ordinary Englishman could lift, and carries a stone collar of prodigious weight round his neck."



George Hackenschmidt on the right, in his new gymnasium at Shoreham, shaking hand with his trainer, Dr. B. F. Roller.

Though it is the national sport of the Europeans, is not absolutely their own. Some years ago, there was the great All-India Boxing Championship Tournament, held at Calcutta. Inspite of there being some prizes awarded by Indians notables like Maharaja Prodyotkumar, Raja Tajhat, Sir Rajendra Mukerji and Mr. J. F. Madan, no Indian was allowed to take part in it. The All-India Championship is held every year, but to our great regret, not one Indian has ever been allowed to measure his strength and skill with his white fellow-subjects. Some critic might put forward a question, "What qualification have you to join it? Why should you?" Like the immortal coster we would say, "What qualification haven't we, why shan't we join?" and finally "why are we not allowed to join?"

Long distance cycling—In 1911 three Parsee gentlemen rode from Peshwar to Bombay, about 1200 miles, on ordinary bicycles. Though none else had accomplished such a great endurance feat, it has not been accepted as the record long-distance cyle race of India, the Calcutta—Bombay motor-bike race having taken its place.

Weight Lifting—It is considered to

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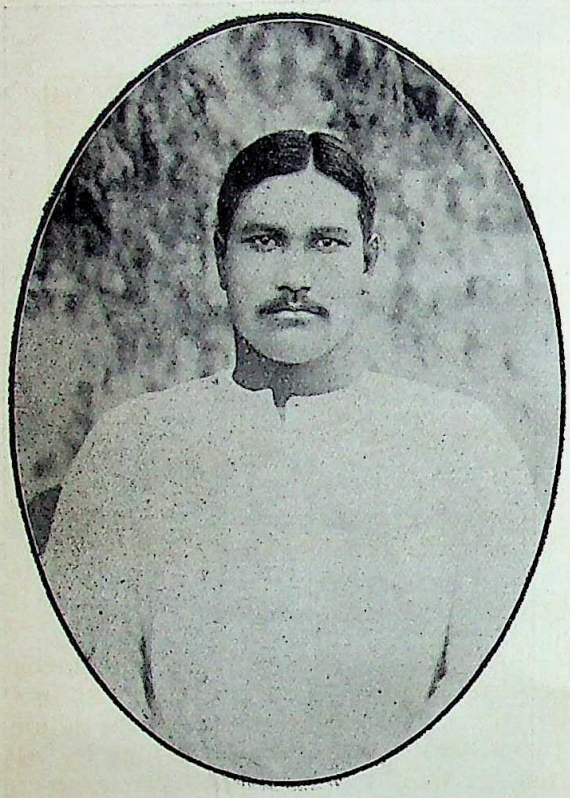

BHABANI.

be a great health-giving branch of physical culture in Europe and America. Many of our countrymen have begun practising weight lifting, considering it to be western, but they do not perhaps know that it has been practised in India since time immemorial. Of course, the systems and implements of the East and West are different. In the West they use iron Barbells and here in India we use stone "Nals." The champion weight lifter of the world is Arthur Saxon; he can lift 370lbs, in one hand, in the bent press style, while Carl Swoboda and Josef Steinback of Austria can lift 500lbs., two hands clean, style. A. Saxon is the accepted champion. About three years ago the weight lifting championship of India was held at Karachi, in which an English private won the championship (heavy weight) by lifting only 270lbs, and he was accepted as such by the English community. Shortly after the Allahabad Exhibition in 1911, Prof. Himmat Bux and Dr. Ishmatulla lifted weights to decide who deserved the Indian weight lifting championship and the proud title of India's strongest man. This match took place at Aurangabad, Deccan. Professor Himmat Bux lifted 985 lbs. 9 times and was declared as the true champion of India and accepted as such by Indians. One Devi Chowdhry of Benares can lift 960 lbs. 6 times. Considering his 46 years of age, it is an unheard of event and appears to be an un-imaginable matter, but fact is fact. It is evident, therefore, that Devi Chowdhry and Himmat Bux are the real men to be the world's champions. There are associations in England to recognise and record these sports. These associations have power to decide a champion. So the lifelong efforts of athletes are amply rewarded and no one can pose and parade himself as a champion. There in England the National Sporting Club controls boxing, weight lifting is controlled by the British Amateur and Professional Weight-lifting Associations. Wrestlers have to obey the authority of the Wrestlers' Union. Similarly there are associations to control other sports, such as swimming, running, etc. We have no such controlling body in India, excepting the Calcutta Football Association. Inspite of the fact that the I. F. A. has no real controlling power outside Calcutta, we know very well to what extent the game of football has improved in this country. The condition of our athletics cannot improve until they are controlled by a committee of experts and until the athletic records are appreciated and recognised and athletes given proper incentives.

Wrestling—It is this science in which the Indian physical culturist excels. Wrestling has been practised in India since the earliest times. The study and practice of centuries have resulted in its greatest development. It has been proved more than once that Indian wrestlers are the best in the world. We have taken the front rank in the wrestling world, and we sincerely hope that our honor in this particular branch of "physical culture" will be maintained to the remotest future. Many English experts say that

> Nowhere in the world the art of wrestling received so much attention as in India.....wrestlers not to be equalled in any other country. Of no other country can it be said, that wrestling is the national sport, and the Indian professional wrestler has nothing to learn from the exponents of the art in Europe or America. Wrestling has been practised in India since the earliest times....."

Some people have a better opinion of the Japanese Jiujitsu experts than the Indian Wrestlers. It is a great mistake, for

> "None of the tricks of Jiujitsu that might be applied

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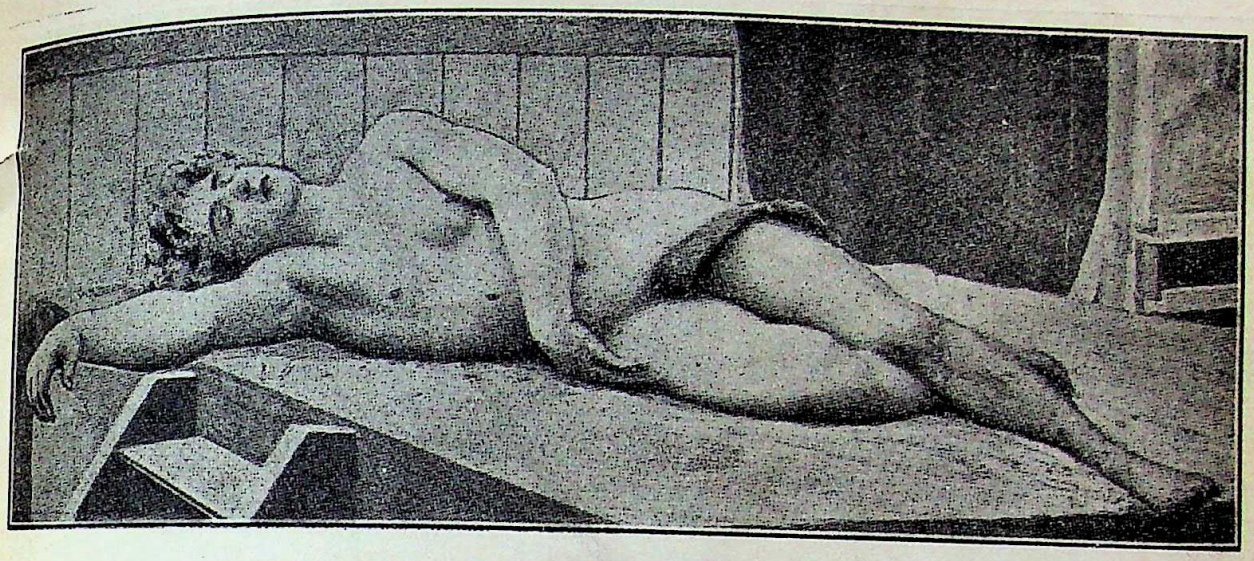

Maurice Deriaz, as the Sleeping Bacchus, from the painting by Gustave Courtors.

in wrestling, are unknown to the Indian wrestler. There is this difference, that the latter has been taught to avoid them as being unfair. The wrestler could apply them in any emergency."

It is not known to many that Jiujitsu was practised in Northern India, where it was known as "Binot," but it is much to be regretted that this art is dying out very quickly. There are at present only one

The signing of the articles at the "Sporting Life" Office. Seated (left to right): Mr. R. B. Benjamin, Ahmed Bux, Maurice Deriaz, Mr. Ernest Delaloye.

Cherpillod. Delaloye.

or two Binot experts in Rohilkhand. It should be one of our foremost duties to revive this sport, for many such arts are gradually dying out for want of support and sympathy as no one ever cares to keep them alive. If we neglect the practise and culture of Binot, etc., thinking that by encouraging it we should be promoting and favouring hooliganism, then the result is obvious. These arts had greatly flourished under the patronage of Indian rajahs and aristocrats, but our present worship of all-that-is-western is killing all our national sports, which any other nation in the world would be proud to possess and excel in by all means. It would not be quite stunning to hear that Jiujitsu of Japan and Ghina of Iceland are only branches of Indian wrestling. These arts are now nearly dead, and will be remembered only as things of the remote past with the death of the few experts who are still alive.

It is now our foremost duty to revive these sports, otherwise in another twenty years it would be a difficult proposition. We sincerely hope that there will be a great improvement in the culture of the physique if associations like the I. F. A. are established. Separate associations are to be established to control different branches of sport. If such controlling bodies are established there will be a perfect order among their constituents and championship titles perfectly safe.

A few years ago in the last Paris Exhibition the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru of Allahabad took the famous wrestler Ghulam there. No Indian wrestler had set foot in Europe before Ghulam. In the Paris Exhibition, Ghulam wrestled with the famous Turkish wrestler Ahmad Madhan, and this Indian lowered the colors of the celebrated Turk almost with-

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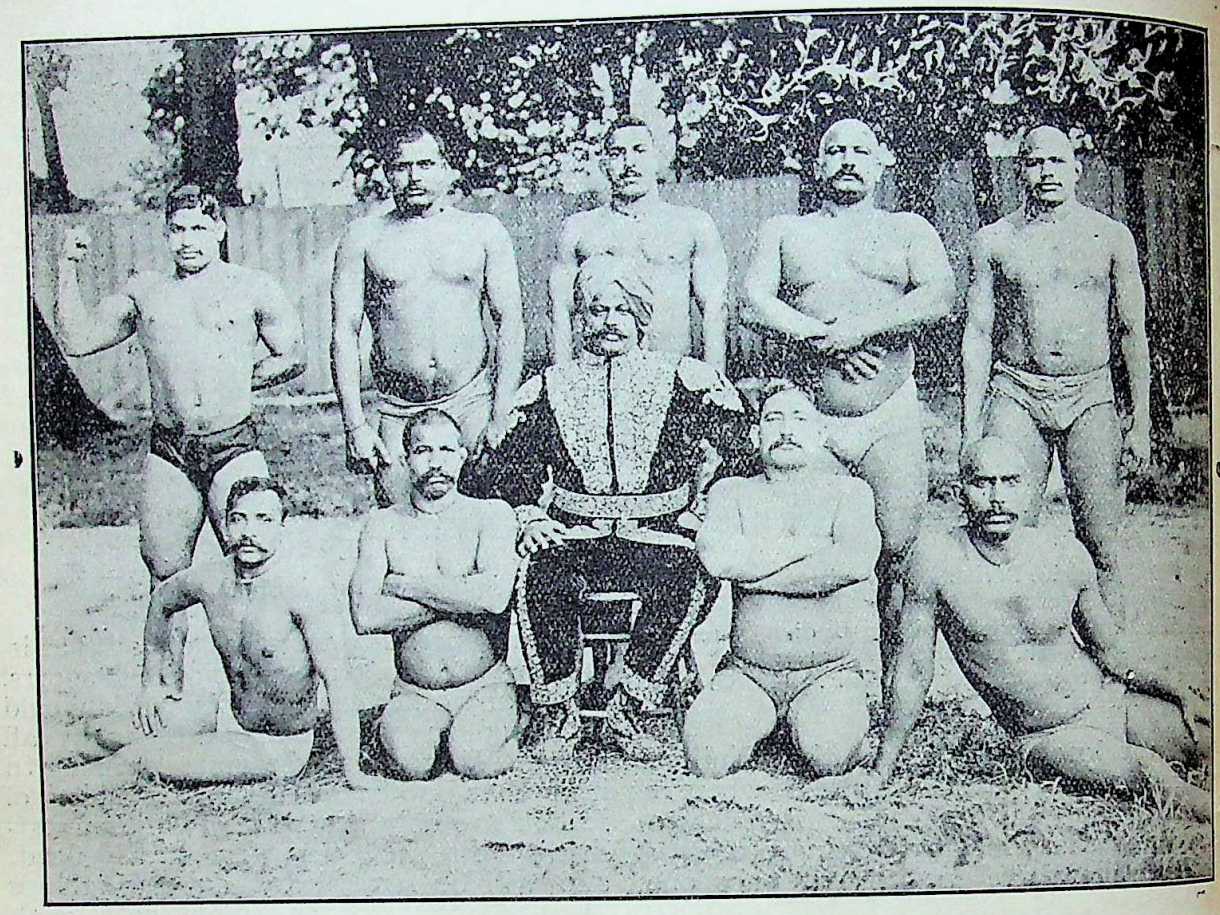
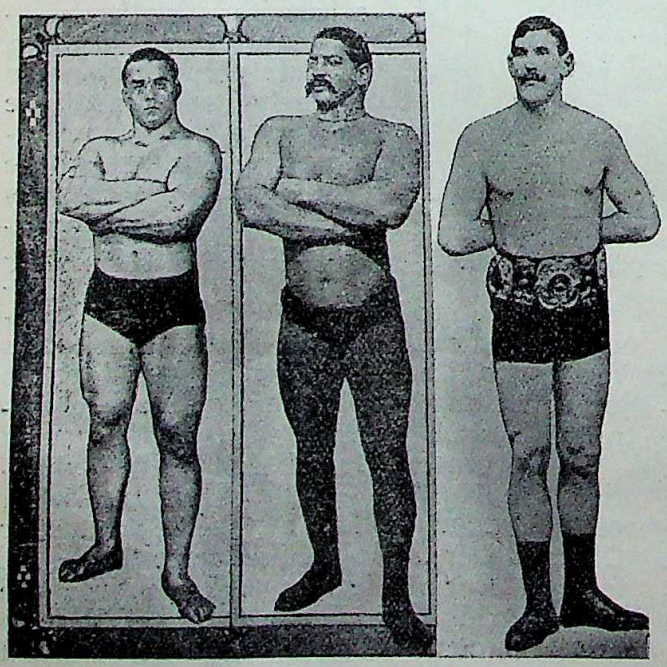


Chaga, Ramjan Gulam Mohidin. Karla. Teela.
Mahmoud. Ahmed Bux. Prof. Ramamurti. Mujeed. Rahim.



Maurice Deriaz Ahmed Bux. JIMMY ESSON.

out an effort. Ghulam had no equa in his time, and it can be safely sai that even now no wrestler in the whol world has reached the standard o Ghulam. Ghulam is the ideal of wrest lers and great in the opinion o Europeans. India is happy and glor ous to have given birth to such brave son.

In 1909-10 Mr. R. B. Benjam took Gama, Gamu, Imam Bux an Ahmed Bux to England. After a sho while Mr. Benjamin managed to p Gama against the famous America athlete and wrestler Dr. Roller (D B. F. Roller, B.SC., M.D.), and Ima Bux, Gama's younger brother, was als matched against John Lemm, famous Swiss. Both the parties sign their agreements in the office of t "Sporting Life." Lemm and Roller a reputed to be as formidable a strong as Hackenschmidt and Gotc John Lemm had won the Hengle Tournament and with it the ti

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of the "Champion of the World" in 1908. Everyone in England had hoped that the Indians would get a hollow beating. But the table was turned. Roller was defeated by Gama in twenty minutes and Lemm did not take even 12 mts. time to be laid low by Imam Bux. In Europe and America wrestling matches are not decided by the result of a single bout. There 'the best of three falls' system prevails. Astonished Europe named Gama as 'the Lion of the Panjab' and Imam Bux 'the Panther.' Mr. Benjamin had issued challenges on behalf of his wrestlers to every notable wrestler of Europe and America. The world-famous Hackenschmidt was present in England at this time, but the wrestling public could not make him consent to wrestle with the Indian wonder, Gama. Having won the match with Roller, Gama received his (Roller's) deposit of £1000 and 70 per cent. of the gate money, the balance of 30 per cent. going to Roller. Imam Bux also received £500 and 70 per cent. of the gate money. Some promoters were ready to deposit £7000 if Hackenschmidt would only fight, but the 'Russian Lion" never condescended to. After Roller's defeat, the famous Austrian Zbysco, the world's ex-champion, came over to England and signed articles to wrestle with Gama and went for training for the great event with Apollo (Wm. Bankier) and Lemm. After Lemm's defeat, the Gama-Zbysco match came on. Gama had undertaken to pin Zbysco twice in one hour but this he could not succeed in doing. Those who have seen the Gama-Zbysco wrestling in bioscopes, will easily understand why Gama failed in his agreement. It is not much to say that Zbysco is nearly the double of Gama to look at. Their measurements can here be compared :—

	Gama.	Zbysco:
Neck	18 "	22½"
Chest	48 " (normal)	58 " (normal)
Biceps	18 "	22 "
Fore-arm	14 "	15 "
Thigh	27 "	32 "
	125 "	149½"

Inspite of Zbysco's greater weight Gama was the "top dog" all through the time making Zbysco lie on the mat for full 2 hrs. 45 mts. The match was to be fought out on the second day, but meanwhile Zbysco had slipped away from England. The Englishmen accepting Gama as the winner gave him the "John Bull Wrestling Belt" and Zbysco's deposit of £1000. Hackenschmidt also left England to save his honor. This match is known in England as the Gama-Zbysco fiasco. After this event Mr. Benjamin, with great difficulty, succeeded in 'pitting' Imam Bux, Gama's younger brother, against Pat Connolly. Imam Bux defeated him quite easily.

Many years ago the then world's champion Tom Cannon came to Calcutta while touring all over the world. The late Hon'ble Maharajah Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar arranged a match between Tom Cannon and Rahim, Ghulam's father. The famous English wrestler, being defeated, left Calcutta the next day. Tom Cannon is known in England as the Undefeated Champion of the world, though he was defeated by Rahim in India.

In 1912 Mr. Benjamin returned to India to take a fresh batch of wrestlers and took Prof. Ramamurti with him to England. Of these wrestlers Ahmed Bux, Rahim, Karla, Teela, Ghulam Mohidin are more prominent. Since Gama's visit to England, the English wrestlers were terrorised at the name of the Indians, consequently no one in England came forward to fight Mr. Benjamin's Indians. After waiting a long time Mr. Benjamin matched Ahmed Bux with Maurice Deriaz, the famous Swiss. Ahmed won two falls successively, first in 66 secs., and the second in 9 minutes. Earnest Delaloye, the famous manager of Deriaz brought another Swiss of great fame to England to fight Ahmed Bux. Armand Cherpillod, as the Swiss was called, was defeated by Ahmed Bux in 4 minutes. He did not meet Ahmed the second time, for he said he was hurt in the first bout; he left the stage abusing Ahmed Bux to his heart's content. "Cochon, Cochon, Cochon" (pig, you are breaking my ribs), the agonised cry of Cherpillod, was for a long time the cry of stage humorists,

In 1913 a tournament in Noveau Cirque, Paris, was run by Maurice Deriaz, in which he won the middle weight wrestling championship of the world; inspite of his being defeated by Ahmed Bux, who gave him a start of 6lbs, in weight, Maurice was recognised as the middle weight champion. We can, therefore, see how confusing and unintelligible are these championships of Europe.

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Being utterly hopeless to get any match in England Ghulam Mohidin and others went to France, and learning the Græco-Roman style in a short space of time Ghulam Mohidin defeated Maurice Gambier, the Græco-Roman Champion of France and scores of others. The Indians then proceeded to America, but there unfortunately, the Indian heavy-weight Karla, was twice defeated by Zbysco. Ahmed Bux and Ghulam Mohidin tried their best to fix a match with Frank Gotch, the Champion of the world, but the cunning Gotch did not pay any heed to their challenges or to the newspapers, consequently the Indians had to come back to India.

About two years ago, Mr. Jotindra Charan Guha, alias 'Gobar,' went to England to measure his strength with the European westlers. In our boyhood we were classmates in the Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta. I am very proud and glad that my late class-fellow is one of the greatest athletes in the world. The English people were struck dumb at his extraordinary strength and the peculiar system of exercise of his own. "Health and Strength" was lavish in its praise of Gobar; according to this paper, no ordinary Englishman can even lift one of his clubs.

"Gobar, for instance who is in England now, swings clubs that no ordinary Englishman could lift, and carried a stone collar of prodigious weight (160lbs) round his neck."

Some details of Gobar are known already to the readers of this magazine and the "Prabasi," so I need not repeat them here. Gobar first met Jimmy Campbell at the Glasgow Coliseum and then Jimmy Esson, the Champion Heavy-weight wrestler of Britain, at the same place. He won both the contests. In his match with Jimmy Esson, Gobar had a bit of trouble with him in the second test. Being defeated in the first 6 bout, Jimmy Esson struck Gobar several times with his fist and inspite of repeated warnings, he continued this. The judges, at this, stopped the match, and awarded the second fall to Gobar. Gobar obtained a purse of £1500. and 70% of the gate money together with the side-stake. Gobar was present in Paris, when the Noveau Cirque Tourney was in full swing, but he did not join it. Having defeated a few westlers of note in Paris, Gobar went over to America to meet Gotch but this hope of Gobar was never realised.

Gotch retired from the wrestling world last year, handing over his title to 'Americus,' who thus became the champion. Pat Connolly, the Irish, whom Imam Bux had defeated, wrestled with Americus who retired injured from the mat, relinquishing his title to Pat. Inspite of the fact that Pat Connolly was defeated by many European wrestlers and Imam Bux he is still the champion wrestler of the world and the Indian Imum Bux has never been counted even among the first class wrestlers. Only a few and hitherto unknown Indian wrestlers have set the European and American wrestlers dancing. We do not know what would have been the fun if they had simply seen either Kikar Singh or Kallu. But the result is the same; merit or no merit, Indians are never to be counted in any serious business like the world's championship matches. Even Negroes are allowed to participate in and win championship titles, but Indians, though they are a great deal more qualified, could not find a place in the same rank with first-rate Europeans.

We have many strong men amongst us, too, of whom Ramamurti, Himmat Bux, K. D. Seal, Bhabani Shaw and G. P. Garga of Mahishadal are of the greatest note. Of these Ramamurti, K. D. Seal, and and Bhabani can support a big elephant on the chest. Ramamurti is the originator of the elephant act; no one in the whole world had even dreamt of this feat before. There are few people in this country who have not seen the great Ramamurti, so it would be needless to enter into a description of his feats. By throwing away a huge weight of 8,000lbs, Ramamurti has become the ideal of weightlifters and is accepted as the foremost of them. Before him Mr. Shyama Kanta Bannerji also became famous for similar strength feats and tiger taming. Shaw is known to Bengalees as Bheem Bhabani. He is not more than 25 or 26 years of age now. He began physical culture at the age of 12. He is a professed master of Wrestling. He was with Prof. Ramamurti's troupe for several years. The Chest measurement of Ramamurti is 48″ normal and 57 expanded. He can keep his chest inflated for 10 odd minutes. Bhabani runs the tape round his chest at 42″ normal and 48″ expanded. Ramamurti can support a stone weighing 8,000lbs (about 100 mds.), he can stop a 22 h. p. motor, can break a $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick iron chain by the sheer strength of his biceps muscles and

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he is the first "Human Roadway" for two fully loaded bullock carts. Bhabani can also do these wonderful feats.

K. D. Seal has also shown his great strength like Bhabani. Mr. Garga of Mahishadal had challenged Gotch for a wrestling match, which was to take place anywhere on earth; he was also ready to deposit 1,20,000 as side stake, but Gotch had never replied to his challenge.

I have here only endeavoured to show to my readers, that the Indian athletes do deserve championship honor, and like most others, excuse me for the words, are not "fakes" and side-steppers.

SACHINDRANATH MAZUMDAR,

Member of the Health and Strength League, and the British Amateur Weight-lifters' Association, London; Hony. Instructor & Secretary, Physical Culture Branch, Allahabad Sporting Club, Allahabad.

A CURIOUS NORTH INDIAN SUPERSTITION AND ITS PERSIAN AND AFRICAN ANALOGUES

THE ancient Romans had a very lively dread of omens and portents such as earthquakes, monstrous births, temples struck by lightning, statues overthrown, wolves entering the city, and so forth. If such an event occurred, the equanimity of their minds was disturbed to such an extent that they reported it to the pontifices from the places where they were supposed to have happened. If the latter thought that these portents, which boded evil to the whole Roman nation, required some expiation or the performance of some sacrificial rites in order to nullify their apprehended evil effect, they were recorded in the pontifical books. It is not only the uneducated ancient Romans who were subject to this superstitious dread of omens and portents, but some of the educated men were also victims of this nervousness. Professor W. W. Fowler has told us* that educated men like Sulla, Cicero, Varro, Cato and Brutus had this strong vein of superstition in their natures. It has been reported of Sulla by Plutarch that he always carried with him a small image of Apollo which he kissed from time to time and to which he prayed silently in times of danger. Those three eminent Romans of philosophical learning—Cicero, Varro and Cato—were thrown into a fit of terror by a prophecy which would have been pooh-poohed by moderns possessed of a similar degree of culture. In this connection we should recall to our minds how Brutus was frightened by the appearance to him, on the eve of the Battle of Philippi, of a gigantic and terrible apparition which stood silently by his side and which has been transformed by the Bard of Avon into the ghost of Cæsar and used to unify his play.

A similar vein of superstitious dread of portents and monstrous births sways the human nature in rural India even at the present day. Among these monstrous births may be mentioned that of a child possessed of a tooth. To the mind of the simple unlettered rustic in Northern India, there cannot be a portent foreboding direr evil, shadowing forth greater calamities, to the family than the ushering into it of a baby possessing a tooth. Should its entry into this world be followed by the death of a few of the paterfamilias's livestock from some—to him mysterious cause, should some member of his family die even from natural causes shortly after the birth of such a child, the unsophisticated paterfamilias of the North Indian countryside immediately sets about to reason in this way:—"Well, this child has been born with a tooth. Is not this uncanny and supernatural? Surely, it must be so, because babies, in the usual course of nature, teeth several months after their birth! Then again, everything up till now had been going on swimmingly with me and mine. But shortly after this beggarly brat had made his entry into my family,

* *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero.* By W. Warde Fowler, M. A. London: Macmillan & Co. Ld. 1908. Pp. 344—346.

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my cattle began to die off though there was no murrain in my neighbourhood; my so-and-so died though he was hale and hearty. Surely, the baby must be possessed of some sinister influence which is inflicting all these calamities upon me. I am as sure as I am of my own existence that this child with the tooth must be some demon—some *rakshasha*—in human shape."

The next thought that engages his attention is: "How are the coming evils, the impending calamities to be averted? How should the fountain-head of all this evil be prevented from exercising its baleful influence any further?" Thereupon he consults some Brahman priest or astrologer who, with an eye to feathering his own nest well in this business, advises his client to perform some *hom* or sacrificial ceremony for propitiating the wrathful gods who have sent this fiend to torment him. The costly *puja* or expiatory ceremony is performed; the Brahman priest gets all his perquisites in the shape of his fees, the fruits, the sweets and the rice; the unsophisticated villager goes away with the impression that, with the performance of the *puja*, the dire calamity impending over him has been averted and he is safe for the rest of his life. But, poor mortal, he is labouring under a mockery and a delusion. Lo and behold! his cattle begin to die off again; very likely he himself—the pater familias—the very performer of the *hom* ceremony—falls ill and lies nigh unto death's door.

Then he again sets about to think and says to himself: "Good gracious! That Brahman—that family-priest of mine—is a downright rogue. He has cheated me out of my money right and left. The money I spent in performing the *hom* ceremony has gone for nothing, for it has not warded off the malignant influence hovering over my head and my house. See! my cattle are again dying off; and what is the unkindest cut of all is that I myself am lying ill and nigh unto death's door. What is to be done now? What should I now do to ward off for good the evil impending over me?" Then he again revolves matters in his mind and, lo and behold! a dark thought flashes across his brain. He murmurs to himself: "What, if I should kill this monstrous child—this fiend in human shape—and bury it in some out-of-the-way place! Who is there to blab out my secret deed? Dead men tell no tales." Spurred on by this sinister idea, he makes up his mind to kill the baby and bury it secretly. Last and ghastly scene of all that ends this uncanny tragedy is that wherein we find him taking the new-born child with the tooth to some unfrequented outskirt of his village and burying it alive in the belief that he is thereby ridding himself and his family of a dangerous source of evil and calamity.

I have already set forth in my paper on "*The Evolution of Superstition about Unlucky Days and Objects*" * that this is precisely the sort of reasoning which is resorted to not only by people in a low plane of culture but also by civilized men in accounting for the growth of their superstitious beliefs. The psychological doctrine of the Association of Ideas lies at the root of all these beliefs.

That the aforementioned curious North Indian belief was evolved as the result of the process of reasoning set forth above is nowhere more convincingly demonstrated than in the following account of a case wherein an attempt was made to perpetrate the ritual murder of a child supposed to be a monster in human shape, and which happened in the early part of 1914 in the district of Azamgarh in the United Provinces of Northern India :—

"Azamgarh district not long ago became famous through the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Barber as he slept on a charpoy outside his bungalow one night, and the clever piece of detective work by which the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Reynolds, discovered the murderers and brought them to justice. An almost more horrible story now comes from the same district, more tragic in many respects and certainly more strange, a story which might almost make one despair of rustic Indian human nature, did not the thought come to the mind that, in Russia, many people still believe that ritual murder is practised by Jews, and that not so long ago English peasants used to drown unfortunate old women whom they suspected of witchcraft.

"The story is as follows: Not long ago information was brought to the Pawai thana, on the extreme western border of the district, that the partially eaten remains of an infant had been found lying in a jungle. The Thanadar, though an old man, is full of energy, so mounting his tat he galloped off to the place. He viewed the remains, and, in hopes of finding a clue to the mystery, he decided to visit any burial-places there might be round about, to see if there were signs there that hyænas had dug up the body and dragged it away to make their ghastly meal of it. Such an incident would be horrifying enough to people not acquainted with the wild countryside of

* *Vide* the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. II, pp. 225-242.

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India; but, as a matter of fact, the child whose body had suffered this degradation plays no part in the story, nor is the explanation on record of how the remains came to be in the jungle. It is merely mentioned because it prompted the Thanadar to pay an unexpected visit to the nearest burial-ground, and that brought him to the discovery of the real tragedy. He was informed that, about a mile and a half away, was a dry pond used by the villagers as a graveyard, and thither he straightway rode. He found there our men standing by the side of a newly filled in grave, and dismounting he went up to chat with them. He had just put one or two searching questions when a sound which he described as "ma-a-a" came from the ground directly under his feet. He jumped, according to his own account, about 14 feet into the air; and then, though shaking as if with the palsy, he had the presence of mind to capture three of the four grave-diggers. Another cry like the bleat of a lamb was heard, so the Thanadar hastily ordered the grave to be opened. It was shallow and the work did not take long, and soon there came to view a month old baby girl—alive! The Thanadar did his best for it and had it fed on milk. Whether he overfed it or whether it had suffered some fatal injury from the burial alive cannot be said. At any rate the baby soon died. It only remained to discover what had prompted this abominably cruel act. The story which his enquiries elicited is a curious instance of the depths to which superstition will drive ignorant people. The case will doubtless come before the law courts in time, but I give the story as it was told to the police. *The little girl, it seems, had one tooth when she was born, and this fact added to the disgust with which Indian parents greet the birth of a daughter prepared their minds for untoward events.* Unfortunately for the baby, circumstances increased their suspicion of so abnormal an infant. Three days after her birth, six sucking pigs of the village were found dead. They had probably been overlaid by their mother; but in the village it was attributed to the presence of the baby with a tooth. The next day a calf died. There are many causes which may bring about the death of a calf, but the villagers were by now in no mood to seek for rationalistic explanations. The day after, a house in the village was burnt down. That was the last straw. So they called in a Brahman to exorcise the spirit of bad luck. *The soothsayer confirmed the theory that the baby with a tooth was possessed of a rakshasha but volunteered to expel it* on the usual terms of liberal hospitality for himself and his party. So the parents gave him of their best, regardless of expense; and, after reciting some *mantras*, the holy man and his friends departed. But the curse was not removed. That very night the luckless baby's father fell ill. He had probably finished the remains of the Brahman's feast, and the unaccustomed richness of the food had upset him. But of course, he jumped to the conclusion that the *rakshasha* in his daughter was too strong for the Brahman's *mantras*. The expense of the entertainment had been wasted. At all costs, he determined to get rid of the baby. To kill her would be murder; but it occurred to him that if he had her buried alive he would be guiltless of blood. With the same sort of idea the ancient Hellenes exposed their superfluous children on the mountains, leaving them "to the gods." And so the tragedy was enacted, and only the coincidence of another baby's body being eaten by wild beasts enabled the police to prevent the "bloodless" killing being carried right through and passing into oblivion as one of the unrecorded tragedies of India."†

We should now see whether there is current, in any other part of Northern India, the same superstitious belief about the child born with a tooth, or some other belief akin to it. We find that, though the identically exact form of belief is not current in any other part thereof, there prevails in the districts of Rangpur and Malda in Northern Bengal the superstitious belief that, if a child teeths before the performance of his "First Rice Ceremony," he will be short-lived, and that the only way of averting the evil is to marry him to a bitch. The prevalence of this belief has been vouched for by the *Dik Prakash* (a Bengali newspaper published in Rangpur) from which the *Indian Mirror* (of Calcutta) for Saturday, the 25th May 1912, has culled the following extract bearing upon the same:—

"A child in some village of the Rangpur District, writes the *Dik Prakash*, recently married a bitch. There is a superstition among the low class people of the district that dentition before the "First Rice" ceremony, which usually takes place at the age of seven months, is an omen of the child's short life; and the canine union is believed to be a great antidote for the evil."

Now, the above item of intelligence suggests the two following questions:—

(a) What is a "First Rice Ceremony"?

(*b*) Why is the child married to a bitch for warding off the threatened curse of short life?

The "First Rice Ceremony" is otherwise known as the *Annaprashana*. It is generally called by the womenfolk as the "*Bhujno*", that is "*Bhojana*" or the feast. It is the ceremony performed for giving rice for food to an infant for the first time and generally celebrated when the child is seven months old. The goddess Shashthi, who presides over child-birth and is the protecting deity of children, is, first of all, worshipped; and then the child is fed with rice, the whole ceremony winding up with a feast to which relatives and friends are treated. The readers of Rev. Lalbihari De's *Bengal Peasant Life* will recall to their mind the way as to how Badan celebrated the *Annaprashana* ceremony of his son Govinda Chandra Samanta, the details thereof and of the feast that followed thereafter.

† *Vide* the article entitled "*Buried Alive—Another Azamgarh Tragedy*" in the *Pioneer* for Wednesday the 18th March 1914.

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Then I come to the next point. In Bengal when the first-born child dies in infancy, or two or more children die successively during their babyhood, the mother pretends to sell her next-born child to the *dhatri* or midwife in exchange for 9, 7, 5, 3, 2, or 1 cowries in the belief that she is thereby transferring it from her own family to that of the latter and that, by this device, the malignant spirit will be cheated out of his intended victim. Many other expedients are resorted to, as for instance, the child is called by an opprobrious name; or, if it is a male, it is dressed up as a girl and *vice versa*; or its nose or ears are bored and rings put in therein. By doing all these, it is believed that the Devil will pass over the child in contempt and think it beneath his dignity to make a victim of it. To my mind, the Rangpur custom of marrying the child to a bitch has the same root-idea underlying it as that whereon the practice of selling the child to the midwife is based, namely, that of deluding Old Nick and cheating him out of his intended prey.

The variants of the belief from Azamgarh in U. P. and from Rangpur in Northern Bengal, which have been discussed *supra*, are current among the Hindus only. We have, now, to see whether either of them or any modified form thereof is prevalent among a non-Hindu people. In the course of a rapid survey of the folklore literature of the world, I have found that a variant of this superstitious belief exists among the Persians who are all Moslems of the Shiah sect. Major P. M. Sykes—an acknowledged authority on the customs of Persia—has told us that "Persian mothers nurse their children for two years and the first tooth is watched for even more anxiously than with us, for should a tooth in the upper jaw appear first, the parents will suffer terrible bad luck and even die unless, to avert the evil, the child is thrown from the roof. To avoid this remedy being worse than the disease, four men catch the falling infant in a blanket."* The custom of killing children born with their teeth also prevails among the Negroes of Africa.†

If we compare the three variants, we find that those from Azamgarh and Persia agree with each other in this respect, namely, that the evil apprehended from the child's teething is supposed to overtake its parents; whereas the modified form current in Rangpur presupposes that the evil will only affect the child itself and shorten its life. The device employed by the believers in the two former variants, for averting the apprehended calamity is the killing of the child either actually or symbolically; whereas the expedient adopted by those who believe in the Rangpur form of the superstition consists of the harmless and magical practice of marrying the child to a bitch. The Persians adopt the make-believe of killing the child by throwing it from the roof; but its life is saved by four men catching the falling infant in a blanket. Whereas the superstitious rustic of Azamgarh sought to kill the child outright by burying it alive. It is only the intervention of the police that saved its life—and alas! that only temporarily, for it died shortly afterwards of some injury it had sustained. Would to God that the unsophisticated villagers of the countryside in the U.P. may wake up and see the absurdity of their superstitious belief and, in order to fulfil the requirements of custom, adopt some make-believe whereby they would be enabled, while pretending to kill the child, to actually save its life!

* Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II., page 629.

† *The World of Today*. By A. R. Hope Moncrieff. Vol. III. London: The Gresham Publishing Company. (No date). pp. 120-122.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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AHALYA

(Ahalya, sinning against the purity of married love, incurred her husband's curse, turning into a stone to be restored to her humanity by the touch of Ramchandra).

Struck with the curse in midwave of your tumultuous passion your life stilled
into a stone, clean, cool and impassive.
You took your sacred bath of dust, plunging deep into the primitive peace
of the earth.
You lay down in the dumb immense where faded days drop,
like dead flowers with seeds, to sprout again into new dawns.
You felt the thrill of the sun's kiss with the roots of grass and trees
that are like infant's fingers clasping at mother's breast.
In the night, when the tired children of dust came back to the dust, their rhythmic
breath touched you with the large and placid motherliness of the earth.
Wild weeds twined round you their bonds of flowering intimacy;
You were lapped by the sea of life whose ripples are the leaves' flutter, bees' flight,
grasshoppers' dance and tremor of moth's wings.
For ages you kept your ear to the ground, counting the footsteps of the unseen
comer, at whose touch silence flames into music.

Woman, the sin has stripped you naked, the curse has washed you pure, you have
risen into a perfect life.
The dew of that unfathomed night trembles on your eyelids,
the mosses of ever-green years cling to your hair.
You have the wonder of new birth and the wonder of old time in your awakening.
You are young as the newborn flowers and old as the hills.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE SHADOW ON THE PATH

BY ANNIE O. TIBBITS,

AUTHOR OF "THE PRIDE OF THE POOR," "LOVE WITHOUT PITY," "PAID IN FULL," &c.

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I.

FOR the fifth time the shadow lay across the path, grim and menacing across the white snow, a gaunt shadow stretching out a ragged arm pointing towards the house.

"I don't like it, and that's the truth," Enid Lancaster said, shivering a little. "It's silly to be so superstitious, but it is just like a finger of Fate pointing to us—it's like the shadow of a woman threatening me."

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She waited a moment or two before she went in, staring with half-fascinated eyes at the queer shadow which fell across the path between the house and the gate. It was no doubt a combination of the doctor's light next door and the street lamp outside, as she explained to Elizabeth, but it was odd enough. They had been in the house six weeks before it appeared. And now this was the fifth time—the fifth time the gaunt shadow of a woman had lain across the path!

"I'll go and get Elizabeth to keep me company till Philip comes," she said to herself. "I feel just stupid to-night. Oh, that horrid tree; I'll have it cut down to-morrow."

As she crossed the room and the light fell on her face she looked very young, but it was the look of youth some women bear into their very old age, and Enid Lancaster had known trouble and sorrow and loneliness, and to-night the wind reminded her of the thirty years of poverty which had ended only a year ago when a legacy gave her competence. She had now plenty for herself and her old servant who lived with her, but not quite enough to keep and educate the little lad who lay smiling in his sleep upstairs; and somehow the wind reminded her unpleasantly of this fact. By adopting the boy she had straitened her means—had put the burden on her shoulders again which she had longed so to throw off. Why had she done it? She could not tell, except that there had been a look in the childish eyes as he lay in the Home for Homeless Children that overwhelmed her. He was a wretched little waif with frightened eyes, who started at sounds and shrank from a touch. He had evidently been half starved and badly treated, for there were ugly bruises on his little body, and had been at last left unconscious on the doorstep of the Home—deserted, abandoned, and Enid had not the heart to resist the look in his eyes when she saw him thus.

She opened the door giving on to the passage, and started a little as a sudden draught of cold air caught her face. She looked out and found the front door open, and the figure of an old woman outlined against the light.

"Elizabeth!" she cried. "What are you looking at?"

The woman turned, and as she did so the wind rose up and swept round the house with a peculiar cry.

"Just hark at that, miss. That there cry in the wind ain't no more natural than the shadder yonder."

"Oh, what nonsense, Elizabeth," Enid cried. But she shivered still, and going to the door peered out into the cold night. "You know you liked the house," she added.

"Aye, miss, 'tis all right to the look on it, but you don't know a house till you lives in it. There's no truer sayin' than that, and there's no 'countin' for the happenings since we've been here." Her voice sank suddenly. There had been noises, whisperings, sounds of strange footsteps. No one in the town could tell them anything, no one had suspected the little grey house was haunted, but that it was, Elizabeth was convinced. Not only had that mysterious shadow taken to lying across the path, but there had been other things too, and only the night before last the most mysterious thing of all had happened. On the landing she had stopped to strike a light. She struck three matches, and three times in succession they had been blown out sharply by some strange breath. At the third Elizabeth fled to Enid.

"The house is haunted," she declared. "There's ghosteses outside and in; whatever for did ye come here, Miss Enid?"

"Well, this house is cheap, and we must manage in it until I marry. Oh, Elizabeth, I used to think I was the most unlucky wretch in the whole world, and now—now how it has changed! Why, isn't it queer, Elizabeth, six months ago I had not met Dr. Manners, nor seen the boy, and if it hadn't been for the boy being ill I should never have met Dr. Manners. Now—oh, it's like a fairy tale. Dr. Manners loves me, and for my sake he's going to love the boy, too. He says I may give all my income to him; in fact, he wishes me to do it.

"He's an onhuman sort o'man," put in Elizabeth stolidly; "too good for this world, I reckon."

"Yes, he is," cried Enid. "He's a good fellow. And oh, Elizabeth, I'm a lucky woman."

"Well, I might think so," said Elizabeth unmoved, "if it weren't for these queer things as happen. And that sadder—I dunna like it, miss, that I don't."

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They stood together staring out. On the snow-covered paths the shroud lay immovable.

"It seems to be threatenin' thee," Elizabeth said again in a loud voice.

"Oh, but how can it be?" Enid cried. "There is nothing to threaten."

Nothing! as in reply, almost in defiance of her remark, something stirred amongst the bushes.

"Look you, it moved," cried Elizabeth sharply.

Enid gave a little cry and stared forward.

"Oh, you goose," she cried, "it is only the wind moving the tree. It's—hark! —oh, it isn't anything at all—it isn't the shadow. It's Dr. Manners—coming at last."

A tall figure strode forward out of the darkness and on to the white covering of the path.

"Enid! my darling. At last," he said.

II.

"Philip, it's too silly for words, but I'm afraid."

"Afraid, sweetheart? Of what?"

"Of a shadow."

"A shadow?" he cried. "Well really. Is it your own?"

He was a tall, grave looking man, with a humorous twist to his lips which somehow belied the sadness in his eyes.

"No, but Philip, it unnerves me and frightens Elizabeth to death. It lies across the garden path—oh you might have seen it—just like a human figure. It's been there for five nights now. It comes and goes. Sometimes we look out and see the pathway bare and empty, and at other times—there it is. It's there now tonight."

"Somebody watching the house, evidently," Dr. Manners said, half to himself.

"But there's nothing to watch for," Enid cried. "I've got nothing worth stealing."

"No, but I was wondering if perhaps Percy Hinton—"

"Oh, not he," cried Enid flushing. "Why should he?"

"Well, it was a big blow to him when he found you were engaged to me," Dr. Manners answered. "He never suspected it, of course. I stepped in rather quickly, eh, darling? I couldn't wait—I wanted to be sure of you—and he didn't even know I knew you. Perhaps he hasn't given up hope yet. But it's no good. Nothing shall ever separate us now, Enid."

He caught her to him with a sudden fierceness in his grip, and as he stared out over her head, as he held it against his breast, his eyes had suddenly in them an odd look of pain or fear.

"Enid, say it. Promise you will never let anything come between us? You will love me always!"

"Love you? Oh, Philip, Philip! As if anything could ever alter me! I'm the luckiest woman in the world. Why, all the town envies me. You could have had your choice—you, the most popular doctor and friend in the place."

He shook his head a little, and again there came to his eyes that odd look of pain.

"Everybody loves you," Enid whispered, "from the rich people down to the very poor, and oh, I love you for that—for all your work amongst the poor."

"Don't," he said with a sudden sharpness in his voice. "I doctor amongst the poor because I like hard work," he broke off abruptly. "But never mind that, let us go and unearth your shadow. I expect it will turn out to be Hinton. I never saw a man more knocked over than he did when I told him. Perhaps you had better stay indoors, darling. I won't be long."

"No, I'll come with you," Enid said. Somehow, at the mention of Percy Hinton an odd fear assailed her. She had never thought of him, but now it seemed only too likely to be the explanation of the shadow, and, perhaps, also of the mysterious footsteps they had heard wandering sometimes about the house at dead of night.

"No, I'm coming out with you," she said.

"I'd rather you didn't."

"No, I'll come. It may be nothing after all. The trees are thick there. It may be only the cast of the light through them. We'll go together."

Snow was beginning to fall now, pattering softly over the leaves, and every now and then eddying violently as the wind caught them and flung them wildly about. The icy cold of the night had deepened.

"We're going to have a bad month of it," Dr. Manners remarked lightly. "Elizabeth tells me that the new moon came in bad, and declared that we may expect worse

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than the worse as it reaches the full; but let's see into this shadow. It is one of the trees, no doubt."

He paused a moment to look down the little path and at the dark figure still stretched across it, a shadow still sinister in the moonlight.

"It's decidedly queer," he said, "but it can probably be quite easily explained. You see Dr. Price's light yonder, no doubt that accounts for it. Let us go and see."

He stepped forward as he spoke, and took a few quick steps down the path, peering up at the trees and bushes which grew thickly, and divided the other doctor's house from Enid's.

Abruptly he stopped. There was a sudden quick movement in the bushes, a quick, sharp, broken cry, and a figure sprung out of them and flew like a hare down the path and out into the road. It was a woman. She flung open the gate violently and disappeared.

Enid gave a cry.

"Oh, Philip, how silly we have been; it was nothing after all, only a poor half-witted creature I gave some work to the other day."

"A poor, half-witted——" His voice was strangely halting and broken. "A woman —you gave work to?"

"Yes. She was a stranger here. I'm afraid she drinks, but anyhow, I couldn't help helping her, and she did seem so grateful. Elizabeth thinks she's half crazy. Why, Philip, Philip, what is the matter?"

He passed a shaking hand across his face.

"God help us!" he cried. "She is my wife!"

III.

Dazed, almost motionless, Enid sat while the minutes ticked wearily by. It seemed like hours since Philip had half led, half dragged her into the house and away from the now empty, shadowless path.

"Yes, go on," she said at last. "Tell me."

He roused himself. He had dropped heavily into a chair burying his face in his hands.

"I must seem a scoundrel to you," he said. "I told you she was dead, and until five minutes ago I honestly believed she was. I meant to tell you all about her—some day—some day when I was quite sure of your love for me. But we've known each other such a short time. It can't be six months since you came here and took this house and called me in to attend the child."

"And that was like fate too," Enid said slowly. "If Dr. Price next door hadn't been out it would have been he who would have attended Dick. Now—oh, go on, tell me what it means."

"I'll go—after her—in a moment," he said hoarsely. "I must find her, of course, but I can't yet—not for a few minutes. My wife! And I thought—I thought I buried her six years ago! Heaven help me—six years ago!"

He got up suddenly and began pacing about the room.

"She was the daughter of a man who befriended me when I was a boy," he said, "and when he lay on his deathbed I promised him I would take care of her and look after her. There seemed to me only one way of doing that. I married her. Six months later I discovered what even her father did not dream of, perhaps, indeed, it had lain dormant in her before—perhaps disappointment and despair developed it, for I found out, too, that she had been jilted by a man she had loved desperately, and that she was secretly drugging and drinking. How long she had been doing it I don't know—ever since our marriage, I think—anyhow she was hopeless. I tried to cure her and thought I had succeeded. For two years she managed to deceive me; then one night I came home to find her gone. She left a note telling me she had had the chance of going on the stage and was going to take it and was leaving me for ever. The next thing I heard before even I had time to take any steps to find her was that she was dead."

He broke off abruptly. His face was convulsed and drawn and grey.

"You can guess what it meant to me," he said, "and, Heaven forgive me, the relief! The news came that she had been lost in the burning of a theatre. I went up North to try to identify her, and I thought I did."

His bitter words died sharply, and for a moment he stood motionless. Then abruptly he turned.

"You see," he said, "she lied even in that. She had never joined that company at all. Evidently she was not there—the bones I buried were the bones of some other poor creature, unidentified, who lost

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her life in the fire. As she had lied and deceived me in all the three years of our married life so she deceived me then. All this time she has made no sign—not a word to tell me that she was alive. She has no doubt done it on purpose, and God only knows why she should seek to do me harm, for I did my best for her. I tried to be just to her."

"Oh, Philip! And you must go to her. Your wife!"

Alone! Always alone now—only the child upstairs to comfort her.

That night snow fell heavily. It was the wildest storm that had been known for years, and next morning the thick white seemed to have covered all the world. It lay in great drifts upon the woods and fields. It seemed to have smothered everything, and outside Enid's cottage the path-way was obliterated and the great heap of shrubs and bushes burried under the white.

The shadow had gone! That night when the snow had ceased, the moon, sailing high and full, showed sharp and clear nothing but a broad expanse of snow right down to the gate and beyond. No shadow now; all clear and open.

The garden gate clicked, and Enid's heart gave a jump and grew suddenly warm. She rose to her feet, with the colour coming sharply into her face. If it should be Philip—come back?

Her colour died sharply, and all the cold swept back into her heart as there entered into the room not Philip, but Percy Hinton.

"You!" she exclaimed.

"I had to come," he answered. "Manners has told me—he asked me to come to you. Enid—Enid, I want to take his place. He knows it. I want to help you."

"No one can help me," she said, with a choking sob in her voice. "No one can take his place, only the child—Dick. I've got him to live for, after all."

"Enid, you can't waste your life because—because of Manners' misfortune. Enid, I'm rich, I can give you all you want—you and the child. I can do more for him than you can, and I will. Won't you trust me, Enid?"

For a moment the temptation was almost irresistible, but the next the thought of all she had lost, of the man she loved, and the shadow that had crept between them to wreck their lives overwhelmed her. She dropped suddenly to her knees and leaned her face against a chair.

"Oh, Philip, Philip!" she sobbed.

Percy Hinton stood stiff and rigid. A change—a sudden look came over his face. He bit his lips.

"It was his wish," he said in a queer, muffled voice. "He—he sort of gave you to me. He asked me, Enid, because he knows how I love you."

"I can't! I can't!" sobbed Enid. "I love Philip, and no other man can take his place. Oh, leave me, leave me."

"I can't," Percy said. "Have pity on me, Enid. I've loved you longer than he has. I've known you longer, and I'll do all he would—and more. Enid, he couldn't love you as I love you and he ought to have told you before about his wife—he said so himself."

"Oh, no, no, it doesn't matter anyhow," cried Enid wildly. "It doesn't make any difference. She's alive, and—she is his wife as long as she lives."

"And she may live forty years," Percy cried quickly; "there's every likelihood of it. Oh, Enid, marry me and let me take you away where you will forget it all. Let me make you forget."

"I can't!"

"Manners knows I was coming to you to-night. He wished me luck. It would be the best thing for you, he said, and you will never see him again. He hasn't found his wife; he knows she doesn't mean to be found, and he has gone away himself. He has left word where she can find him if she wants to, but he couldn't stay here any longer and he has gone."

"Gone!" Enid cried with white lips.

"Yes. He said he should catch the seven o'clock train, and it's eight now."

"Eight!" Enid gave a cry. "Eight, and at this time last night—oh, Philip, Philip!

She moved forward towards the window as she spoke.

"This time last night I was waiting for him," she cried, "and, staring at the shadow—the shadow on the path outside. It's clear now, but last night she—his wife was hiding in the bushes, and her shadow fell right across the path. Why did she hide there like that? Did she know Dr. Manners was engaged to me?"

"I daresay," Percy said grimly. "No doubt she had some idea of hurting you.

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Perhaps she might have let you marry him before she showed herself. May be she would have waited night after night if you had'nt found her out. She was a malignant woman."

"How do you know?" asked Enid.

"I guessed it," he said slowly.

Enid at the window had pulled aside the curtain, and now suddenly she gave a cry.

"Look! Look! The shadow again! There across the snow! Look!"

The next moment she had flung open the window and was out on the path, leaving the curtain moving in the draught and the bitter cold of the night drifting into the room.

Enid was standing on the path, her hands on the shoulders of a man who stood before her, her face uplifted to his.

Percy drew back, breathing sharply. He went a sudden deathly white.

"Manners!" he said.

The moon drifted slowly, and the light of the lamp in the street outside threw their united shadow right to his feet. He drew back, and out of the silence of the night he heard Manners' voice speaking.

"I can't go without saying good-bye," he cried. "I couldn't go without seeing you once more for the last time. Hinton will have told you what I told him. I'm going back to my old house in London—the place where she and I lived—where I tried in vain to cure her. She may come back to me there—some day. Or—or—she may let me know—something of her. I've been searching all to-day and without any success. No one has seen her. I've left instructions with the police, and I shall set detectives to work in London, but it won't be surprising if we never find her. No doubt she does not mean to be found. But oh, Enid—Enid!"

His voice broke and Percy heard it, and heard Enid's reply with a pain that in all his selfish life he had never felt before.

He waited a moment or two; then suddenly a little ghost staggered in at the window and groped her way into the room.

"He's gone—for ever," she said, "and my heart is broken."

"You'll forget—you'll forget," Percy cried, coming forward towards her quickly, "in time."

She started upright.

"If you don't want to make me hate you—go," she cried. "Go and don't let me ever see you again. You will remind me of him—oh, Philip! I shall never be able to look at you again without remembering. Oh, go. I wish I were dead—oh, indeed, indeed, I wish I were dead!"

Her voice died in the room, and for what seemed a long time there was no sound but the flapping of the blind and the dull drag of the curtain in the window. Then suddenly out of the silence rose a child's frightened cry, and Enid started to her feet.

"It's Dick—my little Dick," she said running across the room.

Before she got to the door Percy stopped her.

"Let me speak for God's sake," he cried, "or I never shall. Let me speak while I want to or I shall be mad again tomorrow, and then it will be too late. Manners' wife is dead—dead. Don't you hear what I say? She's dead—and her body's in a drift—right down at the bottom of Colcut's Drift—right under the snow, and she won't be found for weeks, if then, but she's there. Listen, Enid. I've been mad—mad over you, and it's no good after all. I can't have you—I might have known it. But last night I was outside your gate, and I heard Manners cry out, and I saw the woman rush away and out into the road. I followed her. She walked very slowly, and every now and then stopped as if she could scarcely get along. I could see she was very ill, but I waited until she got right outside the town, and then I stopped her.

"I was almost too late. She was dying. She could scarcely gasp out what she told me, but she managed it at last, and died there in the snow, then it was the madness seized me. I thought if she could remain hidden I could win you—marry you before the truth came out. I picked her up—she was a mere bundle of skin and bones and rags—and carried her across the fields to Colcut's Drift. It's fairly deep and now it is half filled with snow. You can imagine how I watched all night seeing it falling, falling, falling, burying her deeper and ever deeper. I thought I was quite safe. I should have been, but I can't bear to see you unhappy and that child— The cry of the child undid me, Enid—Enid—the boy you have adopted is Manners' son."

"What?"

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"Manners' boy. He was born after his wife left him, and that is what brought her here. She had starved and ill-treated him, and she had deserted him, but she was fond of him after all, and she found out about you and where you had taken him, and came here to watch. She used to stand night after night under the bushes, and once or twice she even got into the house to see him. She was the ghost that haunted you—Dick's mother. And now there is only one thing for me to do—to fetch Manners back."

She held out both her hands.

"Oh, God bless you," she cried.

* * * * *

An hour or two later, with Enid held close in his arms, Dr. Manners stood looking down upon his sleeping child.

"It was Fate," he said—"Fate that made you adopt the child and bring him here."

"It was God," Enid said slowly. "Oh, Philip, Philip, he belongs to both of us now!"

GURU GOVIND SINGH

ONE reads in the Upanishads of a small boy, Nachiketa, who, finding that his father was giving away worthless presents as *dakshina* to the priests in a big function, felt ashamed of the meanness and urged feelingly—"To whom will you give *me* as present, father?" The father replied in anger—"To Death."

To Death he was given and from Death this wonderful boy snatched deathless spiritual teachings for humanity.

A slight variation on the same theme I find in the life-story of Guru Govind Singh. When the Kashmiri pandits, pressed by Aurangzib to relinquish their faith, seek protection and advice from Tegh Bahadur, the Guru says—"Until some virtuous person sacrifices himself at the altar of faith, God's people will find no rest."

At this Govind Singh, the little boy of nine, springs up and says—"Father, who more virtuous than thyself? Give thyself unto Death for their sake."

A spark from the same fire ignites the fire, the father courts death at the court of Delhi and leaves a heritage of deathless nobility to his race.

Besides spiritual knowledge Nachiketa had acquired from death the secrets of lighting a special material fire which are lost to the Indian world. Govind Singh had no material knowledge, but learnt from Death only the art of igniting spiritual fire in the hearts of a people. The fire that digests all physical troubles, all temporal losses, all material discomfort, the fire that impels one to great actions, noble deeds and heroic efforts even unto death—that was the fire he culled from death and that is still stored up for the use of his countrymen in the pages of his life. It was this fire which made him years afterwards as a man, tell his own son of fourteen who, while proceeding to the battlefield, felt thirsty and halted for a cup of water—"Darling! tarry not! Angels are awaiting thee with a cup of the water of immortality; go and take it in the company of thy brother!"

The glow of this fire has spread far and wide over the horizon. Without knowing precisely whence it proceeded, how it proceeded, crowds and crowds of people have admired it. I have been one of the crowd: A decade ago I had placed Guru Govind Singh in the hierarchy of the heroes of India and taught my brethren in Bengal to offer *pushpanjali* to his memory on the eighth day of heroes in the Dussera Season.

Guru Govind Singh's is not a mere name any more but a spell to raise heroes out of inanities. To read his life is to long for habits of hardihood, for feats of sacrifice, abnegation and martyrdom for a cause,—to embrace a great and noble cause as life's companion and to subordinate all petty things to it.

These two boys of Indian soil—Nachiketa and Govind Singh, are harping in the

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ears of every Indian householder: "Father give *me*, your most valuable possession, up in a big cause: father give *thyself* up for a great cause."

But alas for the property of disintegration in things Indian century after century reformers have risen and tried to make Indians one and failed! From Buddha downwards every attempt to preach fellow-feeling and to break down the hard walls of caste between man and man has resulted in adding one more caste to the many existing already. Time after time several drops out of the ocean have separated from the ocean and combined to form a new group distinct from other groups similarly formed before, and stood in martial array against each part as well as the whole.

The opposition of the hill-chiefs to Guru Govind Singh's propaganda is a break-out of the same old disease of India. Guru Govind Singh's dream was

Turk Hindka jhagra mitaun,
Sagal srishti ek varna banaun.

He wanted, that is to say, to put an end to Hindu-Musalman disputes and to make all men of one caste. But his countrymen, including his own followers, are far lagging behind in the way of helping his dream to be realised. *Sagal varnas* have not become one. India has not become one, only a new body of men calling themselves Sikhs or the Khalsa have sprung to fight and be fought against by others of different denomination.

The ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur is said to have prophesied the coming of a white race from the south.

That white race has indeed come, and come to stay—till when?—Till the reason of its being here shall be no more, till we have learnt to do those things which we have been hitherto unable to do. When Indian minds have changed, when India has learnt the art of true fellow-feeling, when all the *varnas* of India have agreed to become one, then and then only will the conscious or unconscious mission of the white race be ended and not before.

The white race has to be instrumental in changing the soul of India by processes known to the Great Alchemist alone, before it can leave India.

SARALA DEVI.

GLEANINGS

A Wireless Telephone Message Across the Sea.

Since Babel fell, it may be said, no stranger thing has happened to human speech than that it should be heard 4,600 miles, as were the words of President Theodore N. Vail, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, on September 29, over a whole continent and half an ocean, with absolutely no visible medium of transmission. "It does not matter if for the present such a result is possible only under ideal conditions," declares William Marconi—whose own plans for telephoning without wires across the Atlantic were thwarted by the war—and he forthwith predicts "a fairly perfect service" in the near future. Even more optimistic is Dr. Peter Cooper Hewitt, whose inventions helped to make Mr. Vail's feat possible. "The time is close at hand," he says, "when it will be possible to talk half around the world." And when there is added to these hearty indorsements of the achievement of the Bell system the assurance of Prof. Michael I. Pupin, of Columbia University, that he has discovered a successful method of removing static disturbances and obstructions to wireless telephony, the importance of the New York-Hawaii message is manifest. This recent achievement, we are told, is the out-growth of tests made only this last spring, when the Bell telephone-system arranged its first aerial conversation between Montauk, L. I., and Wilmington, Del., a distance of but 250 miles. The decision to try for a transcontinental wireless was reached when a talk without wires from Montauk to St. Simon's Island, Me., convinced the engineers of the company that long-distance wireless telephony was indeed practicable. They set to work at once, under the direction of Engineers J. J. Carty and Lloyd Espenchied, and the first news of their success that the public received came with the announcement of the one-sided talk of President Vail to Engineer Carty, from the former's office in New York City by wire to Washington and thence by wireless to the latter at Mare Island Navy Yard, in San Francisco Bay. Then, to quote the New York *Times*' story:

"While over all the world was being flashed the news that the human voice had been sent by wireless telephony 2,500 miles through the air—from Washington to California—a lone operator in a frame hut at the foot of a towering mast on the shore of Pearl

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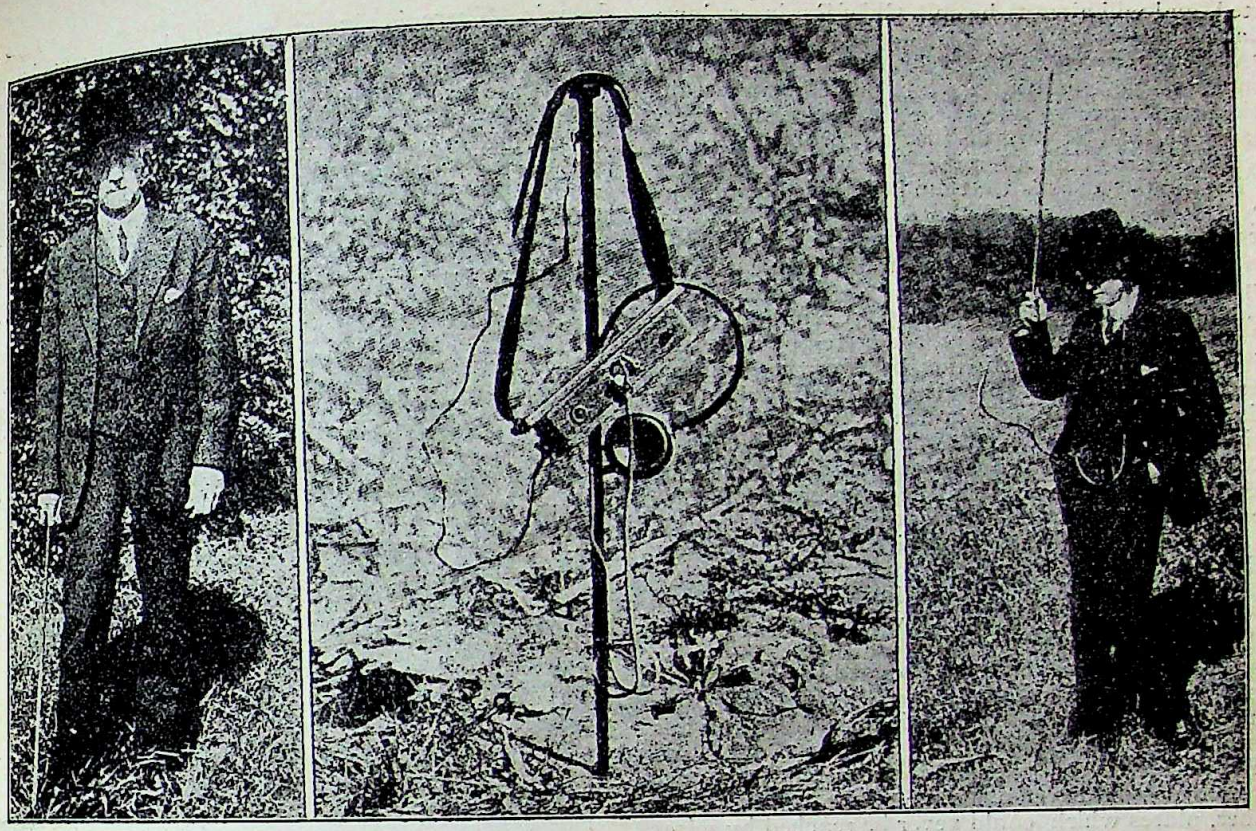

DR. H. BARRINGTON COX AND HIS "WALKING WIRELESS."

In the first picture Dr. Cox is equipped with his wireless-telegraph machine, but might easily pass unsuspected. The machine can be hidden away as easily in a khaki uniform as in a business suit. In the last picture the apparently aimless stroller is receiving messages from a "walking sending-station" at some distance away. This method is not a new one, we are told, but its possibilities are still undeveloped.

Harbor, Hawaii, knew the human voice had been heard almost twice that distance, for he had listened to words spoken in Washington, 4,600 miles away.

"That man was Lloyd Espenchied, an engineer for the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, who had been sent to the far-off Pacific island by President Theodore N. Vail to await the test, which came as a climax of more than a year's preparation. Espenchied carried with him only a receiving-instrument, and was therefore unable to talk back to the United States naval wireless staion at Arlington, Va. It was hours before he could get wireless-telegraph connection with Mare Island, Cal., and tell J. J. Carty, chief engineer of the telephone company, that a miracle had been wrought."

The public announcement by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company of the success of its experiment, continuing from the formal statement of the actual conversation, explains that—

"The distance over which this wireless communication was held is greater than the distance from New York to London, New York to Paris, or from New York to many other important points, such as Rome, Vienna, and Berlin.

"That transatlantic wireless communication is assured as soon as the disturbed conditions in Europe will permit of tests from this country is obvious when it is remembered that it is much more difficult to send wireless-telephone communication across land than across water. This wonderful wireless message from Washington to Hawaii had to pass over the width of the entire United States before it encountered the more simple wireless conditions of sending over water."

The actual mechanical details are not yet made public, but President Vail gives us an idea of the nature of the work:

"So far as the perfection of the wireless-telephone goes, there has been no new basic invention; merely a perfection of the sending and receiving-instruments. Of course, in the perfection of these delicate machines there have been minor inventions. But the principle is the transmission of sound by waves in the ether. In this the wireless telephone differs from the wireless telegraph. In the latter electric currents pass through the ether to the destination.

"In the wireless telephone nothing more or less has been done than to send messages precisely as they are sent over telephone-wires without the wires. By a powerful current, the most important factor, the vibrations at the sending-station are greatly magnified. The electric-telephone message that left Arlington was strong enough to run an engine; when it was received it was probably so weak that it could be recorded only by the sensitive receiving-instrument, which magnified the sound-waves precipitated through the ether so that they could make a record at Hawaii. To show that the wireless part of the message was analogous to the wire part, the message I sent to Mare Island was carried to Washington by wire, there thrown out by wireless, and picked up again on a wire at Mare Island before it was heard by Mr. Carty."

The scope of the wireless telephone is apparently

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limited, and will always be so. Chief Engineer Carty explains that—

"At certain times of the year, particularly in the summer, static conditions will make it uncertain. Static interference is one of the things we know very little about, and is one of the big problems to be solved. We are going after it.

"The number of calls that can be handled simultaneously on the wireless telephone is limited, but for emergency-use on long distances it will be invaluable, and for use in limited areas it should prove a great boon."

The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, rivals of the successful company in the attempt to perfect a wireless telephone, share the belief of the engineers of the Bell system that wireless telephony will never displace the present instrument. As their Vice-President, Edward J. Nally, remarks:

"My engineers have gone deeply into the question of replacing wire lines with the wireless, and they have decided that will not be done. In the first place, it is not conceived that the wire system of a city could be replaced by wireless, but the theory has been advanced that the trunk lines could be done away with, and that each city would have a great wireless station connecting with another great wireless station in another city. I do not believe this will be done. In the second place, the wireless telephone will not prove reliable, as the wireless telegraph has not always proved reliable.

"But the wireless telephone will render service where wires could never reach. Ships can talk to one another, places which could never be reached by wires for physical reasons will be put within range of easy communication. The wireless telephone adds to the wire telephone, but does not take its place."—*The Literary Digest.*

The War's Greatest Cartoonist.

Every Great Crisis has produced a great cartoonist—one who has given voice to the soul-thoughts of the people. By almost common consent the genius of the present war in the field here mentioned is the Dutch artist, Louis Raemaekers, of *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam). "He is irrepressible in the force and fervor with which he charges the enemy." Necessarily "the Dutch newspapers must be extremely cautious in giving expression to their views," yet Holland is so placed as to see nearest at hand the terribleness of modern warfare. "*De Telegraaf*, for which Mr. Raemaekers makes most of his drawings, is probably the finest and most outspoken journal in Holland, yet it probably would hesitate to express in type what a Rarmaekers cartoon will plainly say in a picture." It is evidently not regarded a breach of neutrality in Holland, "for an artist publicly to express his horror and detestation of war, or to point with unerring exactitude and bitter scorn to those responsible for the high crimes against humanity that have been committed on sea and shore in the name of military necessity.

"You feel that his heart, like that of the master caricaturist of France [Daumier], breaks under the sufferings of war's innocent victims. Almost uncanny are impressions he leaves us—impressions of pallid faces, eyes dilated with horror, ashes and white walls, the silence and coldness of death. Throughout all these phantasmagoric pictures there is no ray of hope, no hint of a partly obscured sun, Death itself stalks through the pages of his album, drinking from a cup of blood. Raemaekers is the portrayer of insanity, of famine, of despair. There is almost the touch of the madman in his work. It is like laughter in hell. The ghosts themselves might have stept from the grave and swept the crayon in cold lines across his drawing-board.

"Civilization as a wan, emaciated woman—she is almost Daumier's Spirit of Liberty—is bound and gagged. No touch of color lightens up her face. It is ashen. It is gray and dead. German Militarism,

The Mothers.

—By Louis Raemaekers.

a coarse, half-drunken brute, holds an automatic revolver to her head. 'Am I not a fine fellow?' he demands.

"To the outskirts of the Belgian village comes a workingman, a tiny, home-made coffin in his arms. They are digging trenches for the dead. Within the coffin lies the still form of his 'little Tineke,' who has been shot as a *franc-tireur.*

"Another nightmare glimpse into the heart of devastated Belgium. The picture is revealed to us as if it were cut out by a lightning-flash at night. Amid the ghostly ruins is a family group. Two old people, wasted by hunger and fatigue, lie half dead on the ground. A mother with the devil in her eyes—she is raving, insane—chafes the skeleton-like limbs of a little boy. Ah, but it is a jolly sort of war!

"But if you would know the real meaning of war, study his series of three—the mothers, the widows, and the children. Here are faces that will haunt one in his dreams. The mothers, in deep mourning, kneel before the altar in the flickering candle-light. They can bear the burden no longer. They have

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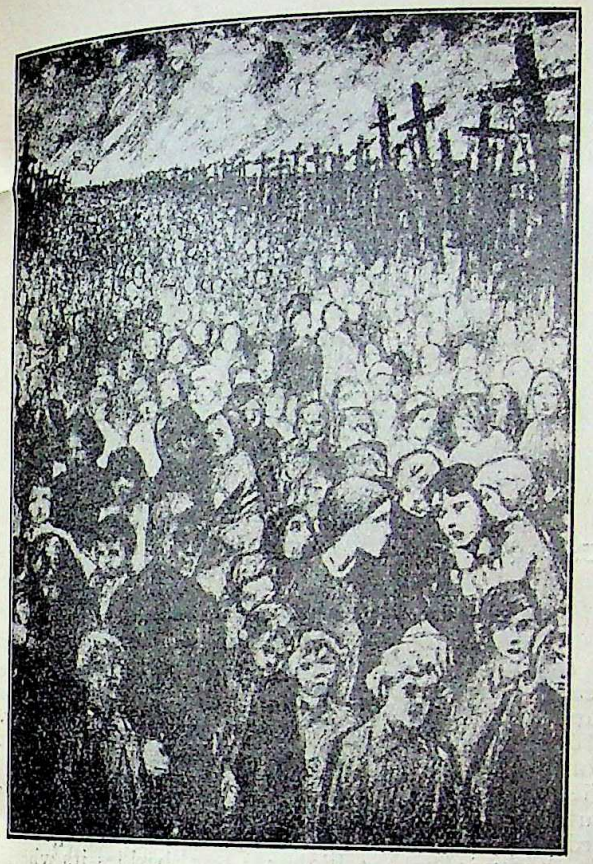

The Orphans.

—By Louis Raemaekers.

The Mothers.

- By Louis Raemaekers.

laid it at the Master's feet. The widows, pallid against the dark background, advance holding each other's hands. Here are the young wives, still in the May of love. Here are the older wives, whose love has ripened with the mellowing years. Then come the children down a line of wooden crosses. 'Father, where is your grave?' they ask. It is no more than a fleeting vision, this procession, the dim forms merging into the blur of crosses. But from the silence comes the voice of the artist: 'Kreuzland, Kreuzland, uber Alles!'"

The Dutch Government's request for a strict neutrality observed by the press has resulted in a "timid and hesitating tone" from the papers, but Belgium's woes brought forth a phalanx of artists "who had none of the timidity or faltering spirit that imposed silence on their brothers."

"In perfect harmony with the independent newspaper, *De Telegraaf*, for which he works, Raemaekers has continued his crusade for justice unafraid of menaces or attacks. Thus he has succeeded in showing his fellow citizens that one may remain neutral and even a pacifist without imposing on his convictions a cowardly silence as so many of his contemporaries have done. In doing so he has unsparingly wielded the whip of his biting satire. I refer particularly to one of his cartoons which is before me constantly. It represents a sleek, pot-bellied man of the bourgeois type, well satisfied with himself, and therefore respectable, drest in the height of fashion, cane in hand, his eyes directed upward as if he were expecting bounties from heaven. Behind this personage, who is Mynheer Pieterse, is to be seen an *Apache*, holding in his hand a knife that drips with blood—the blood of a woman lying murdered and denuded on the street. Under this bloody satire one may read the thoughts of Mynheer Pieterse, as interpreted by the artist. 'That fellow has only robbed and murdered his neighbour. Shall I call him a bandit? No—I'll greet him politely. That's more neutral.'

"In thus playing the poltroons and egoists, Raemaekers has rendered his country a great moral service, for he has helped to clear the national atmosphere, and has brought timid, hesitating, and troubled minds to a better comprehension of what is humane."

The Bellman gives us these personal details:

"Louis Raemaekers was born in Roermond in the Province of Limburg, Holland, on June 4, 1869. He studied art in Amsterdam, Brussels, and Paris, and is not only a cartoonist but a painter of portraits and landscapes. For eight years he has made illustrations for various newspapers and magazines. He is a member of every important art society in Amsterdam and The Hague, and his pictures have appeared in many art exhibitions in Holland and other countries of Europe.

"Since the beginning of the war he has concerned himself with nothing but the subjects it suggests; all else appears to him of no importance in comparison with it. Personally, Mr. Raemaekers is a gentleman of charming manners, who is highly educated. He has traveled in many countries, and speaks several languages very fluently. Comparatively unknown except in Holland until this war began, the fame of Raemaekers has rapidly spread throughout all

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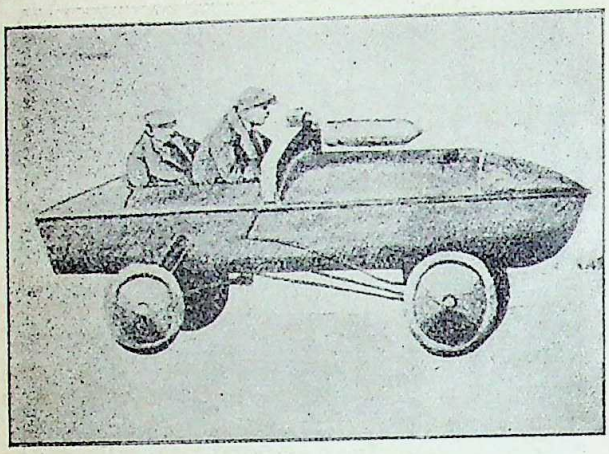
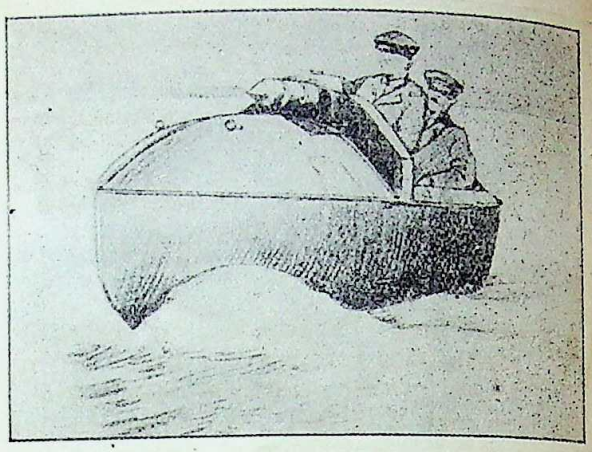


ON THE ROAD.



IN THE WATER.

AN AMPHIBIOUS AUTO.

LOUIS RAEMAEKERS.

Holland's cartoonist, whose heart, like that of Daumier, "breaks under the suffering of war's innocent victims."

Europe, and is now growing in America."—*The Literary Digest.*

An Amphibious Auto.

A number of people have been working of late years to solve the problem of constructing a vehicle capable of traveling upon both land and water. More than one has had some degree of success, but none is better, perhaps, than that invented by a Viennese engineer named L. Zeiner. This "water-automobile" or "land-motor-boat," resembles an ordinary touring-car in appearance, except that the body is rather higher. But besides its wheels, it is provided with a propeller placed at the rear (not visible in the illustrations). The power of the motor can be switched from the running-gear to the propeller-screw, and vice versa. It is built so as to take quite steep grades with ease. Hence one may ride down the sloping bank of a river, plunge into the current, switch the power to the propeller, and cross the stream in a practicable motor-boat. Arriving at the other side, the engine is switched to put the wheels in commission once more, the bank is easily climbed, and the journey continued without more ado!

The vehicle has made good under practical tests, and is expected to be particularly valuable for military use. It is so built as to go well in swampy and muddy country. In shallow water, wheels and propeller may be used simultaneously; this is a particular advantage when a sand-bank is accidentally encountered in a stream, since it removes the danger of "getting stuck."

"The power is supplied by a 16-horse-power, 4-cylinder motor which gives a speed on land of 45 miles per hour. This speed is diminished in water to about 12 miles per hour."

This car is expected to be peculiarly valuable for military purposes, obviating the delays caused by bridge-building, finding suitable fords, making detours round marshy land, etc. But there are many of the pursuits of peace where it will be permanently useful as well.—*The Literary Digest.*

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ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

By a Disciple of Prof. J. C. Bose.

II.

We are now established in London, with the laboratory fitted up at Maida Vale and the plants safely housed in the Victoria Regia House at Regent's Park. But the real difficulty lay in convincing the scientific public of the altogether unforeseen results of the new investigations carried out in India, and which were to modify so profoundly many of the accepted views concerning the phenomenon of life and its various manifestations. The outside world knows very little how my Master was led from the study of the physics of inorganic substances to the vast field of Response of Matter, Inorganic and Living; that is a story which will form a very important chapter in the scientific advance of the present age.

Influence in Early Life.

Equally interesting it is to trace the influences which moulded his early life and which determined later the trend of his scientific activities. Much of this material I have been able to gather from the older members of my Master's family. The greatest influence in his life was his father, the late Bhagaban Chunder Bose, whose activities were many-sided and who had a remarkably strong personality. He was the Sub-divisional Officer at Faridpore. This place was at the time notorious for its gang of reckless dacoits. He, single-handed, arrested the leader and sentenced him to a term of imprisonment. After serving his term the dacoit appeared before him and spoke of the impossibility of returning to his old life, while any honest occupation was denied him on account of his imprisonment. Touched by this appeal he took the unusual course of taking him into his own service, and this ex-leader of dacoits used to carry my Master to the school. On the way he used to tell him of his bold adventures and of numerous fights, of the pursuit, and the death of his companions, and his own narrow escapes. He showed him the marks of numerous wounds that covered his body,—how the wound in his thigh was due to a spear-thrust, and the other ugly mark on his breast was caused by an arrow.

The Master was sent to the village vernacular school, while his father's subordinates used to send their sons to the more fashionable English school. His father despised snobbery of all kinds, and no snobbery was more distasteful to him than that which kept the fortunate few separate from the people. In this school his comrades were the hardy sons of those who toiled. From the fisherman's son he used to hear wonderful tales of strange creatures that lived in lakes, fens, and rivers. There used to be inundations of the river which left many queer creatures stranded in the fields opposite to my Master's house. The child was full of curiosity and when his father came home, tired with the day's work, he had to answer his son's inquiries about the reasons of things. And the father showed great patience, though his son kept him awake with questions till late at night. The grandmother had then to come with a stick to make the child desist and allow *her* son to have some rest!

This was the beginning of that passionate love for Nature which possessed him so completely. Later in life he used to go out of beaten paths to watch the wild wolves hunting black antelopes in the plains of Central India, or follow the track left by monster pythons on the yielding grass of the Himalayan Terai, or watch from tree-tops bisons, rhinoceros and tigers in the wild jungles of Assam.

His early love for his own village culminated in a longing to know the whole of India and there is hardly any place of historical importance, between the snowy peaks of Kedarnath in the North and Rameswaram in the South, that he has not visited. The rock-cut temples of the earliest Buddhistic period, the Inscriptions

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of Asoka, the ruins of the ancient Universities, the Himalayan glaciers, the Stupa at Sanchi, the excavations at Taxilla, the ruins of Rajgir, to these and many other places he came time after time till he realised India, made one by linked history, from the dawn of civilisation to the present day.

Through the vernacular literature he had early access to the great epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, and the hero he worshipped was not the one who had achieved great success, but Karna, the Disowned, who, in the last encounter which was to determine for him victory or defeat, life or death, rejected the divine weapon that would have decided the day in his favour. For he would use no strength that was not his own nor would he follow any path that was not straight. This must be the law for all who are Disinherited, to win by strength and righteousness that which has been forfeited by decrees of fate.

The dominant influences that impressed my Master's life are then, a spirit of adventure into the unknown, an indifference to success or failure, a passionate love of Nature, an insatiable longing to find out the reasons of things, a devotion to the highest ideals that have been embodied in the national epics, and a living belief in the coming epoch of intellectual revival in his country.

RESEARCH AT THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.

I shall now refer to the second phase of his life after return from his first visit to England, when he was offered the Chair of Experimental Physics at the Presidency College, in 1885. There was at that time no laboratory; experiments were, generally speaking, exhibited by drawings on black boards. It was while preparing his lectures on the history of different discoveries that he realised that while the different countries in the world,—England, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, America and even Russia,—had contributed to the advance of modern science, his own country had no place in that glorious record of human effort. The idea that India should ever make any contribution in science was then regarded as beyond the dream of a visionary. How could this be possible, when there was no proper Laboratory, no Scientific Instrument Makers for the manufacture of new and special appliances, by which alone the hitherto undetected phenomena of Nature could be revealed? My Master accepted all these limitations and by training Indian mechanics he was able to manufacture some of the most important appliances for scientific work. And it was only after ten years of persistent labour that in November 1894 he found himself free to devote his thoughts to pure research. After this in the course of three months he was able to invent special apparatus for investigations on Electro-magnetic Radiation and discover the Polarisation of Electric Ray by Double Refracting Crystals. These results were regarded as of such importance that they filled Lord Kelvin "literally with wonder and admiration." His next work on Determination of Indices of Refraction of various Opaque Substances to Invisible Radiation was accepted and published by the Royal Society, who showed their high appreciation by offering a Parliamentary Grant at the disposal of the Society. This was in 1895, and the next year he was sent by the Government on his first scientific deputation to Europe, where his success at the Royal Society in London and the Academy of Science in Paris and the University of Berlin are well known.

In the course of his investigation on the construction of the most sensitive detectors for electric waves, he found that the uncertainty of the early type of receivers was brought on by fatigue, and that the fatigue of his instruments resembled closely the fatigue of animal muscle. He was soon able to remove the 'tiredness' of his receiver; the application of certain drugs again stimulated the sensitiveness of his detectors to an extraordinary degree. Other drugs depressed the sensitiveness or abolished it altogether. It was to communicate these remarkable results that he was sent to the Paris Congress in his second scientific deputation to the West. His communication evoked very keen interest. As a *speculation* it was accepted as very illuminating; his results were, however, not considered quite convincing, since his methods were quite new. Physiologists were accustomed to detect excitability of animal nerves and muscles by a different method where living tissues under excitation gave rise to an electrical current, this electric current being regarded as a token of life. For at the death of the tissue there is a total

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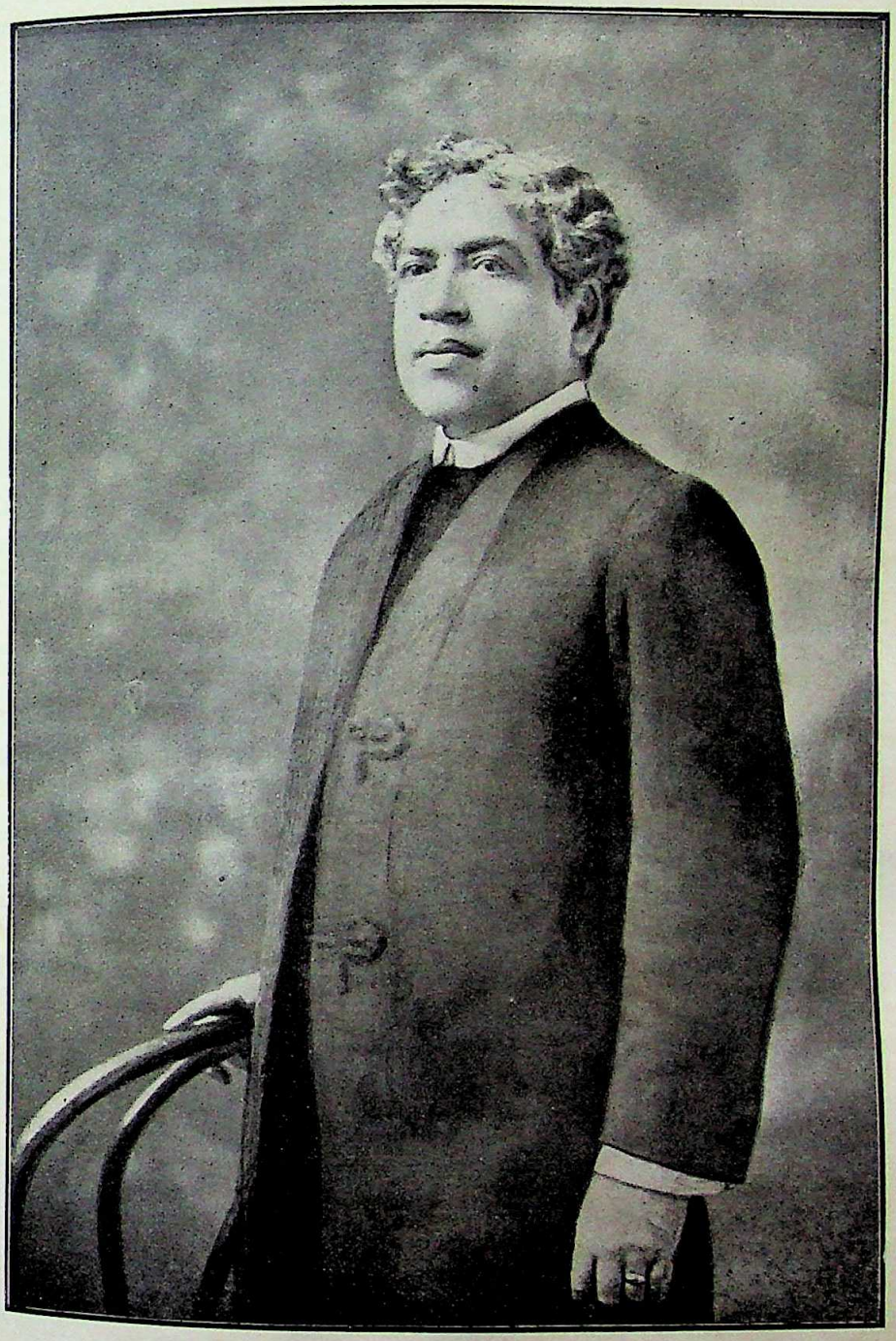

PROFESSOR J. C. BOSE.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA

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cessation of this electric currents. My Master now took up the method accepted by physiologists and by its means showed that metals gave electric response, this response being exalted under stimulants and abolished under the action of poisons. In his memorable address before the Royal Institution on the 10th May 1901 he exhibited side by side the autographic records of response of the Living and Non-living and said:

"How similar are the writings! So similar indeed that you cannot tell one from the other apart. We have watched the responsive pulses wax and wane in the one as in the other. We have seen response sinking under fatigue, becoming exhalted under stimulants, and being killed by poisons, in the non-living as in the living. Amongst such phenomena how can we draw a line of demarcation and say here the physical process ends and there the physiological begins? No such barriers exist.

"Do not the two sets of records tell us of some property of matter common and persistent? Do they not show us that the responsive processes seen in life, have been foreshadowed in non-life? —that the physiological is, after all, but an expression of the physical? —that there is no abrupt break but one uniform and continuous march of law? If it be so, we shall but turn with renewed courage to the investigation of mysteries which have long eluded us. For every step of science has been made by the inclusion of what seemed contradictory or capricious in a new and harmonious simplicity. Her advance has been always towards a clearer perception of underlying unity in apparent diversity."

Between the inorganic substances and the animal creation was the plant world. My Master was also able to establish an absolute continuity by his discovery that the ordinary and so-called insensitive plants were fully sensitive, and gave an electrical reply identical with that given by animals. The experimental demonstration of this he gave before the Royal Society on 6th June, 1901. This result completely negatived the contentions of Sir John Burden-Sanderson, the leading physiologist, who insisted that ordinary plants were quite insensitive, being incapable of giving any electric response and, secondly, that even in the few sensitive plants, such as Dionaea, the electric response was of an *opposite* sign to that given by animals, thus establishing a *discontinuity* in plant and animal reactions. As my Master's results completely upset Burden-Sanderson's theories, his communication was looked on with prejudice by him and his followers. Physiologists, moreover, objected to a physicist 'straying into the preserve' that had been specially reserved for the physiologist. In consequence of this opposition his Paper, which was already in print, was not published. But eight months after the reading of the paper, another communication found publication in the Journal of a different Society which was practically the same as my Master's but without any acknowledgment. The plagiarism was subsequently discovered and led to much unpleasantness.

It was the original intention of my Master, after making over these new results to the physiologists, to return to the many new lines of electrical investigations which were waiting for completion. In fact some of these were of great practical importance, such as the discovery of his extremely sensitive crystal detectors for the reception of wireless signals. Moreover by the action of several stimulants he could exalt their sensitiveness to an extraordinary degree. In practice this meant a great extension to the range of signalling through space. Indeed a very influential syndicate was anxious to secure patents from him. Thus on one side, in physics, was assured success and high recognition, while in the region of physiology he was alone and an intruder, challenging the accepted leaders. In making his choice it was not the assurance of Success that had any attraction for him, it was rather the daring needed of a single man to stand against odds that decided him. And it was thus that he entered into a phase of activity which, for many years, was to test his utmost strength.

The physiologists in general were, as stated before, ranged against him. Moreover there was a feeling that one who was an Eastern was more likely to be led away by the fervour of his warm imagination into the realms of speculation than facts warranted. And Master's greatest difficulty, on reaching England, was to remove this feeling of distrust, and find a place which would enable him to address the leaders of biological science. He had many warm admirers amongst physicists but as a result of excessive specialisation they had no voice in matters relating to life.

But, to resume the narrative of the present tour.

OXFORD.

The late Sir John Burden-Sanderson and his followers were the leaders of biological thought at Oxford and it was my Master's

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strong desire to meet his opponents at their stronghold in Oxford. Fortunately the Sherardian Professor to the University was for fair play and invited my Master to give a Discourse at the Botanical Laboratory, where the leading physiologists of the place were asked to attend and take an active part in the subsequent discussion.

The date of the lecture was fixed for the 20th of May 1914. Unfortunately for us the day turned out to be wintry cold. Our great anxiety was for the plants which had to be taken out of the Regent's Park hothouse and bear two hours' cold journey in the train before reaching Oxford. As we neared Oxford the temperature fell still lower and we had great fear that the plants would not revive from the benumbing effect of excessive cold. As soon as we reached the Botanical Laboratory we placed the plants in a hot chamber, hoping that they would be roused from torpidity by the lecture time.

The lecture Hall soon became crowded with advanced scholars, dons and professors. There were also specialists, who had been carrying on very important researches in the famous Physiological Laboratory of Oxford.

The Master began by saying how numerous and contradictory had been the theories that were held as regards the fundamental reactions of life. In the world of plants no evidence could be more decisive than that afforded by the plant itself. How then are we to make the plant itself record the experience of its inner life? The instrument which rendered this possible was the Resonant Recorder, and by optical projection, every part of this wonderful instrument was projected before the astonished audience. The instrument then began to tick time and measured the perception time of the plant to the thousandth part of a second and also the speed of its nervous impulse. Another apparatus, the Oscillating Recorder, was now put to action with the leaf of our telegraph plant which fortunately had by this time revived from its torpor. And when Our Indian plant recorded its automatic throbbings before the whole audience—pulsations which were practically replicas of the heart-beats of the animal, then the enthusiasm of the audience knew no bounds. And when the same drugs which arrested the human heart-beat and the antidote which revived it were shown to produce identical effects on the throbbing leaflets of the telegraph plant, then there rose a shout and above that was heard the voice of even the most sceptical that 'All life was one.'

Thus was victory won, and those who were the other day our opponents became from that time our staunchest friends.

(*To be continued*)

POLITICAL IDEALS *

HISTORY, according to the author, is of four kinds. Mere date and fact history is a kind of journalism. Then there is the Carlylean method of the biography of heroes or great men. Another kind of history consists of the records of the habits and customs of the people. The operation of the influence of climate and other natural forces is another method of which Buckle was the leading exponent. But the best method, in the opinion of the author, is to treat history as the biography of the various ideals which have inspired mankind in different ages.

First the author takes up the Athenian ideal of Liberty.

'Not only is libety the basis of civilised life, but the progress of civilisation depends on a development of personal independence and local autonomy? Liberty of the group (nation) is regarded as the basis for all natural development of the country or the race. We take this for granted. For no civilised race will endure foreign domination, however admirable its governors may be.' ... 'Not seldom a group

* Political Ideals: Their nature and development: An Essay, by C. Delisle Burns. Oxford University Press. 1915. 2|6d net. 8vo, Pp. 311.

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which demands liberty for itself denies it to others.' 'We all agree that the adult individual should not be treated as a child, and that he should not be governed against his own will even for his own good. Thus liberty is still opposed to tyranny or caste government. ... A beneficent tyranny is not to be compared even with an unsuccessful government that is in our own hands.'

But there was much of evil mixed up with the good.

'Athens at her best was full of slaves. There was no political freedom for women.' 'The fall of Athens, in 404 B. C., was directly due, not to the liberty she had attained, but to the attempts she made to limit the ideal to herself. There may be no moral in history; yet one more than half agrees with the Thucydidean conception of a Nemesis overtaking all who refuse to others what they believe to be most necessary for themselves.'

The author then deals with the Roman ideals of law and order, which is the principle of permanence, as Liberty is that of change, both being equally necessary for civilised life.

'But order may be paid for too dearly if it is at the expense of liberty. Obviously in giving order to Europe, Rome had taken away all local vitality .... for order cannot imply the limitation of the natural development of what is set in order. If it were so, life would not be orderly, but only death; an order which is inflexible is tyranny,—or in the words of a keen Roman critic, 'we make a desert and call it peace ?'' " ... as liberty tends to degenerate into license, so order tends to be corrupted into unnatural fixity of the *status quo* ... . the order which sacrifices originality, and therefore growth, destroys itself."

The next subject to be discussed is cosmopolitan equality, which involves the belief in a common humanity and equal capacity for development, irrespective of all distinctions of race or social status. To this idea is due the fact that civilised men of every European race are regarded as political equals. It arose out of a perception of the evils of slavery and of racial exclusiveness involved in such words as 'barbarian' [cf. 'the chosen people' of the Jews, the 'Mlecchas' of the Hindus, the 'Kafirs' of the Moslems], and also from the observance of the cosmopolitan power of Rome and the Christian stoic conception of the brotherhood of man.

The idea of an European concert, of a special sense of unity among European nations, is derived from the Holy Roman Empire and therefore a mediæval conception.

"Mr. Kipling declares that 'Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat.' He is perhaps unaware that such sentiments are a survival of the Middle Ages, when Western Europe regarded itself as civilised humanity and the outer world as only 'the rest.'" "There is more than a tendency to regard European war as almost civil war whereas other warfare is regarded as only 'civilising.'"

But the mediæval conception of a single suzerain or a single 'state' in Europe must be discarded in favour of an unity of co-operating parts, and the ideal "must be guarded against possible corruptions which might arise if the contrast of European with other civilisations led us western nations to make an arrogent and insolent claim to domination over all humanity."

The Renaissance saw the birth of distinct 'sovereign' states regarded as equals, in place of the unity of Europe under an overlord. International Law and the theory of Balance of Power now came into being. The State was however conceived to be an organisation of officials of the governing body as opposed to the people or the nation. But this theory of independent local sovereignty made it possible for the later ideal of nationalism to arise. In England, the national sentiment was gradually formed, by warlike opposition to foreigners, under Edward III and Henry V. In Spain, the alien race and government of the Moors was the precursor of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Then came the French Revolution with its Rights of Man.

"It is a custom among apologists to say that the Christian Church introduced or at least made popular the idea of the equality of man. Nothing could be more glaringly untrue. Official Christianity made no attempt to correct the narrowness of caste prejudice. It accepted first the ranks of the Roman Empire and afterwards the castes of the feudual system; and it employed itself rather in finding justification for a political situation which already existed than in correcting the deficiencies of the system. ... The fact remains that it is to the Pagan Renaissance and not to the Mediæval Church that we must look for the sources of that 'Liberty, Fraternity and Equality' which made the soul of the French Revolution."

The whole effort of the Revolutionists was to realise equality of political rights among all the inhabitants of France, and this equality was to be extended by the destruction of privilege and caste in every country. 'Man is born free and he is everywhere in chains'—these first words of the *contrat social* are, as it were, the cry of pain from which the revolutionary enthusiasm arose. The ideal as it appears to Rousseau is the production and development of individuals who may have the freest possible play for all their faculties.

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It involves the proposition that no human being is to be sacrificed to the development of any other. Man has certain 'national' rights, such as that of life, liberty, and the necessaries of existence, which, as Blackstone said, 'no human legislation has power to abridge or destroy.' Rousseau fully recognised the inequality of worth among men, but as society is founded on the agreement of all alike, all are entitled to an equal share in political rights. The fundamental likeness in all men underlying all distinctions was emphasised by him and direct government by the 'sovereign people' was considered to be the only safe method. But the revolutionists dreamt of an abstract cosmopolitanism and neglected the fundamental distinctions of race or nationality. There advocacy of political equality has however fructified in the equal political rights of all sane adults among European nations.

On modern Nationalism the author has much to say which is likely to be specially appreciated in Bengal. The ideal of Nationalism is reflected most clearly in the writings of Mazzini, who is the last great prophet of Nationalism, and

"We may perhaps count this ideal as a contribution made by Italy to the political tradition. Italy has indeed suffered more than any other land from foreigners, and perhaps it is the extremity of the evil there which produced the finest form of the ideal."

Nationalism is the conception that every group of sufficient permanence and with enough of a distinct tradition to have a 'national' character should have an opportunity for developing its own form of law and Government. National differences may be supposed to be due to heredity and environment. As Le Bon says, 'Century after century of our departed ancestors have fashioned our ideas and sentiments.' The existence of national characteristics in features, habits of mind or body, language and even dress, is an instance of the past living in the present. If man had no history, then we could begin without any difficulty to arrange the world upon the best plan conceivable; but each of us individually and each group of us collectively is a result of the past. We are burdened or we are benefited by our descent. But no characteristic can be supposed to be permanent in any nation.

"Not even if Buckle was right and the character of human inhabitants is completely moulded by geographical and climatic conditions—not even so is it possible to speak as though any special virtue were the special possession of any one race of men."

Distinct national characteristics are due not only to natural and human surroundings, but also to difference in tradition.

"Those who live in continuous contact develop and sometimes even produce a special conception of what is admirable in character or valuable in life, or of the place which law and government should have. Such conceptions are embodied in institutions supported by custom and expressed in literature and the other arts. A common memory and a common ideal —these, more than a common blood—make a nation."

The grounds on which the conscious nationalist of modern times would promote and develop the divergent traditions of different nations are as follow:

"In the first place, the destruction of individuality may destroy genius, so the attempt to make all groups of men exactly alike in their customs or creeds may destroy some special character of endurance or wit which may be developed even in a small nation. There is some special quality in every group which it would be well for the sake of the whole of humanity to preserve. But this can only be preserved if the group has an opportunity for characteristic development of its own laws and institutions. The evidence of the past shows that when a race is deprived of its own political life its work is less valuable, and that when a race wins political independence its art and science contribute to the general progress of civilisation."

Each group with a civilised tradition has a right to independent development in view of what it may produce for humanity at large. Secondly, states should vary in their methods of law and government, reflecting in their variety the distinctions of human groups. If each nation is to develop its characteristics, humanity at large is benefited by the preservation of as many distinct types.

"For the human race is not at its best when every man or every group is a copy of every other. Civilisation progresses by differentiation as well by assimilation of interests and character, and we cannot afford to neglect a policy which may develop differences in a world in which communication and cheap manufactures may gradually level out all the variety of the race."

Thirdly, the ideal would not imply the absolute segregation of each group, for a group, like an individual, cannot develop in complete isolation. Nationalism would imply close relation between different groups; but not for the elimination of differences. That close relationship (alliance or federation) would be for the more

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civilised development of those very differences. The author's remark about imitation deserves our serious consideration. 'Imitation is in one sense the conservative force.' 'One imitates the foe for the purpose of overcoming him.' [cf. the Japanese policy of protection through imitation.] Out of the confused unity of the Middle Ages came the separate states of the Renaissance, and men first began to feel what we now call their nationality. The Renaissance, however, divided Europe rather into a collection of states than into nations. And it was not until the Revolution had come and gone that the long slumbering national consciousness came to birth as a new ideal. It is one of the greatest forces in modern politics. Bengal which has been reunited after going through the throes of a partition will be interested to read the following :

"Nationalism also implied that divisions of the same national group should be removed. A nation with a united consciousness and the same tradition should not be divided into a number of separate states. Thus the Italian Kingdom and the German Empire were formed through the conception that peoples of the same speech or like customs should have the same state system..... Nationalism progressed by the appeal to common sentiments among peoples who had been divided by arbitrary Governments." "The evils out of which Nationalism arises are dynastic and obsolete Governmental systems, causing the majority to feel that their interest or their character is not represented by the administration under which they live. Foreigners in possession give the most tangible form to the evil....."

The defects of Nationalism are (1) A narrowing of the political outlook: local development tends to become village-politics.

"Under this name dying languages [as in Ireland] have been revived and proved obstacles to human intercourse. Small groups in the Austrian empire have gained in peace and civilisation by not having their own institutions and in Switzerland we have an example of distinct racial groups being better for being united in one state."

(2) Group-jealousy: nationalism in a small group becomes Imperialism when the group becomes powerful. When the greater number of each nation can regard other nations as co-operating and not as conflicting, then the best nationalism will be realised.

Modern Imperialism implies a vast territory or many races under one Government and with one dominant partner.

"Cosmopolitanism or Humanitarianism, 'The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world' is too ineffective an ideal at present. Its strength may be greater in the near future, but at present it is not a political force."

Imperialism is a sort of halfway house between provincialism and cosmopolitanism. It expands the mind and gives greater scope to the individual than nationalism ; so it is not altogether a word for ignoble ambitions, and is a step onwards in civilisation. But a bombastic provincialism, full of local prejudice and an unwarrantable assumption of superiority over 'foriegners' often passes for Imperialism. It differs from village-politics only in the universalism of its impertinence.

'The egregious insolence of a Kipling may impress the unthinking.' 'The small group or nation which is forced to give up, in the name of Imperialism, its custom, its language, its law, and its forms of Government, may well object that such an empire is an unwarrantable insolence.'

The author's views on the British Empire, and on India in particular, are quite liberal, and the same in substance as those expressed by Sir Henry Cotton in his NEW INDIA.

"...it is no longer possible to consider that vast number of men, for example, inhabiting Australia, Canada, England and Ireland, not to mention Egypt and India, as united in groups one of which must dominate all the others. That would involve insolence, provincialism and the suppression of local vitality. The only possible way, therefore, of regarding the whole vast group as one is by supposing that each component group is united as an equal with the others in a Federation."

Lord Milner, the author of *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, is aware that the empire must rest on one of two bases, —an extensive military occupation or the principle of nationality. 'And few Englishmen would be willing to contemplate a purely military Empire.' Coming particularly to India, our outhor abserves:

"India is no more one than is Europe; and although there is growing up a general Indian sentiment, self-government based upon an identity of interests between all the inhabitants of a continent is absurdly impracticable. The end proposed, which might take years to realise, would undoubtedly be the self-government of the distinct parts of India; and this would mean the equality of right in deciding even to maintain any union with England. So extreme a conception of Federation is naturally opposed by those who, like Lord Cromer, still speak of 'our Indian possessions'... 'At bottom,' says Seeley, 'it implies the idea of an estate' to be worked for our benefit; and that confession, he confesses, is 'barbaric and immoral.' Compromise will always be the political excuse for incompetence and illogical thinking; but I see no way out of the difficulty which does not imply either the complete dissolution of the connection between England and the constituent independent nations of the present Empire or an

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admission of these nations sooner or later to political equality... Imperialism, if it is to develop, must be reconciled with Nationalism, and there seems no possibility of this except through Federalism."

"As the Revolutionary classic is French, the Nationalist gospel Italian, and the Socialist programme German, so the first expression of individualism is English. Spencer, Mill and Sidgwick are its greatest exponents, and the German philosopher Nietzsche carries the theory to extravagant lengths in his doctrine of the superman. Individualism is an appeal in the interests of the whole community for special consideration for the exceptional. It is a protest against the modern tendency towards mediocrity and assimilation. The whole race grows in the development of its exceptional men. The last words of Mill's Liberty are true for all time: 'The worth of a state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a state which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation to a little more of administrative skill.....a state which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.'

Philosophical anarchism, represented by Prince Kropotkin and others, is a sort of Utopian Individualism. It implies a community of free and fully developed human beings where no external regulation is necessary. Individualism, however, tends to neglect the social environments of man.

"The chief basis of the self-development of a human being is social contact with others; and the development of one is dependent on the development of those with whom he is in contact. Therefore a society in which a few are fully developed is a contradiction in terms. The under-development even of a few will permeate and obstruct the development of all the others of the same group. The under-development of that group will affect the development of other groups, and so from a small evil the whole race will be affected."

If, again, "the present tendency of society is towards selfishness and unenlightened egoism, Individualism should be opposed as giving strength to the very evil which needs most to be eradicated.

Indeed, the individualistic writers, like Mill and Sidgwick, do not really understand the egoism of the average man; their own egoism is so enlightened, their action is so intelligently governed, that they may indeed do good to the community by pursuing what they know to be the highest good."

The Socialist ideal is generally considered to be a sort of mechanical Utopia in which every man has been given a number and registered by his thumb mark in exchange for having sold his soul to the state. But it is to be found, not in any particular organisation, but in the developed social sense which now animates all classes of society. Social causes and social results should be better arranged. Nature cannot be left to herself. The fittest to survive in the eyes of brute force are not the fittest in the eyes of a civilised man. Thus while admitting development, Socialism deliberately advocated a modification by human foresight of the 'natural' course of development. Mr. Wells and others advocate an organised State system with equal opportunities for all. It is nowhere supposed that all are equal, for opportunity is only made equal in order to discover by trial which of us are better than others. Its weakness is its tendency to an abstract cosmopolitanism, its proneness to treat individuals of entirely different groups as more similar than they are. But it is effective quite outside the ranks of professed socialists. Society is an organic whole, whose health requires the fullest individual development compatible with the just interdependence of its component parts, so that both individualism and socialism are necessary. Socialism and individualism, like nationalism and imperialism, are therefore complementary conceptions and not mutually exclusive.

The author concludes with some very pregnant general observations:

"...Vast natural forces are always at work with which the historian of society and the practical politician have to deal...Man is not isolated, and at every step he is influenced by the mass of different realities around him. And if for general purposes we consider man without reference to the rest of the Universe, we need always to remind ourselves that innumerable forces which we have not noticed have worked and are working to transform man himself... when we have managed to direct such forces as we desire, our realised desire becomes a natural force and is to be reckoned among the other forces which transform us according to laws quite indedendent of our will." "There is a tendency to stability which even the revolutionary man can do very little to oppose. If he speaks all day against the established order nevertheless he cannot eat or move or clothe himself without adding his support to things as they are. Therefore there is no danger of complete overturning of the present structure of societys." On the other hand there is a tendency to change which even the conservative cannot resist. If he copies his forefathers most exactly, yet house and clothes decay and his food is always a little different, and the very language in which he praises the good old times, by the use of which he hopes to keep things as they are, insensibly changes its meaning even when *he* uses it. Therefore there is no danger that we shall ever be troubled for long by the same difficulties. The natural tendencies to stability and to change exist quite independent of the efforts of reformers or conservatives."

After giving a brief *resume* of the main points dealt with by the author, it only remains for us to say a few words regarding the book as a whole. It is pleasant to think how much wisdom often lies

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concealed within the pages of an unpretentious little volume which it is within everybody's means to acquire. The book is replete with thoughtful observations, and the wide sweep of the author's study is apparent in every page. It is a book to ponder and digest, and not merely to glance over, and should be a *vade mecum* for all students of politics in our country. Both as a preparation for a more extensive study of the subject, as well as a gathering together of the threads of such study, the book will prove highly useful. That a book of this kind can be written and published at a time when England is in the throes of the greatest war in recorded history shows the devotion to high thinking which prevails in that country. In the preface, the war has been referred to as an 'ephemeral interest.' Hegel writing philosophy within earshot of Napoleon's guns at Jena could hardly have afforded a better example of the placid atmosphere of detachment in which all high thinking must necessarily be performed.

POLITICUS.

HOME RULE AMONG SAVAGES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THERE is an extensive archipelago in the mid-western Pacific Ocean belonging to Great Britain called the Gilbert (Kingsmill) Islands. In spite of adverse conditions of environment and complete barbarism, says the Encyclopædia Britannica, the population of these islands is exceedingly dense, in strong contradistinction to that of many other more favoured islands. The land area of the group is only 166 square miles, yet the population is about 30,000. The Gilbert islanders are a dark and coarse type of the Polynesian race, and show signs of much crossing. They are tall and stout, with an average height of five feet eight inches, and are of a vigorous and energetic temperament. They are nearly always naked, but wear a conical hat of pandanus leaf. In war they have an armour of plaited cocoanut fibres. They are fierce fighters, their chief weapon being a sword armed with shark's teeth. Their canoes are well made of cocoanut wood boards sewn neatly together and fastened on frames. The large population led to the introduction of natives from these islands into Hawaii as labourers in 1878-1884, but they were not found satisfactory. These islands were taken under British protection in 1892.

The Ellice Islands, situated nearly midway between Fiji and Gilbert, were also taken under protection in 1892. Their total area is 14 square miles, and the population is about 2400. Some of them speak the language of the Gilbert islanders, and have a tradition that they came some generations ago from that group. All the others are of Samoan speech.

Mr. E. C. Eliot, Resident Commissioner in these islands, has contributed an article on them to the December number of *United Empire*, the Royal Colonial Institute Journal, in which he calls them a model protectorate. He says that by an Order in Council gazetted November 12, 1915, the native Governments of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, which were proclaimed as British Protectorates in 1892, have been, at their own desire, annexed to His Majesty's Dominions. They are to be known as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. This Colony, of which the population is, according to the Encyclopædia Britannica, in a state of "complete barbarism," enjoys the natural right of Home Rule. We will quote the exact words of Mr. Eliot: "To-day a state of 'Home Rule' exists which is probably unique among native races under the protection of the British Crown. With their own code of native laws, revised and amended by a King's Regulation, the people are wisely and justly ruled by their own councils of Chiefs and Elders under the advice and guidance of the few European officials who assist the Resident Commissioner as administrative officers in charge of a number of islands." We take a few more details from Mr. Eliot's interesting article.

The following constitute the native

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courts :—The Native Magistrate, the Chief of Kaubere, members of Kaubere, the Scribe, the Island Police; other native officials being the prison warder and wardress and hospital orderly.

The "Kaubere" (in the Ellice Islands "Kaupoli") is composed of Chiefs and Elders, the number varying according to the size and population of the island, from about thirty-five to six or seven. The meetings of the Kaubere are called the "Bowi," and are held monthly, though special meetings may be convened more often should necessity arise.

These meetings of the "Bowi" are divided into two sittings. The first comprises the criminal jurisdiction at which the Native Magistrate presides and passes sentence; the Kaubere acting as his advisers. The Magistrate must take the opinion of all members of Kaubere who may be present, and he then decides on the punishment by the guidance of his Book of the Laws, which is printed in the vernacular.

After the criminal cases are disposed of, it is usual for the Chief of Kaubere to relieve the Magistrate as spokesman. All complaints are then heard, reports received from Kaubere in charge of villages and from individuals. Land disputes are looked into and adjusted, and all matters affecting the welfare of the community are brought up for discussion. The Gilbert islander is a born orator, and though his tones may be raucous to our ears, his graceful and expressive movements at once command attention.

Every island is equipped with a well appointed hospital, and gaols for males and females; unfortunately, in many instances, a leper station has also to be included.

From end to end of each island excellent roads extend which are kept up by free labour. The inhabitants take much pride in their roads, so much so that it is a criminal offence for a native to pass without removing a branch, or any obstruction which may be lying in the path. This system of free communal work is not abused; though a relic of former years, it is freely given, and has the great advantage of permitting the imposition of far lighter taxation than would otherwise be necessary.

The revenue of the Protectorate is derived from a light Land Tax payable in copra, and graded according to the size, population, and prosperity of each island. In times of drought, to which the Central Gilbert Islands are especially subject, this tax is reduced or wholly remitted. Import duties are charged only on wines, malt liquor, and spirits (which does not affect the native population, since the sale or consumption of all intoxicating liquor is forbidden to them by law), tobacco, scents, and kerosene.

In addition to the Island Police, who are directly responsible to the Native Governments, there is a Protectorate Police Force of about fifty men, who are divided between Ocean Island and Tarawa in the Gilberts, which latter island was at one time the seat of Government. The members of the Protectorate Police Force were originally enrolled from Fiji; but these men are now being replaced by Gilbert and Ellice natives, who have proved themselves both willing and competent to deal with brother delinquents. It is regarded as a special honour to belong to the Protectorate Force, and the pick of the islands can therefore be obtained.

Small retaining fees are paid to Native Island Magistrates, Chiefs of Kaubere, Scribes, Island Police, warders, and hospital orderlies; in the cases of the Native Magistrates and Chiefs of Kaubere, these small payments can only be regarded as sufficient to meet "out of pocket" travelling expenses, and in no way detract from the credit of the good work which these officials willingly give for the welfare of their people. The Chief of Kaubere is generally, but not necessarily, the hereditary Chief of the Island. He patrols the island, and sees that the village Kaubere and Police attend to their duties. There is one Kaubere at least to every village, and in a large island, such as Tabiteauea in the Gilbert Group—which is over fifty miles in length—there are about thirty villages. The members of the Kaubere are unpaid.

The Island Native Scribe deserves a special word of praise. Though he is the clerk to the Native Government, and the custodian of the purse, he is generally a man of substance and position. Since the year 1892, when the Flag was hoisted in these Protectorates, there has been but one case recorded of embezzlement by a Scribe, and although many months may pass without the possibility of a visit from

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a Protectorate official, it is seldom that the cash is wrong by so much as a penny. Even to-day comparatively few islands can boast the possession of a safe, but the Island funds are as secure in an old box with the flimsiest of locks as they could be at home in the latest "burglar-proof" safe.

To what should be attributed the present law-abiding, moral, and happy existence of these children of nature? In years gone by, they were great warriors; but cannibalism has never been proved, and it is doubtful if it ever existed in these islands of the Paciffic. The earlier traders and settlers did their best to ruin the natives by inflaming their passions with drink and, in those bad days, the only restraining influence was that of the Missions.

With the advent of the Flag, and drastic regulations forbidding the sale of liquor and the use of firearms, peace was soon restored, and to-day it is difficult to realise that not many years have passed since the time of R. L. Stevenson, when drunken orgies were prolonged into weeks, when the crews of trading vessels were attacked and murdered, and when the daily occupation of the old chief of Butaritari was to sit on the beach with his rifle across his knees, picking off any of his labourers toiling at the construction of his sea wall whose movements did not please him. The sea wall stands inspite of the heavy westerly gales to which it is exposed, testifying to the accuracy of the aim of the Chief in picking off defaulters, and three of his grandsons are members of the Butaritari brass band which provides a large volume of sound under the guiding baton of a father of the Sacred Heart Mission.

The answer may be that these islanders are, at heart, nature's gennlemen: the spirit of lying and deceit is not in them. They have been scotched, but not spoilt, by cantact with some of the worst evils of civilisation, during which time the unselfish devotion of the white missionary checked. to a great extent, the damage which must otherwise have been done.

Another important factor is believed to be the continuance of the system of communal work. This has without doubt had the effect not only of combatting that inertia which is generally found among tropical races for whose maintenance the soil provides with the minimum expenditure of labour, but further of fostering a pride in taking a part in the social well-being of the community. From the Magistrate and Chief of Kaubere to the ordinary labourer, every male between the ages of sixteen and sixty takes his share in the upkeep of his island. There is friendly rivalry as to which island can build the largest and finest "maneaba" or meeting-house: and should it become necessary to infuse energy into road-cleaning, &c., it is sufficient for the inspecting official to contrast the state of the work on one island with that of the last visited.

A perusal of Mr. Eliot's article raises the question whether it is barbarism or civilisation which unfits men for Home Rule. Whatever Anglo-Indians may think, Indians should not be so servile as not to have the courage to believe that they are fit for Home Rule.

17-1-1916.

FACTS ABOUT INDENTURED LABOUR

I have so frequently written on the general aspects of the indentured labour system, that I now desire to confine myself to concrete instances within my knowledge which will illustrate my general remarks.

I am personally cognisant of two instances at least, where a woman whose connection with a man was registered by our law and who therefore was a "married" woman, was prosecuted for the crime of not residing (sleeping) in the coolie lines on Saturdays and Sundays (after completing her week's tasks), when she lived with her husband, who was "a free man" outside the pale of the educational institution known as the Coolie lines. The majority of the "marriages" (it may interest Indians in India to learn) in our Colony, would not

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be considered valid according to the law and custom prevalent in India, (a great many would be found out to be crimes of bigamy by women), as these are not between members of the same caste nor of the same religion nor always with virgins nor with old maids. The only sanctity attaching to them is the payment of five shillings to the European Magistrate, who writes to the Agent-General of Immigration, who is authorised by law to perform the marriage by making some entries in his books.

An Indian girl who was hardly ten years old was betrothed by her parents to the son of a "free" Indian. The "free" Indian was prosecuted by the estate for harbouring his son's future wife, who being the child of parents under indenture, ought, according to our law, have lived on the estate, though her own parents preferred otherwise.

The law governing the relations between indentured labourers and their employers is certainly far from perfect; even as it is, it can to a very great extent protect the labourers; but does it do so in practice? The law supposes that coolies of all castes, classes, sexes and ages (sometimes even boys of tender years are illegally recruited) have each studied not only the Indian Immigration Ordinance, but also the fine points of relevancy and irrelevancy and that European Magistrates are only machines for manufacturing just sentences or judgments on evidence mechanically and accurately translated to them by their interpreters. The law also seems to take it for granted that every district is efficiently and sufficiently equipped with policemen, Inspectors of Immigrants, Clerks of the Peace and Magistrates and that all these functionaries thoroughly know and do their duties on all occasions without fear or favour; and perhaps it is also taken for granted that every real complaint or grievance that an Indian immigrant may have must always be founded on facts within the knowledge of some willing and courageous (they must not be afraid of the Sahib or the Sirdar) witnesses or others, who must under cross examination by learned counsel or impatient questions from the Bench give such intelligent answers, as would, when translated, by the type of interpreters we have here, be so perfect as to satisfy the most fastidious of examiners for consistency. Unfortunately we are living in a world where such ideal conditions do not obtain; and most of the provisions of the Indian Immigration Ordinance, which appear to secure protection to indentured immigrants against wrongs from their employers fail in their effect.

I know of districts where there were only Fijian policemen at the station (Civil) who were neither authorised nor fit to deal with grievances of Indians, where Magistrates have to be away for days and even weeks on other than Magisterial duties, where the visits of the Inspector of Immigrants are "few and far between," and where the means of travelling, transit or communication are dilatory, irregular, inconvenient, difficult, and even dangerous, if not impracticable. How are Indian indentured labourers to seek redress of their complaints against such obstacles, as appear almost insuperable, considering their condition, means and intelligence?

I know a concrete case where indentured Indians had to spend about £40 or Rs. 600 to secure a shadow of justice against their white overseer; and even then no lawyer would have advocated their cause on that fee purely from a business point of view, as the district is so inaccessible that many days and even weeks must elapse before one returns to one's proper district. I may add that Magistrates would not often like to adjourn the hearing of cases indefinitely to enable people residing in such districts to secure the services of a lawyer, who would require such a convenient date, as would not interfere with his settled practice in another district; add to this the facts that labourers must not leave their plantations (to see a lawyer) without permission, nor absent themselves from work for any length of time, and that most of the means of traffic are controlled and influenced by people who are likely to have little or no sympathy for the troubles of indentured labourers, who in many cases are allowed to travel, if at all, only on sufferance.

The most unsatisfactory feature of the indenture system appears to be that people cannot buy themselves out of its meshes even by offering fancy prices for their redemption. I have known a Rajput pair—the wife was certainly handsome enough to be a dangerous temptation—who alleged that the white employer was persecuting them from improper

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motives. These people had to spend some £30 on lawyer's fees, fines, etc., before they could obtain the approval of the Agent-General of Immigration to their proposal for commuting their indenture, and even then, because the employer was not amenable to the moral suasion of the Immigration Office, this poor couple had to wait for nearly 10 months going backwards and forwards between the estate and the Court House, their lawyer's office and the Agent-General's Office, until finally their employer decided to volunteer for the front (War) and allowed these poor wretches to redeem their liberty. It is reported that this employer was killed in action instantaneously on the borders of France; and it is needless to say that he is not at all regretted by the couple I have referred to.

I may also point out that "agricultural labour during the day" for which strictly speaking labourers are recruited in India, is here made to include work in the sugar mills at night, and even work on farms where cattle are slaughtered on estates for the butcher's trade, not to mention dairy farming or the rearing of horses. Men without any distinction of caste or creed can be required to slaughter for beef and pork, and I am told people other than bhangis or mehtars may be required to do sanitary service on the estates.

MANILAL M. DOCTOR.

FIJI ISLANDS,
Australasia.

HOW TO FIGHT MALARIA IN OUR VILLAGES

THAT malaria is a deadly scourge in Bengal is admitted on all hands, and Government is as keen as the people affected as to the pressing necessity of devising some remedial measures of relief.

2. It is claimed that good drainage, good water, good food and clearance of jungles around habitations of men are among the approved factors contributory to a reduction and prevention of the malarial evil. If one could have these all, that would no doubt be ideal. But, all these cannot be had where they do not exist, for the mere asking, all at once, and we must face the situation as it is and can at least do something to minimise the people's sufferings and the deaths by thousands, by medical aid.

3. There is no doubt that quinine is one of the principal medical remedies for malaria. But can simple quinine alone stop malarial mortality?

Last year, Rs. 25000 to Rs. 30000 was spent in this District of Birbhum in quinine distribution: yet, the deaths from malaria amounted to the appalling figure of 40 per mille, which is the highest malarial death rate for the province, as against 27 for the year previous. Tipperah was the best in the list with only 3 per 1000.

This fact reveals a situation which calls for a moment's serious reflection. In spite of quinine distribution, the deaths were so excessive and unprecedented in a district like Birbhum so well drained naturally and otherwise so good.

4. Simple quinine is efficacious as a prophylactic remedy in simple malarial fever attended with enlargement of spleen. But, when complications such as pneumonia, dysentery, heart trouble or brain congestion, &c., are present, as usually happens in virulent or old malarial fever, other medicines are needed and they have got to be prescribed by competent doctors, and the sick poor must get the medicines at their very doors, free if possible, or, at nominal price, or, we must let them die before our eyes by the thousand.

5. As in agricultural reform, so in public health, what is wanting in our country is 'intensive' treatment, rather than 'extensive'. The energy, attention, time and money spent in desultory endeavours and half-hearted measures, scattered over an unmanageably large area, if focussed and concentrated in selected and typical areas would undoubtedly lead to more tangible results. Control and supervision will be better and more personal and we will get a continuous record of the efficacy of a

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particular line of treatment. At least, we shall have some definite programme and definite results which cannot but be useful as an experiment. If the result be satisfactory, we can extend our scheme to other parts of the country gradually.

6. When it is a matter of life and death to a vast population and the people of the villages are either apathetic or helpless it is our duty to do something for them. Large sums of money are often spent on experiments of a doubtful value. Much time, thought and money are spent over prevention of cruelty to animals. When human lives are concerned, a sum of Rs. 10000 or 12000 be it over a mere experiment, would perhaps not be money spent on a bad cause.

In Dinajpur, the Government of E. B. & Assam, spent Rs. 32000 on kerosening tanks, cleaning jungles and killing mosquitoes, etc., a propaganda which seemed to laymen no better than a mere wild goose chase, yet, the worst critic going through the report on Dr. Bentley's anti-malarial operations cannot but be struck with the amount of useful information brought to light. Even the futility or unsuitability to Indian conditions, of measures found suitable in Mauritius, Panama Canal or Ismailia, have got to be demonstrated before we condemn them.

7. The Japanese Government resorted to the following method in the Formosa Islands:—

To quote from an official report on the subject—

"They set about doing this in a very business-like and thorough-going manner. By way of experiment, certain districts were selected and on a certain day all the inhabitants were summoned to appear at an appointed place to have their blood examined microscopically with a view to finding out if they were "malaria carriers". Those in whom the malaria parasites were found, were placed under treatment for 30 days during 2 months in order that the parasites may be exterminated. It is stated that altogether 396621 persons were examined of whom 11396 were proved to be carriers and were treated accordingly. It is now possible to estimate the results printed in a report which has been issued. It is stated that in two districts the mortality from malaria has been reduced to nothing, although in the year before the experiment was initiated, it was at the rate of 15 per one thousand in one of these districts, and 5 per thousand in the other. In another district for which figures were given, it has been reduced from 11·60 per one thousand to 3·39 per one thousand. These results are noted after the system has been in operation for 2 years."

8. Nearer home, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra (ex-judge, High Court) got good results by confining his work of anti-malarial reclamation to a selected locality round about his native village, Panishehala, in Hoogly. This also supports my plea for a concentrated line of work or 'intensive' policy.

9. My scheme therefore would be as follows:—

(i) During Malaria epidemics moving dispensaries (in carts specially designed) in charge of sub-assistant surgeons, to march from place to place and treat malaria patients on the spot. Details can be considered hereafter.

(ii) Throughout one whole year (experimentally for the present) operations similar to that described for Formosa to be carried on in typical areas, new areas being taken up after one area has been thoroughly treated.

Spleen census as done in the Dinajpur Operations and blood examination being, of course, the leading lines. Medical experts can decide the details.

10. Floating dispensaries were found useful in Faridpur. The credit for this original idea and its practical success belongs to the personal zeal and guidance of Mr. K. C. De, I.C.S., I believe (I speak from memory).

I quote from the Bengal Administration Report, 1902-03.

"At Faridpur an interesting experiment was made by District Board who started a floating dispensary which regularly visited markets and villages on the Kumar river and afforded a large amount of medical relief to the sick poor" (page 118).

1903-04:—

"The floating dispensary established in the Faridpur District in 1902 is continuing to do good work and is an undoubted advance: the example might well be followed in some of the other water-logged districts. Medicine chests have been supplied to the headmen of outlying villages in a few districts but it is doubtful whether much benefit results. On the other hand, the visits of dispensary medical officers to local markets and fairs have been found useful in a number of instances and is undoubtedly desirable in the remoter districts such as the Chittagong Hill tracts" (page 128).

In Baroda, there are even moving Libraries for popular education.

Moving dispensaries in Bengal may look like an European innovation. But what we are concerned with immediately is the possiblity of its practical application to our villages and we must judge the scheme on its merits.

For better supervision and control, fullest use should be made of the executive

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gazetted officers—the technical side (medical) being in the hands of the Civil Surgeon. Details can be worked out later on.

11. My proposal now is for grant of money in each district as follows:—

A staff of one sub-assistant surgeon and one compounder with necessary medicines and appliances for one selected centre Rs. 150 per month.

For 4 centres (tostart with)	Rs. 600
An Assistant Surgeon as supervisor	Rs. 200
TOTAL	800

or, say, Rs. 1000 a month, to be employed for one year.

Epidemics will be specially dealt with by seperate special staff and that also on the principle of moving hospitals.

12. A word may be added in this connection as to reclaiming and then reserving village tanks, some of which were magnificent reservoirs of drinking water in their day, but are now over-grown with weeds and rank vegetation, the veritable hot-beds of malarial poison.

I plead for a more flexible, less rigid, in a word, "personal" line of work. Rs. 2000 a piece can be given to a number of officers, say, as follows: —

	Rs.	
Sub Divisional Officers.....	2000	each
Circle Officers.....	2000	,,
Selected Dy. Magistrates...	2000	,,
	Total Rs 12000 to 15000	

absolute discretion being given to the officers to spend the money supplemented by local contributions in money and kind, i. e., day-labourers of the village contributing by labour, &c., as best and profitably as they can and according to their own ideas, initiative, local influence and tact. A fixed local area is to be allotted to each such officer. More visible and definite results can be achieved in this way in one season than has been actually done in the last several years.

13. This perhaps is not a very large order—Rs 12000 for the Formosa scheme and Rs. 10000 to 15000 for tanks, considering the vast interests at stake in each district. In fact, a substantial sum is being spent in many districts every year on mere quinine distribution with no visible effect. The malaria doctors generally are on quick march over this district—not being allowed to stay more than a day (so I hear) in one place.

Can we expect any definite results from such indefinite and random lines of work? That is the point for us to solve. Rs. 30,000 spent in one small district on anti-malarial work of the kind hitherto practised may look quite a respectable success on paper. But in reality is it worth repeating from year to year? It is making little or no impression upon malaria, which is rampant as ever and it behoves us, the Government and the people, to try a more definite and more localised line of work, if we are for definite results.

14. I submit my scheme for consideration by all concerned for whatever it may be worth. We Indian officers are of the people and of the Government. Our opportunities for knowing the exact needs of the people and doing good to them are unique and many a good thing is missed if we forbear to speak out the right word at the right moment. Good thoughts, like true needs, are bound to fructify some day in some congenial soil.

15. The anti-malarial campaign will comprise:—

(1) Combined Formosa and Dinajpur scheme, namely, blood examination and spleen census—followed by a regular and systematic course of treatment—not merely making the patients swallow quinine tabloids—as at present—irrespective of the attendant complications of the individual cases.

(2) Reclaiming old tanks and reserving at least one in each village for drinking purposes,

(Jungle clearance and improved drainage around habitations of men can be undertaken as far as possible with the voluntary aid and co-operation of the people concerned. Anything very definite may not be possible at once)

The processes (1) and (2) will go on hand in hand in the selected area.

16 The unit, experimentally, may be a group of 10 or 15 villages or about the size of a chaukidari union. The village in India from ancient times has been an indispensable unit in the social fabric and the starting point of public life. In all matters of vital reform of a wide-spread and far reaching character, it is, therefore, but the natural process in India, to build from the village unit upwards.

Given distinct funds, a definite programme

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of work in a definite area and a capable organiser with a free hand at expenditure (however humble the allotment may be)—a definite advance is bound to follow much quicker than by the reverse process of beginning from the top downwards.

It is time that a definite practical move, however humble, in right earnest, were made to demonstrate the potentialities of the true ideal of local self-government—so much written and talked about, which we are pledged to let our people participate in.

17. There is no end of the subjects, which, to carry local self-government to its natural logical sequence, could be taken up by a local union in due course. Its possibilities are immense. As an experimental measure, along with anti-malarial treatment on the Formosa *cum* Dinajpur plan and reclamation of tanks, we can take up the following work in hand :—

(1) Introduction of new crops, better seeds, improved cultivation, manuring and irrigation—in practical compliance with the recommendations of the Agricultural Department (only known results of the Department, not mere experiments).

(2) Establishing seed, manure and implement depots.

(3) Forming Co-operative Credit Societies and organisations such as purchase and supply societies—thereby fostering the practical application of the co-operative principle to Agriculture.

(4) Expansion of primary education.

(5) Salish Sabha (Arbitration Board) for amicable settlement of petty disputes.

18. These items will furnish enough material for a continuous constructive programme of useful work for a number of years to come. The ideal as thus outlined will appear to be sufficiently inspiring and stimulating to any zealous Government Official or public-spirited man of the country who is for realsubstantial progress. But, it is very different from that of the union committees that are being started here and there, which are only miniature rural editions of the town municipalities with the necessary evil of fresh taxation and the harassments due to bye-laws and regulations as to latrines, jungle clearing, ditch filling, &c., without any tangible extra benefit felt by the people in the matter of agricultural and co-operative progress, drinking water, medical aid or education.

19. For the present i.e., during the experimental stage, the control and direction of the operations will rest with a Gazetted Executive Officer assisted by the local panchayet. In fact the success of the scheme will virtually depend upon his power of initiative, control and organisation—in a word, his personal magnetism. He will have to be inspired by a love for the cause himself and to instil enthusiasm and confidence in the people among whom he will work. He will have to work in hope and faith and with the fervour of a religious conviction to make the scheme a success and not mechanically as in ordinary office routine business.

A beginning, however modest, can be made in every district with one typical area to start with, and any one of the Deputy or Sub-deputy Collectors on the ordinary district staff can supervise the work in addition to his duties under the supervision of the collector.

A spirit of emulation and healthy rivalry will spring up between district and district as to which can show, at the end of a year, better results as to the number of malaria cases thoroughly treated on the Formosa *Cum* Dinajpur plan, tanks reclaimed and reserved, co-operative societies organised, crops, manures and implements newly introduced, primary schools started, cases amicably settled and so on.

20. At present, Executive and Revenue officers generally, and District officers particularly, suffer from want of a definite scheme of work or a sufficiently inspiring and attractive ideal before them mixed up with true and real popular good which they can work for, live for, strive for; and, there is no fixed index of progress by which to judge of the comparative results of different district administrations and thereby weigh the comparative merits of different officers.

The number of cases disposed of, witnesses examined or the volume of correspondence dealt with, processes served, &c., are of course a testimony of hard and good work, but these touch but the fringe of the real administration which is concerned with the promotion of real beneficent measures affecting the mass of the people, and in this respect, something like a positive turn in the angle of vision would not be unwelcome.

21. The scheme can be named, with His Excellency's kind permission, "The Carmichael Scheme of village reform in

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Bengal" and it would be a marked event in Bengal's history if the first seeds of true local self-government as sketched out in Lord Ripon's memorable Resolution of 1882—were to be sown broad cast (may be but one tiny seed in one district) by the hand of the first Governor of the Province.

22. As for malaria in Birbhum, a Sanatorium at one time, but now so bad, in fact, the worst in Bengal to judge by mortality, the Sanitary report for the District is a melancholy reading. 38000 people died of malaria alone in this small District, last year, or 40 per mille as against 26000 of the year previous, or 27 per mille; and over 33000 people have already fallen victims in the 11 months from 1st January last to November. In other words, in these three years, a lakh of people out of 9 have been carried away by malaria alone.

23. Malaria deaths are not like those from cholera or plague, the work of a few hours. There may be sudden and quick deaths due to the special virulence of an attack, particularly among infants. But the usual course of the malady is a process of slow torture and death by degrees. The malarial parasite enters the system, and establishes a comfortable abode there. There is none to molest it. There is no blood examination and no thorough dose of quinine treatment within a certain stated period (I believe, it is 80 grains for an adult in 48 hours time or something like, that). If that were done at the early stage, the parasite would be killed and the person would have a fresh lease of life Perhaps, with careful living and a regular mild prophylactic dose of quinine twice a week or so he would altogether be immune for the rest of his life. But, no, that is not to be. He is but a poor, though sturdy, rustic toiling in the fields in the nook of a hamlet 20 miles away in the interior. None to examine his blood, or, to wait, halt and see to his taking the quinine for 2 days in the prescribed dose. A flying doctor comes but he is on quick march and can not and does not tarry.

24. The parasite starts its work, fever every now and then, want of digestion, langour, &c. The man becomes half useless in one season. The parasite goes on developing unchecked, and what was benign tertian becomes 'malignant' the following season. Enlargement of the spleen, derangement of the liver, anæmia, &c., now set in, besides fever as usual, oftener and more and more virulent in its attack. The man by this time has become more dead than alive, a miserable distortion of his former robust self. He is now oftener in bed than upon his legs. By this time, he has lost all self-help and self-confidence and has resigned himself to the worst. Not to speak of proper nursing, even if there were proper medicines (mere quinine tabloids will no more do) at his door and the medicines dispensed to him, there and then, free or at cost price where one has the means to pay, his life would be saved. That would also serve as an inspiration to others to try to live and fight malaria, not resigning oneself to fate, as is happening now-a-days.

The simple malarial attacks of this year will develop into malignant cases next year and it is these latter which swell the death roll unless we can nip them in the bud this year. Not that a sudden virulent type of malaria or an epidemic wave has come over the land. The malaria poison is there, as perhaps in every other country. It becomes more or less pronounced before public notice, according as remedial treatment is resorted to or not by the people. This accounts for the fact that malaria is not confined to one particular locality or any particular class of people. The localities which showed most deaths last year or the year before are not the ones showing the same this year.

25. Our new line of work can be as follows :—

Blood examination and spleen census will show which are "early" or "first stage" cases, and which are 'ripe' or "advanced" cases. The two classes of cases will be sorted apart and will be separately registered and treated. For the first, quinine tabloids in proper doses and for the other class, which are the cases usually turning fatal, a regular course of treatment must be arranged and the medicines dispensed at convenient centres.

26. Any how, for want of a systematic course of medical examination and medicine supply, costing Rs 12000 or Rs 15000, we lost 38000 of our men last year and about the same number this year. The majority of them would have survived with proper treatment. In other words, human lives went so cheap as 3 for a rupee, and the same is

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going on this year in this district, the land of Sir S.P. Sinha, and SirR. N. Tagore and the home of the Hetampur-Raj Kumars. A bare statement of the fact is enough to arouse some definite activity on better lines this year and in the years to come.

DAKSHINA R. GHOSH,
Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector.

Suri, Birbhum.
The 7th Jany., 1916.

THE CYCLE OF SPRING

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D. LITT.

VAIRAGYA-SADHAN.

THE Rajah is in a great distress of mind, his first grey hair having been discovered by his queen overnight. The music is stopped, ambassadors from foreign lands are refused audience, the general bringing the war report is not admitted to his presence, the poet is dismissed, even the father-in-law waits in vain to give him his blessings. The Rajah believes that nothing short of giving up the world is demanded of him in the circumstances, and he asks for the great holy man Shrutibhushan, learned in scriptures, to help him in his path of renunciation. The Prime Minister is at his wit's end to know how to carry on State business, the Rajah refusing to attend the court. Famine is over the land and the famished are clamouring at the palace gate. This the Rajah finds extremely disturbing in his present state of mind. Shrutibhushan comes and with the help of the scripture verses encourages the Rajah in his determination to attain that serenity of mind which comes of absolute inaction. He is duly rewarded by the Rajah with a grant of land and cows innumerable.

Then comes the poet and brings back music into the land and work and zest in life, in spite of the Rajah's grey hair. It is all through the following play of

PHALGUNI:

A play, in which it is conclusively proved to the satisfaction of all and sundry that the New is the repetition of the Old; the first scene of which is named Outburst, the second Search, the third Doubt, and the last Discovery. Each scene is approached through a musical prelude.

Dramatis Personae

A BAND OF YOUTHS	Seekers of the secret of life.
CHANDRAHAS	The favorite of the party who represents the charm of life.
THE LEADER	The life-impulse.
DADA (Elder Brother)	The wise man of the party. He checks and controls and is the spirit of prudence.
BAUL	The blind singer, seer of life in its truth, undistracted by eyesight.

A FERRYMAN, A WATCHMAN, and others.

HERALDS OF SPRING: Flowers, young leaves and birds represented by boys and girls.

WINTER and his party.

Musical Prelude to Scene I.

The Heralds of Spring are abroad. There are songs in the rustling bamboo leaves, in birds' nests, and in blossoming branches.

The Bamboo sings :—

O South Wind, O Wanderer, push me and rock me,
thrill me into the outbreak of new leaves.
I stand a-tiptoe, watching by the wayside
to be startled by your first whisper,
by the music of your foot-steps,
a flutter of joy running through my leaves, betraying my secret.

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The Bird sings :—

The sky pours light into my heart,
my heart repays the sky in songs.
I pelt the South wind with my notes.
O blossoming *palash* (flame of the forest),
the air is a-fire with your passion,
you have dyed my songs red with your madness.
O *Sirish*, you have cast your perfume-nets wide in the sky,
bringing up my heart into my throat.

The blossoming Champak sings :—

My shadow dances in your waves, everflowing river.
I, the blossoming Champak, stand unmoved on the bank
with my vigil of flowers.
My movement dwells in the stillness of my depth,
in the delicious birth of new leaves,
in flood of flowers,
in unseen urge of life towards the light ;
its stirring thrills the sky, and the silence of the dawn is moved.

SCENE I.

A band of youths have come out seeking adventure. The Wise Man of the party must have listeners for his quatrains full of sound advice. But the good words are lost on these wild spirits, and laughter and recklessness prevail. Then enters their leader, of undying youthfulness, who shall be nameless in this play. He laughs at them when they make mention to him of The Old Man. They accept his challenge to bring The Old Man captive for their spring festival.

Musical Prelude to Scene II.

Spring's heralds try to rob winter of his outfit of age.

They sing :—

We are out seeking our play-mates,
waking them up from every corner before it is morning.
We call them in bird-songs, beckon them in trembling branches,
we spread our enchantment for them in the sky.
You shall never escape us, O Winter !
You shall find our lamp burning even in the heart of the darkness you seek.

Winter sings :—

Leave me, Oh, let me go.
I am ready to sail across the South Sea for the frozen shore.
Your laughter is untimely, my friends,—
you weave with my farewell tunes your song of the new arrival.

Spring's heralds sing :—

Life's spies are we, lurking in all places.
We have been waiting to rob you of your last savings of dead leaves,
scattering them in the South Winds.
We shall bind you in flower-chains where Spring keeps his captives,
for we know you carry your jewels hidden in your grey rags.

SCENE II.

The band of youths gaily set forth seeking the Old Man. They question the Ferryman about him, but he only knows of the way and not of the wayfarers. They question the Watchman and he says his watch is at night and passers-by are shadows to him. He warns them against their fools' errand. All the information they get is that the Old Man is seen only from behind and never in front. In the meantime the Ferryman and the Watchman are happy in the company of the quatrain-maker. They take him to be profoundly wise, his verses being supremely trite.

Musical Prelude to Scene III.

Winter is being unmasked, his hidden youth about to be disclosed.

Spring's heralds sing :—

How grave he looks, how laughably old,
how seriously busy with the preparations of death !

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But before he reaches home we will
change his dress and his face shall
change.
We will confound his calculations,
snatch away his bag, bulging
out with dead things,
and there shall be unveiled the
reckless and the young in him.

They tease him and sing :—

O the time comes, it has come,
when he shall know that he is our
own,
when the mad torrent shall be un-
loosed from the miserly grip of
the ice,
and the north wind in its ring-
dance shall turn round.
O the time comes, it has come,
when the magic drum shall be
sounded,
when the sun shall smile at the
change of your grey into green.

There enter a troupe of young things and they introduce themselves in a song as follows :—

Again and again we had said, "Good
bye,"
never hoping to return.
Again and again we come back at
the gate.
"O who are you ?"—
"I am *Vakul !*"
"And who are you?"—
"I am *Parul.*"
"And who are these others ? '—
"We are mango-blossoms landed on
the shore of light."
We shall smile and leave when our
time comes,
for we know that we throw our-
selves into the arms of the
Never-ending.
"O, who are you ?"—
"I am *Shimul.*"
"And who are you ?"—
"I am *Kamini.*"
"And who are these others ?"—
"We are the jostling crowd of new
leaves in the *Sal* forest !"

SCENE III.

The day wanes. The young travellers are tired, their faith in the Leader wavering. They fear they cannot trust what is before them, that they can lean only upon what is behind. They are almost in that desperate mood when men sit down to compose quatrains full of wise maxims. There comes Chandrahas, the favourite of the party, with a blind singer to direct him in his pursuit. The singer can see with his all, not having the distraction of eyesight. Chandrahas makes ready to enter the cave to capture The Old Man.

Musical Prelude to Scene IV.

Winter is revealed as Spring. Thus follows his confession to his tormentors:—

"Do you own defeat at last at the
hand of youth ?"
"Yes !"
"Have you in the end met the Old
who ever grows new ?"
'Yes !"
"Have you come out of the walls
that crumble ?"
"Yes !"
"Do you own defeat at last at the
hand of the hidden life ?"
"Yes !"
"Have you in the end met the Death-
less in death ?"
"Yes !"
"Is the Dust driven away that steals
your City of the Immortal?"
"Yes !"

SCENE IV.

Chandrahas has disappeared in the cave. His party are deep in doubt and despondency. Chandrahas suddenly re-appears from the cave and his friends are happy again. They ask him of his quest. He bids them wait for the Captive who is to follow him soon : When to their astonishment the Leader himself comes out of the cave fresh and young and the Old Man is nowhere.

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Spring's followers surround him and sing :—

Long have we waited for you, beloved,
watching the road and counting
days.
And now April is aflower with joy.
You come as a soldier boy winning
life at death's gate.
O the wonder of it !
We listen amazed at the music of your
young voice.
Your light mantle is blown in the wind
like the odour of spring blossoms.
You have a spray of *Malati* flower in
your ear.
A fire burns through the veil of your
smile,—
O the wonder of it !
And who knows where your arrows
are with which you smite death !

The Wise Man comes with his last quatrain, which runs as follows :—

The sun stands at the gate of the
east, his drum of victory sounding
in the sky.
The night bows to him with her
hands on her heart and says,
"I am blessed, my death is bliss."
The Darkness receives his alms of gold,
filling his wallet, and departs."

They all sing :—

Come and rejoice !
for April is awake.
Fling yourselves into the flood of
being,
bursting the bondage of the past.
April is awake.
Life's shoreless sea is heaving in the
sun before you.
All the losses are lost and death is
drowned in its waves.
Plunge into the deep without fear
with the gladness of April in
your blood.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—A NEW CHAPTER

"THE last was the first Congress of the New Era, of the New India,—the India of the young, of the hopeful, of the energetic." This is how Mrs. Annie Besant has described the 30th session of the Indian National Congress which met in Bombay less than five weeks ago, and the description truly represents the opinion of the bulk of the delegates who had the pleasure and the privilege of attending it. Really the last session of the Congress marks a landmark in the onward and progressive history of the Indian National movement.

During its inception and the first two years, the Indian National Congress flourished under gubernatorial patronage and basked under official sunshine. At the end of the second Congress in Calcutta, a large number of the delegates were treated to an afternoon party at Government House, then the winter residence of the Viceroys of India. Next year, fortunately for the Congress, Lord Dufferin fell out with Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, the inspirer and founder of the movement, and we were treated to an exhibition of Viceregal temper in a notorious post-prandial utterance, the memory of which is still lingering this day. This opened a new chapter in the history of the Congress, and from 1888 on to the beginning of the present century, no end of ridicule and banter had been levelled against it. In Parliament, long before the last century came to an end, Mr. Goschen went out of his way to throw a very broad hint that the Congress was being fed and financed practically by the Russian rouble (the German bogey had not yet then come into vogue); and in India, between Sir Auckland Colvin and the late Rajah of

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Benares, Sir Syed Ahmed, Odey Pratap Singh of Bhinga, Rajah Siva Prasad and their worthy lieutenants, an impression was widely created in the public and official mind that the Congress was a very disloyal and seditious movement. This attitude of distrust was reflected in the deliberations of the Congress itself and by the secession from it of practically the whole of the Mahomedan community: and as a result, the main attention of this body was for several years concentrated in rebutting official statements, protesting against legislative measures and animadverting upon bereaucratic rule and official high-handedness. The Presidents of the Congress for this period hardly ever looked very much ahead or concerned themselves with any constructive programme of work. They bitterly declaimed against the spirit of the administration and criticised none too mildly all anti-popular legislative enactments. There were, however, exceptions to this, as George Yule (Allahabad, 1888), Ananda Mohan Bose (Madras, 1898), Sir Henry Cottton (Bombay, 1904) and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (Benares, 1905) introduced into their speeches such other matters as will be read with attention and respect by all students of Indian politics for a long time to come. The speech of Mr. Surendranath Benerjea in Poona in 1895 and of Sir Sankaran Nair at Amraoti in 1897 were also very notable utterances, the first for its oratcrical flourishes and brilliant delivery and the latter for its quiet strength and incisive criticism. This went on till December, 1906, when Mr. Dadabhi Naoroji laid down *Swaraj* as the ideal of the Congress. Over this word *Swaraj* and the various interpretations that were sought to be put upon this ideal, Congressmen in India split themselves up into the moderate and the extremist wings, and then came to blows at Surat in 1907. This again ushered in a fresh period in the history of this movement.

From 1908 to 1914, the Congress passed through a stage of great depression. The two wings of the Nationalist Party remained separated all this time by internal dissensions, while the Government took advantage of the blazing indiscretions of some of our countrymen to create new fetters for the people. At the top of all this came the *bomb*, which brought to a head the spirit of distrust cherished by a certain class of our people against British rule and opened the official eye to the realities of the situation and the bitterness of our grievances. While the Administration got nervous over what came to be known as the Indian Unrest, thanks to the intrigues and enterprise of the Northcliffe Press in England and to the literary activity and the personal influence of Sir Valentine Chirol and his friends, Lords Morley and Minto were endeavouring to the best of their light to rally the moderates. The feeling of the rulers and the ruled got again very much strained as the unrest came to be magnified and as the Morley-Minto reforms failed in a large measure to placate the better mind of the people. The address delivered by Pandit Bishen Narayan Dar as the President of the 26th Congress in Calcutta reflected in a very able and pointed manner the disappointment and bitterness of the educated community in India at the new official policy of repression and reaction.

At Bankipur and at Karachi (1912 and 1913), the Congress had very uneventful sessions and went off in a very hum-drum way: and when it met for the 29th session at Madras, the European war had broken out and the attitude of our people appeared to have dispelled distrust and want of confidence. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu availed himself of this opportunity to introduce a healthy departure in the tone of his Presidential address at Madras in December, 1914, and raised a cry for self-government in this country and a satisfactory adjustment of the relation of India with the British Empire. For the first time in the history of the Congress, controversial politics and discussions of administrative and legislative measures were practically avoided in the inaugural address of the President and an altogether higher plane was reached. At this Congress also, the proposals of a compromise between the right and the left wings of the Nationalist Party reached a definite stage and were referred to a Commitee, and signs were not wanting of a complete *rapprochement* between the two great communities of the Indian people—the Hindus and the Mahometans. The session of 1914, however, was the close of the period of depression, and it was felt by most Congressmen who attended it that a new chapter of its history would open with its 30th session in Bombay in December, 1915.

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The expectations of Congressmen in 1914 have been more than realised in the Congress of 1915. Not only have the two main wings of the Nationalist Party been reconciled to each other by a happy compromise, but for the first time in the history of India have the Hindus and Mahometans met in a common political platform to work out their common destiny, thus giving the Congress a truly representative and national character. And to crown all, there was the unique message of its President which, for boldness of conception, courage of expression, and statesman-like wisdom, will remain for a long time as one of the most remarkable utterances of our day.

I shall now take the liberty to discuss at some length the message conveyed by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha to the last Congress in Bombay. Sir Satyendra sums up our political ideal in one word—'self-government'—but, unlike most of our public men, he keeps us neither in the dark nor in doubt as to what he exactly understands by this word. While there has been a good deal of wobbling over 'self-government' as may be applied to India, Sir Satyendra defines his own idea of it by quoting President Lincoln's famous dictum —'Government of the people, for the people and *by the people*.' By 'Government', again, Sir Satyendra does not mean the civil administration and the legislative function of the State only, as is *generally* understood by the bulk of our people, but all the controlling agencies "civil as well as military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative." In Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's scheme of Self-government military control and 'the nationalisation of the army,' enter as effectively as popular control over legislation and administration. The question of enlistment and commissions in the Army, with their logical corollaries of universal volunteering and the removal of the hard provisions of the Arms Act, is as much practical politics to Sir Satyendra as the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Such an ideal of self-government, I beg leave to point out, has hitherto been never held up to us. In the earlier periods of the Congress, we had prayed and agitated for the expansion of the Legislative Councils and the repeal of this Act and that; latterly, we pressed for the full and satisfactory development of local self-government and further control and share in the actual administration of the country. In the 30th session of the Congress, our President put forward no detached and isolated claim for this or that privilege, this or that right, the abrogation of this Act or that, but the all-inclusive claim of control, *by the Indians themselves*, "over the civil as well as the military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative" branches of government. That is the highest ideal that the people of India may aspire to and no President of the Congress has put it so frankly and so courageously as Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha has done.

Defining his self-government as we have put it above, *government by the people* both civil and military, of course Sir Satyendra Prasanna was obliged to say that the goal was *not* yet. Who is there among us who understands what 'government by the people' really means as would suggest that such a goal is *attainable* in India either to-day or to-morrow? Even assuming the very large proposition that we Indians are to-day *fit for everything*, who would for the matter of that, be handing the government of this country to us *to-day* to be managed by indigenous agency alone? Also assuming that we are fit today to protect ourselves from internal strife and external aggression without having undergone military training of any kind whatever, who would take the risk to ask the English to withdraw from India immediately and leave the whole thing to us as a huge experiment? I really cannot see how any man with a grain of common-sense can ever question the soundness of Sir Satyendra's position in this matter. The sort of self-government that Sir Satyendra wishes and hopes for is certainly unattainable *to-day*, unless, of course, we are able to expel the British out of this country by a conflict of arms. And "India, freed from England, but without any real power of resistance," says Sir S. P. Sinha, "would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations." Therefore, one must agree with him in thinking that the time for the realisation of the ideal preached by him is not *yet*, and that there is really 'a wide gulf between the desire and the attainment.'

Unfortunately for Sir Satyendra, as well as for the Congress, a large number of Indian publicists have not really compre-

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hended his meaning of self-government, confounding it with the power to have greater control over the administration of the country and the establishment of popular control in the various Legislative Councils, and Municipal and District Boards. Then again, they have confounded his words, that the goal is not yet, with the questions of our fitness for self-government. Nowhere in his very closely-reasoned speech has Sir Satyendra ever denied the fitness of his countrymen for self-government. On the contrary, he himself lays stress upon this fitness in two places in his Address. For the edification of the Indian reading public, I will quote below these passages.

"The Bengali is just as anxious to fight under the banner of His Majesty the King-Emperor as the Sikh and the Pathan, and those of them to whom an opportunity has been given to serve either in ambulance, postal or despatch work, have shown as great a disregard of danger and devotion to duty as others employed in the more arduous work of fighting. India has risen to the occasion, and her princes and peoples have vied with each other in rallying round the imperial standard at a time when the enemies of the Empire counted on disaffection and internal troubles. The spectacle affords a striking proof as much of the wisdom of those statesmen who have in recent years guided the destiny of the British Empire in India *as of the fitness of the Indian people to grasp the dignity and the responsibilities of citizenship of a world-wide empire.*"

"I take leave to point out that it is not correct, at any rate at the present time, to assert of any sections of the Indian people that they are wanting in such physical courage and manly virtues as to render them incapable of bearing arms.....If the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Mahrattas, and the Pathans—good and valiant soldiers as they are—are found to be loyal and law-abiding, *there is no reason to think that the case would be otherwise with the other races* when admitted to the same status and privileges."

I think the above extracts will give an effective quietus to those critics who have been sedulously trying to create the impression that Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha has proclaimed Indians unfit for self-government. People have confounded, in the first place, his ideal of self-government with only an apology for it in the shape of popular control over the civil administration and the legislative function of the State and then, in the second place, his limitations of time with the question of our fitness. And even on the point of time for the attainment of our goal of self-government, Sir Satyendra is not equivocal or unpractical.

"When we ourselves," says Sir S. P. Sinha, "have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to *secure internal peace and prevent external aggression*, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to *concede the fullest autonomy to India.*"

Then again:—

While we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration."

Be it noted here that Sir Satyendra does not pray for self-government as a part of the policy which a few years ago used to be described as the 'mendicant' one, for he says that self-government as a 'free gift from the British people is not worth having,' as nations, like individuals, '*must grow into freedom.*'

This enunciation of our ideal is manly, heroic, and has nothing undignified about it: nor has it anything to do with the 'whining or mendicant policy' with which the Congress used to be taunted at one time by men of the extremist school. Sir Satyendra does not believe in boons or concessions, or in royal roads or short-cuts either. He says how and what he feels, for, in the words of Edmund Burke, he would 'sooner take the risk of displeasing than injuring his countrymen.' He has, therefore, no hesitation whatever in advising his countrymen to *win* self-government by "patient preparation and silent and unobtrusive work in every aspect of our social and political life."

The enunciation of the ideal and the means to attain it, as explained above, show unmistakably a clear head, a courageous heart and an infinite fund of common sense. Sir Satyendra really deserves well of his countrymen for having taken up such a definite and independent stand on behalf of the Congress and bringing such an ideal so close to us.

Having dealt so far with the main argument of Sir Satyendra Prasanna's address—and Sir Satyendra does not concern himself with any other subject but self-government and the things that lead to it, directly and indirectly,—it remains to be seen whether he stops short at the mere enunciation of the ideal and does not proceed further. It has been suggested in some quarters that Sir S. P. Sinha's plea for self-government is academic, halting and hesitating, as he does not suggest any scheme of practical

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reform that might pave our way towards the ultimate goal. This is *not* true, as Sir Satyendra goes beyond most of the past Presidents of the Congress in suggesting what the Government might do for us and what we might do for ourselves. Before proceeding to set out Sir Satyendra's suggestions for political and military reforms, it is necessary to point out that he wants a definite impetus to be given to agriculture, to widen the field of co-operation, to develop local self-government, and to see a system of free and compulsory elementary education established in this country. He wants the Government to abandon the *laissez faire* doctrine that the development of commerce and industry is not within the province of the State and desires it to follow in the foot-steps of Japan by pioneering, promoting and protecting Indian industries, *even by sacrificing British interests.* All this may be a very large order, but as the President of the Congress, Sir Satyendra was only voicing the wishes and aspirations of the Indian People and a truer and sincerer spokesman of his people it would be difficult to find in our day.

While urging active measures to fight with ignorance and poverty and anxious to ameliorate by all manner of means the condition of the nation which, in the words of John Bright, dwells in the cottage, Sir Satyendra is not behind anybody in insisting upon political reforms which are so near to the heart of every Congressman. Pending the ultimate attainment of our goal, Sir Satyendra puts all our immediate demands in a nutshell:

"I ask that *steps* should be taken to move towards self-government by the gradual development of *popular control* over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire."

Lest there may be any mistake as to the *steps* that may commend themselves to the minds of patriotic Indians, Sir Satyendra does not stop short with the mere enunciation of a general proposition. He himself suggests what these *steps* should be:—

"A decisive advance towards provincial autonomy, the liberalisation of the Council Regulations, establishment of elective as opposed to non-official majorities, an increase of their powers of control, specially in regard to finance, a larger representation of Indians in the various Executive Councils as also in the Council of the Secretary of State, the admission of larger numbers of Indians to all the higher branches of the public services, the long-delayed separation of judicial and executive functions, the expansion of primary, scientific and technical education, the abolition of indentured labour and the improvement of the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire."

Then, in another place, he returns to the subject and says:—

"We shall continue to urge enlargement of the powers and modifications of the constitution of the Legislative Councils. We shall continue to ask for larger and yet larger admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the public services in all its branches and we shall claim these not as mere concessions but as a gradual fulfilment of solemn pledges for the *progressive nationalisation of the government of the country.*"

I shall desire all Indian publicists to note the quiet strength of the words I have put in italics in the above extract.

Not content with mere legislative and administrative reforms, Sir Satyendra goes much further and demands the Government to recognise our claims for admission into the army and to throw its commissions open to all our people. He says:—

"1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, subject, however, to prescribed tests of physical fitness.

2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's equal subjects, subject to fair, reasonable, and adequate physical and educational tests, and that a military college or colleges should be established in India where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission.

3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course again to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and

4th. We ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. This has no real connection with the three previous claims, but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are attempted to be justified on the same ground of political expediency."

It may be noted here, in connection with the above demands, that Sir Satyendra believes that India was never *conquered* by England in the literal sense of the word and therefore he cares precious little for the Anglo-Indian shibboleth of India being 'won by the sword and retained by the sword.' But that's another story.

In the enunciation of our political ideal which at once commends itself to the heart as well as the head of every sensible and patriotic Indian and in pressing for the reforms we badly want, Sir Satyendra, instead of compromising in any way "the rights and best interests, the honour and dignity" of his country, has advanced her cause beyond any reasonable calculation. Montesquieu, De Tocqueville and the French Cyclopaedists have all expatiated upon the necessity and virtue of every

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nation having a high political ideal, and I have yet to know the Indian patriot who could put India's political ideal with greater courage and wisdom than was done by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha at the last Congress in Bombay.

Even in incisive criticism, Sir Satyendra yields the palm to none. The following extracts will show beyond doubt that he is as keen-witted in suggesting reforms as in finding fault.

I feel that hitherto the Government has not only ignored but has put positive obstacles in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help in this the most essential respect (defence of one's own country).

The reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils.

Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who, to use the classic words of Lord Morley, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the West?

Rich in all the resources of nature, India continues to be the poorest country in the civilised world. And there can never be political contentment without material prosperity shared by all classes of the people.

There can be no true sense of citizenship where there is no sense of responsibility for the defence of one's own country. "If there is trouble, others will quiet it. If there is riot, others will subdue it. If there is danger, others will face it. If our country is in peril, others will defend it." When a people feel like this, it indicates that they have got to a stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, and the system which is responsible for this feeling is inconsistent with the self-respect of normal human beings.

While the humblest European and Eurasian and even the West Indian Negro has the right to carry arms, the law of the land denies even to the most law-abiding and respectable Indian the privilege of possessing or carrying arms of any description except as a matter of special concession and indulgence, often depending on the whim and caprice of unsympathetic officials.

You may get better value for your money by getting as your soldier an Afridi or a Pathan or any non-British subject, but by excluding the Bengali, the Parsi or the Madrasi, you create a feeling of grievance, if not of actual resentment, which is certain to cause serious embarrassment in the work of general administration. You render it impossible for the excluded classes to consider themselves as *equal* subjects and citizens responsible for the defence of the country, and you fail to foster that spirit of self-help and that sense of self-respect among these classes which is essential to attain the goal of imperial unity.

We are seeking to regain our lost self-respect, to defend our homes and hearths against possible invaders, should the strong protecting arm of England be ever withdrawn from our country. It is no mere sentiment that compels us to demand this inalienable right of all human beings, though sentiment has its undoubted place in the scheme of every government. Some day or other, our right arm may be called upon to defend all that man holds most precious.

A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice and righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself that after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes.

I am afraid I have surfeited your readers with extracts from Sir Satyendra Prasanna's Address. But it is difficult to resist the temptation of placing before them the last sentence of it which sums up in very glowing words the creed of the Congress.

"It seems to me that, under the benign dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, we shall emerge into a new era of peace and good-will, and our beloved Motherland will occupy an honoured place in the Empire with which her fortunes are indissolubly linked, and we shall be the free and equal citizens of that great Empire, bearing its burdens, sharing its responsibilities and participating in its heritage of freedom and glory as comrades and brethren."

Now, I shall turn to another aspect of the last Congress. Some of us have been crying ourselves hoarse since a long time to give to the Congress a constructive character in addition to its demonstrative and deliberative functions. Our voice was so feeble that at one time we thought it was no good crying in the wilderness. Not that the Congress had always neglected useful propagandist work, but our complaint was that such work was never undertaken in India. The earlier Congressmen were obsessed with the idea of political 'boons,' and so they had set their heart on educating public opinion in England and interesting members of Parliament in the affairs of this country. They had, therefore, established a permanent committee and an organ in England for the purpose of discussing Indian topics and ventilating Indian grievances and had, on several occasions, sent out deputations to England to agitate over some or other important Indian questions. The public mind of India to-day may not have lost faith in our work in England, but it is awakening to the fact that unless we undertake some work ourselves in this country, both educative and propagandist, the Congress will have soon outlived its usefulness. The conviction seems to be

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gaining ground that unless we can carry the masses with us, no amount of wire-pulling in England will enable us to achieve our object. So we want education and sanitation to be spread very widely among our rural population, and, if the Government will not do it as quickly as we want it to, we must ourselves step into the breach. Sir S. P. Sinha truly observes:

"Primary education, improvement of agriculture and industrial expansion, improvement of rural as well as urban sanitation—there is work enough and to spare for every one of us. And how much could we not do by our own efforts if only we cared to organise ourselves."

He wants the Congress to be converted into a fertilising stream of steady effort and is anxious to work throughout the year. "Let us at this Congress," said its President, "wipe out the reproach that moderate Indian opinion only devotes a few days to public business in order to have the right during the rest of the year not to think any more about it." The Congress in Bombay fully endorsed this view of its President, and in consequence of it we are to have continuous and constructive work from this year, both in England and in India, and in furtherance of this object Sir Satyendra Prasanna has himself started a fund which, I have no doubt, will not only give a fresh lease of useful life to the Congress but will also carry his name down to a remote generation of Indians as one of the truest and sincerest benefactors of the Motherland.

Truly, as I began by saying in Mrs. Besant's words, the last Congress was the first of the New Era, of the New India,—the India of the young, of the hopeful, of the energetic. Providence willing, I hope it will not take us long to realise the ideal held out before us by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha and to restore our Motherland from her present fallen position to her ancient and natural status among the countries of the world.

PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

In the course of an article contributed to the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for December, entitled

Communal Representation in Local Bodies,

Ghulam Mahmood Sahib Mahajir Khan Bahadur has done a bit of practical and sane talking which should draw the serious attention of Hindus and Mahomedans alike, in fact of all Indians who are desirous of serving their motherland. For the benefit of our readers we cull the most important portion of the article:

The first thing for consideration in this connection is whether there is any analogy between the work done in a Legislative Chamber and at Local or Municipal Boards. In the former, questions of grave importance involving political and administrative changes and affecting diverse interests are brought up for discussion. This condition certainly necessitates a keen watch on behalf of the Muslim community which has therefore to be adequately represented on it; whereas in Local Boards and Municipal Councils, only topics of local interest are discussed, about which there can hardly be any diversity of views. For instance, in matters such as expansion of medical relief, sanitation, repair of roads and tanks and the like, Hindus and Mahomedans are not likely to entertain opposite views. As enlightened citizens and patriots, they are both equally interested in preserving the health and promoting the prosperity of the extensive areas under their parochial charge, and in using their best energies and efforts for the achievement of this end. The only plea which may possibly be advanced by the Separatists is that it will give them a free hand and scope in the exercise of their religious rights and observances. This is, however, a matter more easily attainable when there is harmony between the two communities than under other conditions. The unseemly quarrels which we hear of at times are entirely due to personal spite brought on by factious spirit on the part of miscreants on both sides. All this will vanish and evaporate the moment there is perfect understanding between their respective leaders. Toleration, good-will and co-operation are the life and soul of good citizenship and sure road to success, while exclusiveness and isolation always create bad blood and engender mutual hatred and contempt which must necessarily lead to serious results. Moreover there are some parts of India where the percentage of Mohomedan population is too small to warrant the grant of separate representation. This condition prevails to a large extent in the Madras Presidency. In such cases, Mahomedan interests are sure to suffer when the feelings between the two communities are not of a cordial nature. This is a serious

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condition which it is the duty of every patriotic Mussalman to guard against. Again, in places like Madras where the Hindus and Mahomedans happily live as members of a joint family, and also in places where the tension between them is by no means acute, insistence on separate representation is hardly expedient and can certainly serve no useful purpose.

In the pages of the *East and West* for January Abdur-Rahman Seoharvi makes us familiar with some of the best specimens of

Modern Servian Poetry.

The article under review provides very interesting reading and contains a deal of information. "The Slav literature is a new and wonderful achievement in the cultural history of the world," so says the writer.

The Servian people are a mixture of blond Russian-Goths and brown Northerners. The beginning of the new Servian literature is marked by the epoch of Slavonier Branko Radicevic (1824-1853). He has left behind him poems, the inspiration of which is drawn direct from life. His epic-drama *The Crown of the Black Mountain* is impressed with the intensity of a personal quality and is free from convention and abstraction. His rival and contemporary was Petrovic Njegos (1813-1851). A feverish and unsatisfied restlessness characterizes his art. Later Jovan Jovanovic won wide-spread popularity as poet and Lazar Lazarevic and Sima Matavulj earned distinction as talented writers of epic-prose.

Modern Poetry all over the world has become lyrical. The realist, the impressionist, the symbolist, the futurist, the imagist, the interiorist and the exteriorist are all agreed on the question of form. The literature of Servia has been no exception and has yielded itself to the tendency of the age, and the Servian master-singers have also found their true self in little pieces and small poems.

They do not follow the official academical intellectual school. Their poetry is unconventional, erotic and instinctive. They are rather careless of technique and delight in surprises.

"The greatest representatives of modern servian poetry are Kostic, Ilic, Ducic and and Stefanovic."

Kostic has been the greatest master of the Servian language of his time. In his metrics he is influenced by his favourite author Shakespear. Unlike all the other Servian poets who employ French syllabic meters in the making of their verse, he uses a strongly accentuated Iambus quantity. He is careless in his rhymes and abruptly begins or leaves off, to pair the ends.

The following lines, a true and sad portrait of the sensation-seeker, are auto-biographical. His life-confession is no tale of the joys of love but a halting narrative of unhappy attachments.

OH ! FORGIVE ME.

Oh forgive me
Oppressed with the burden of pain
I bend to thee
My word upon it. Nevermore
Will I hold the pen to write
Or the sword to smite
Never——nevermore
Oh forgive me, forgive my eyes—
My eyes that passionately suck
The light from the sun of thy face
But the light from thy revengeful eyes
Blinds my own. Ah me
I can no more see
Nothing——nothing.

Oh, forgive me forgive me
Forgive I beg of thee
I was drunk when I swore
Restore my pen, my sword
And my eyes.

What passionate looks are these?
Oh spare me, spare me yet.

Or———let it be
Gather me then to thy radiant breast
Stifle me in thy embrace
Let me sink in kisses
And drink the cup of sorrow
Till I end———
Then forgive me.

About Ilic we read:

Ilic, though he lacked intensely original talent, was no imitator of his Servian predecessors. He took his suggestions from the Continental masters but did not copy them. His poems always contain something of a story or suggest a situation. He draws well but has no eye for contour or colour. He is more literary than artistic and much of him is lost in translation. His outlook on life is subjective. He was precocious as a child and is premature as a poet.

The ideal of poetry Ilic had set up before himself was one worthy of his brave nation. How well he shows in these lines that poets are the trumpets that sing nations to battle.

THE POET.

The chosen of the gods is he
A votary in the temple of Art
He burns the incense of life
On the altar of the muses
His lyre is resonant of love
And none of the tunes of his music
Can ever be false.

A votary devoted is he
Of the goddess of freedom of nations
His message is justice and right.
As storm from the chimney of God
Doth smoke on a windy day
Rises his music divine.

He will live, the crowned of his nation
When all that is transient has passed
And drowned in the dismal ocean
Of centuries arm in arm,
As waves of the mighty sea,
In his utterance unsurpassable alone
Is immortality.

But weak, constitutionally and temperamentally as he was, he could not soar to the height of his own ideal. His poetry, is delicate. He can paint coy maidens and drooping flowers with effect. In general he describes psychological situations but keeps back from pronouncing his own judgment.

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The Guest and *Doubt* are his two characteristic poems. In the first he appears to be a realist, in the second an impressionist. He is in fact none or both.

THE GUEST.

The midnight hour is struck
And the public house is empty of guests
Only the old land-lord of the inn
Turns over the pages of his guest-book
The rain-drops patter against the window-panes
And darkness shrouds the earth.

What——is there not a knock at the door ?
In the tavern uninvited, unexpected,
Enters a strange guest——
Oh, it is Death himself
That comes to take his seat at this late hour.

The land-lord sleeps and snores
With the big book on his knee
Death approaches him on tip-toe
And taking a pen lying on the table
Enters his name in the guest-book.

DOUBT.

I found her fair in early days of youth
She was delicate and pale
I loved her, so.

The night was sweet and dark
Alone were I and she
I knew not how and when
Followed me
Doubt.

"Come my way" said he
"How beautiful is truth,
"Let her disrobe herself to thee"
"I search for truth
My way is war and pain
The days are long, the nights are cold
Before me aeons rise and fall
The rise of Greece, the fall of Rome I see
But, Doubt, my guide
Doth lead me on.

Jovan Ducic is the great poet of Modern Servia.

He is alive to the fact that his genius is different to that of his contemporaries. He is also conscious of his own greatness. This is his conception of true art.

MY POETRY.

Silent as marble, as shadow cool
Thou art a dreaming maid
Nervous and pale.
To others is song a woman
That sings in streets, unclean,
Harlotwise.

I deck thee not with pearls of glass;
Put yellow roses in thy dark long hair.
Be proud; give thyself to none
And shun the vulgar crowd; be shy.
Thy nakedness is divine,
Clothe it not
Save with the translucent veil
Of mysteries.

Here are two other pretty pieces from the same pen:

THE GLADIATOR.

In midnight silence of the museum hall
Round granite Mars, nude and drunk,
Dances the baachante.
In endless pain
Cold tears of marble weeps
Niobe.

Laakoon winds himself in serpent rings
Odipus insane with rage and fear
Sits on a heavy stone,
All is still,
I hear the moments fall
But no ! hallucination
Rings the midnight knell
And in the darkness long and cold
I hear a sigh . . . . . .
Oh here in this very forsaken hall,
Only two thousand years ago,
With sword fine-edged and bare,
Was the heart of a young gladiator
Run through.

LONELINESS.

In the long wood-end a forgotten spot
Laden with stillness, where at night
The waterfall weeps complainingly
And the empty willows sigh
In eternal silence, stands on a fountain-brink
Loneliness, nervous and pale.
She stands there, since when ?
Who knows.
The trees around her sigh and from leaf to leaf
Goes the refrain of pain.

About Stefanovic we are told:

The poetry of Stefanovic is didactic and problematic. His national poetry is full of strength but not harsh and heavy. It is war for the sake of the cause, and not for its own sake, that leads the nation to victory and glory. Stefanovic believes in the sure victory of right over wrong. He does not possess the language of the prophets of the Old Testament but can command words of flame at his bidding.

The following great poem explains more than any possible comment the unbreakable spirit of the Servian nation and its earnest resolve to conquer or to die. In these passages there is nothing which a matter-of-fact mind could not have thought out, but it is the privilege of genius alone to arrange and to know what is pertinent and essential.

THE ACCORD OF IMMORTALITY.

Oh soul, is there a happiness so beautiful and pure
As to be able to say to the world
At the moment of entering the House of the Dead
I gave thee all I had.

The cowards alone are afraid of death
Or bondsmen and slaves
"I am the captain of my soul
I am the master of my fate."

Hamlet-wise, I see the game of life,
Death is the brother of sleep,
He who fears his icy heavy touch
Was dead ere he died.

The rivers in their headlong rush
Fall into the mighty sea.
I go to greet the angel of death
Unhesitatingly.

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My approaching end with interest I watch
This world crumbles in my sight,
And another is born
I look in and look on.

The living say of us
"The dead are gone and are no more
Time has reaped the harvest of their lives,
On their knees sleeps desolate transitoriness
And pale and airy phantoms alone
Are left in memories here and there."

We know it but otherwise
And laugh at their mad delusion :
"O living. Reflect but for a moment,
Do you believe you have fallen
Like angels, unborn on earth.
Oh men, look at your muscular arms
Your hands that flash the terrible blade ;
Oh women, look at your long wild hair
That inmesh the hearts of your lovers,
We have given you your hands
We have given you your hair
You speak with our mouths stopped with dust,
You see with the empty sockets of our eyes
Our youth lives and blossoms in you."

"Why do you adorn our graves with crosses
And put wreaths of leaves and flowers thereon
We do not live in the graves
We live in you, we are you."

"We are ever with you, in waking and dream
Like your shadows never forsake you
And in the wars you wage on time and space
We are the helpers that lead you to victory."

Here is a description of the Servian sunset by Stefanovic.

THE SUNSET.

The sun sinks in all its purple glory
The rays a kingly host
Flee before the forces of the night.

The sunset bow with shafts of finishing light
Opposes the invading forces of gloom,
But the dark-hooded princess comes.

Death the trumpeter
Heralds her car of victory,
My heart is gripped with fear
I see the approaching end.

The last shimmer of light
Flickers and is gone

The Field of Public Health Work

is the title of a thoughtful contribution to the December number of *Local Self-Government Gazette* by George E. Tucker, which contains much that should make us think. The paper though originally read before the League of California Municipalities could have been as well read before the City fathers of Calcutta.

Says Mr. Tucker :

The health and prosperity of the community are dependent upon the health of the people, and a healthy community is prosperous, attracts people and increases the value of property. Public health is purchasable, and within certain limitations, a community can determine its own death-rate.

Health departments are the direct outcome of the knowledge that disease can be prevented. The general prosperity of the state is dependent upon the general health of the people.

Money put into health and sanitation of any character must be regarded as an investment from which definite returns are to be expected, and must not be considered in any sense an unprofitable expenditure.

It has been noted that in the Canal Zone where such wonderful work has been carried on, the death-rate for 1911 among 10,489 Americans was only 4·48 per thousand. This record is a remarkable one and is probably without rival. And all this, says Colonel Gorgas, has been accomplished at an expense averaging one cent per day for each individual. If this result can be secured at this cost in the centre of a tropical jungle, what would not a similar expenditure do for our cities ?

Who should constitute a board of health? The writer opines that

The question as to the necessity of a properly trained physician and an engineer on a board of health is seldom argued.

Health boards are concerned with water supplies, sewage disposal, collection and disposal of garbage, street cleaning, tenement-house sanitation, and the solution of these problems requires the services of engineers and it is for this reason that a municipal board of health should have for at least one of its members, an engineer whose judgment may be accepted as final.

Further, representatives on municipal boards of health should be chosen with the idea of selecting individuals who are intensely interested in the very problems which require the services of an engineer, a physician and a financier to solve. A representation of two successful laymen who are in a position to pass judgment on the expediency of proposed reforms are an invaluable assistance in the conducting of municipal health affairs. Usually, the Mayor of a city, in touch with the popular chord and the public purse, becomes a most excellent member. In municipalities where public school inspection has become a fixed institution, as a fifth member of the board, the selection of the inspector might be justifiable.

And the writer thinks that "public health officials must be full time officers and further they must be adequately paid."

Mr. Tucker rightly holds that

The field of public health work is continually broadening until at the present time its relationship to education, the prevention of crime, insanity, blindness and industrial accidents is well established.

If the spread of tuberculosis is dependent upon a low resistance of the people and if the cure of tuberculosis is to a very great extent dependent upon the factors of rest, fresh air and good food, and if it is true, as it seems, that the application of these therapeutic principles assists in bringing about recovery by increasing resistance, why are they not as applicable to healthy persons to maintain health as they are to unhealthy persons to bring about healthy conditions?

If the open air school building can be constructed for one fourth to one-half the cost of the so-called closed building, and if the children attending such schools show a fifty per cent. increase in efficiency, as statistics indicate they do, and if our tuberculosis school children improve under such therapeutic pro-

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cedure, why should we continue to build monuments of brick and mortar for future generations to destroy because of their unfitness from a health standpoint?

The development of adult criminals is oftentimes the result of preventable pathological conditions which should have been recognized and corrected in early childhood.

——

Writing in the *Indian Review* for December about

Indian Music

Mr. Kannoomal says:

A Hindu approaches the Goddess of Music as a pious, earnest, and devoted votary caring little for his worldly success and not as an interested professional artist who seeks her secrets to better his material prospects. Sur Das, Tulsi Das, Hari Das are the great exemplars before him. They were the men who, through the instrumentality of music, saw the vision divine and reached the final goal of human evolution.

There are seven primary notes briefly called S. R. G. M. P. D. N., which are the warp and woof of the charming and variegated web of Indian music. At first there are six major tunes called Ragas arising from the combination of these seven notes in a particular manner. Then each of these Ragas produces five sub-tunes called Raginis, which are all dominated with the central notes of their Ragas. By a further combination of the Ragas and Raginis are produced numberless minor tunes—each individual in its expression but dominated by the notes of the Raginis from which they have sprung. It will thus be seen that while the principal Ragas and Raginis are only thirty-six, the number of their offspring is legion. The peculiarity about these Ragas and Raginis is this, that they can be sung only in their prescribed season and time. For each there is a particular season and a particular hour of the day or the night when it would be sung.

In Indian music "each Raga and Ragini has been personified with a wealth of detail and a delicacy of expression."

Bhairavi—one of the sub-tunes of Bheron Raga—is represented to be a young woman with fair complexion and large eyes who is clad in a white *Sari* and a red-coloured corset, with a garland of Champak flowers round her neck. She is conceived as sitting on a crystal seat worshipping Mahadeva and singing with the measures of time well kept.

Similar are the descriptions of other Ragas and Raginis.

——

The World's Largest Literary Work.

The Chinese are a great people. Their contribution to human advancement and civilisation has not been meagre. Their stupendous activities in the field of literature were very tragically "recalled last year by the appearance in London of two sections of the Chinese Encyclopaedia, lent to the London Library by a man who picked them up for a song in a book shop of the British metropolis.

From the description of the work published in the *Library Miscellany* it will be seen that before it the modern lexicographic enterprises, such as the New English Dictionary, the Encyclopaedia Britannica, etc., pale into insignificance.

We are told that the Chinese work under review "comprised originally no less than 11,100 volumes, but the melancholy fact is that

This huge work, the fruit of years of incessant labor by a whole army of Chinese scholars, was practically wiped out of existence during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, when the rebels set fire to the Han-Lin College where the encyclopædia was housed. A few scattering volumes were rescued from the ruins of the building and have been turning up since then in China and other countries, but there is nothing near enough to give an adequate idea of the amazing scope and completeness of the work as it stood in its entirety.

One of those who visited the ruins of the college after its destruction by the Boxers was Lancelot Giles of the British Consular Service, who picked up one volume of the encyclopædia. After that his father, Herbert A. Giles succeeded in obaining five more.

The history of the creation and the completion of the work is thus set forth in the *Library Miscellany*:

It was in the year 1403 that Yung Lo, third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, one of the most energetic rulers that ever held sway in China, decided that he must have a compilation of all known writings. So he commissioned Hsieh Chin, the most eminent scholar of his time, to prepare a great encyclopædia embodying this immense hoard of material. Hsieh Chin set to work, assisted by a staff of 146 other learned men, and finished his task in one year and four months. It was called the Wen Hsien Ta Cheng, or Complete Record of Literature. Huge as it was, however, it did not anywhere near come up to the Emperor's wishes; his aim was to create something far surpassing what he considered the modest dimensions of Hsieh Chin's production.

So a new Imperial Commission was formed, on which Hsieh Chin was one of three Commissioners, for the compilation of a new and far more formidable work. In addition to the three Commissioners five directors, twenty sub-directors, and 2,141 assistants were employed—a total of 2,169 persons—for the Emperor's idea was to collect together all that had ever been written in the four departments of Confucian, canon, history, philosophy and general literature, including astronomy, geography, cosmogony, Buddhism, Taoism, handicrafts and arts.

After something like four years of unceasing labor the army of scholars submitted the result of their toil to the Emperor and won his august approval. He had reason to feel pleased, for, as a result of his insistence, there stood before him an array of 11,100 volumes, comprising 22,877 sections and an index occupying sixty sections more. Each of these volumes was half an inch thick, and the whole of them, if laid on top of each other, would be 450 feet high—higher than the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Each of the volumes was 1 foot 8 inches long by 1 foot wide, bound in the pasteboard common to

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most Chinese books, and ornamented with yellow silk, the imperial color. On each volume two labels were placed, one giving the titles and numbers of the sections contained within, the other the rhyme, according to the Hung Wu Cheng Yun, or rhyming dictionary used in the days of the Ming Dynasty under which all the entries were classified. This curious arrangement was due to the fact that as Chinese is not an alphabetical language, it is impossible to arrange the entries in Chinese encyclopædias, dictionaries and the like alphabetically, as is done in English and other languages of to-day. As a result of this the Chinese have been forced to resort to a variety of methods of classification for easy reference, among them this rhyming scheme adopted in the great encyclopædia of Yung Lo. Another method, by the way, which is frequently used, is to group together words which have similar first syllables.

Each section of the Encyclopædia Maxima has twenty leaves, which makes a total for the entire work of 917,480 pages as against 22,000 in the edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, which was the latest at the time of the destruction of the Chinese work. Each page has 16 columns of characters, averaging 25 characters to a column or a total of 366,992,000 characters. Chinese is written with extraordinary condensation, 100 characters corresponding, according to one authority, to 130 English words. Therefore, it may be said that the total of characters given above corresponds, in reality, to something like 400,000,000 of English words. Now the Encyclopædia Britannica used by Mr. Giles for purposes of comparison had a total of 30,800,000 words. This as much as any one detail, gives a vivid idea of the stupendous nature of Yung Lo's compilation.

In 1410 it was decided to have the vast work printed, and orders were issued by the Emperor to that end. But it was found that the expense would be so tremendous that the project was given up.

In 1421, when the Emperor transferred the seat of government from Nanking to Peking, the encyclopædia wes taken along to the latter city and stored in a pavilion of the imperial palace.

In 1562 a body of 100 scholars was ordered to make a copy and a duplicate copy of the work. These they completed in 1567, whereupon the original was sent back to Nanking, the first copy placed in the Peking palace, and the duplicate copy in the Office of Imperial Historiography.

When the Ming dynasty fell, in 1644, the original of the work at Nanking and the second copy at the Historiography Office were destroyed by fire. This left only the first copy at Peking, which was transferred from the palace to the Han-Lin-College, outside the Imperial City, where it remained until its destruction by the Boxers. After the transfer it was found that 2,422 sections, or about 1,000 volumes, were missing.

All the above was duly set down in the great Chinese imperial catalogue, but the figures given were of so amazing a nature that many foreigners questioned their accuracy and even doubted that such a work as the Encyclopædia of Yung Lo had ever been created at all. Nor did the Chinese Government deign to set their doubts at rest, for it resolutely set its face against all endeavors by "foreign devils" to gain access to the Han-Lin College and see for themselves the splendid monument of Yung Lo.

The five volumes secured by Herbert A. Giles deal with poetry, canonization of emperors, arithmetic, history, and costumes. At the end of each volume is a slip with the name of the official whose duty it was to copy, punctuate and compare with the original.

Important statistics about

Immigrant Labour in Assam

have been published in the *Indian Emigrant* for December.

Regarding immigration we read:

The number of persons immigrating during the year was considerably higher than in any of the preceding four years. There was a substantial increase in immigration from the Santhal Parganas and Chota Nagpur and from the plains districts of the United Provinces and Bengal. There were, however, fewer arrivals from the Central Provinces and Madras. The health of the coolies in transit was again good. The number of deaths was 42, as compared with 32 in 1913-14, the majority being due to cholera. The Chief Commissioner is pleased to note that the number of cases of fraudulent and irregular recruitment fell from 101, in the previous year to 81, of which only 29 were found on investigation to be true.

Regarding contracts and wages we are told that

The number of coolies executing contracts in the recruiting districts decreased from 3,776 to 2,465. The contracts of 46 coolies recruited for Sylhet, which were referred to in the last year's resolution, were cancelled at the beginning of the year. The number of contracts cancelled by the efflux of time was 2,455 against 2,479. These were regularly reported in all districts except Sibsagar where seven managers had to be warned for the omission to report expiries regularly. Three hundred and fifty-three contracts were dissolved by mutual consent against 552 in the preceding year.

Then again

The recorded birth-rate was 25·9 per mille calculated on the total strength of the coolie population and 88·8 per mille on the adult female population, the figures for the preceding year being 25·5 and 86·6 respectively. The recorded provincial birth-rate was 32·94 per mille of the total population and 177·71 per mille of the total adult female population.

For the total labour force the registered death-rate was 24·2 in 1914-15 against 24·7 in 1913-14, the number of deaths being 20,876 against 20,577. The rate among adults was 27·7 as against 28·2 in the preceding year. The highest death-rate (34·8) was recorded in Darrang and the lowest (23) in Cachar. As a result of the enquiry made by the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner with the object of bringing the Sanitary Department into closer relation with the tea industry, to which a reference was made in the last year's resolution, it has been decided that the monthly returns of births and deaths on tea gardens should be forwarded to the Sanitary Commissioner after being dealt with by the Civil Surgeon of the district, and should be supplemented by an annual return giving figures for the garden population which, together with the monthly returns, will enable the Sanitary Commissioner to watch the health conditions on every garden. As

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regards the suggestion that the inspection of unhealthy gardens should be performed by the Sanitary Commissioner, it has been decided that such inspections shall ordinarily be carried out, as at present, by the Civil Surgeon, the inspection reports being submitted to the Sanitary Commissioner for any suggestions which he may have to make.

During the year under review the number of gardens on the unhealthy list decreased from ten to five, four of which were in Sibsagar and one in Lakhimpur. Four of them have been in the unhealthy list for three years in succession.

There were three complaints of ill-treatment made by coolies against their employers during the year. One was found to be true and the other two were dismissed. Four hundred and seventeen applications for discharge certificates were filed of which 215 were successful. One thousand three hundred and eleven cases were instituted by Managers under Act XIII of 1859, 324 being decided in favour of the complainants and 904 being dismissed; ninety coolies were sent to prison. Ten cases of riot or unlawful assembly and five charges of assault were instituted by Managers. Generally speaking, the relations between employers and employed were excellent,

The number of desertions of Act-labourers reported was 979. One hundred and twelve warrants were issued for the arrest of deserters; arrests were effected in 32 cases and 19 coolies were convicted, ten being punished with imprisonment.

The Educated Indian Citizen

is the title of an useful article in the January number of the *Young Men of India*. Indians old or young, who want to serve their country may take a lesson from the following observations made by H. C. Herman in the course of the article under review.

What of home rule? representation upon an Imperial Cabinet or Parliament? primary education? social service? economic reform? industrial development? local and municipal affairs? These are burning questions; but where can you find a man who has even a skeleton of facts that have been carefully and correctly gathered? The philosophy and religious ideals of India have relegated facts to the rear; and these problems will only be solved by those who are willing to pay the price of hard work and know the subject.

But is not *social service* an expression of the growing aspiration of India? Ugly contrasts with conditions in other countries are striking at the pride of the educated Indian, and he wants to put things right, but seldom knows what to do. Does this not offer the best opening to use, both in approaching the disinterested Indian citizen and in conserving his growing aspiration to serve his country, not by helping to dissolve the British Government in India, but by leading him down into a parchary and keeping him there long enough to find out that practically every one is in debt, living in squalor, the drains clogged, houses insanitary and the rate of infant mortality apalling? If he will visualize these facts, not theoretically but vividly, just as they are marring and ruining life, there is some hope of his waking up to the fact that as an educated citizen he is responsible for such conditions, and that he has best to remedy them. Some Associations fortunately find at hand an organization whose interests are excellent, but whose benefits are limited by the human factor—such organizations as the Social Service League at Bombay, Bangalore, Calcutta, Madras and other cities. But any Association can undertake a simple programme of social service, and expand as rapidly as resources permit. The organization of Co-operative Credit Societies seems to be most urgent in view of the crushing indebtedness everywhere. Night schools, boys' clubs, bringing pressure to bear on the authorities to clean streets and drains properly, securing adequate medical service—these are only a few suggestions. Probably investigation of conditions close at hand is the best sedative for an overdeveloped sensitiveness towards the problems of the Empire.

Psychology of Wealth.

In the course of an article in the *Vedic Magazine* for December L. Balmukand Kohli writes:

Wealth is the only determining factor to entitle one to a certificate of respectability of birth. The fact is, however, ignored that the so-called families are founded and obliterated even in one's lifetime. Innumerable examples can be given of impecunious persons becoming masters of wealth, earned either honestly or dishonestly, and then being reduced to a state of pauperism either in their lifetime or in the lifetime of their children or grandchildren. A man not possessed of riches however irreproachable his character, however chaste his ideas, however straightforward his dealings with others and however sympathetically disposed towards human sufferings, is generally looked upon with hatred and contempt by the so-called society of to-day, and is a person of no importance merely because of his poverty. On the other hand, a man wallowing in wealth without virtue or decency finds renown and respect, whether false or genuine, stored for him everywhere.

A man of humble origin by his intelligence, capacity, industry, etc., (or good luck whatever one may be pleased to call) elevates himself from impecuniosity to shining opulence and lays the foundation of a family. The very family once styled low is then termed respectable and all its descendants are termed honorable. With the revolution of time and vicissitudes of fortune the family again loses its prominence and is reduced to a state of obscurity. One of its descendants turns out extravagant, squanders away in idleness or immoral pleasures, all the wealth which was earned by fair or foul means and jealously guarded by his father or grandfather or other relations, and the family is again unable to keep the wolf from the door.

The tyranny of rich over the poor is proverbial. In the majority of cases they have neither the inclination, nor the capacity nor the leisure to evince practical sympathy for the hardships, privations, and disadvantages which their poor brothers undergo in this life. They consider it derogatory to their position even to talk to them. They have all the conceit and presumption of wealth and are always intoxicated with the little fortune or position they enjoy. Too much wealth, moreover, has often a demoralising effect on the owners. Young people born with a silver spoon in their mouth and inheriting large fortunes, generally do not realize their social responsibility and status. Their moral outlook is limited by their weak-

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Should we not be able to say :

I ask not for his lineage,
I ask not for his name,
If manliness is in his heart,
He noble birth may claim.

Hindu Polity About B. C. 300

is the title of a highly interesting article contributed to the *Educational Review* for December by V. Rangachariar. The article under review is based on the *Kautilya-artha-sastra*. Of the *Kautilya-artha-sastra* we are told :

As a detailed and scientific description of the pre-Mauryan state, its constitution and characteristics, its manner of working and its ideals, the *Arthasastra* is of incalculable value. The *Arthasastra* was not written after the foundation of the Mauryan *Empire*. It does not describe an imperial constitution ; it does not say how Chandragupta arranged for the administration of the Empire, how he united the various kingdoms and states under one political sway, how he reconciled the local feelings and institutions with the imperial idea and so on.

The King and his Ministers; their functions:

Chanakya enumerates seven elements of sovereignty, namely, the territory, the king, the minister, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend. A wise king, "trained in politics, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted element of his sovereignty, and will never be defeated." The king's functions were to appoint ministers and departmental superintendents, to bestow rewards on the worthy and punishments on the wicked, and to always endeavour for the welfare and prosperity of the people. The minister's functions were to guide the deliberations in the council, to enforce them in practice, and to look after the administration in all its branches—the business of revenue-collection and its expenditure, the maintenance of national independence and security, and the installation of princes. "In the absence of ministers, the above works are ill done ; and like a bird deprived of its feathers, the king loses his active capacity. In such calamities the intrigues of the enemy find a ready scope. In ministerial distress, the king's life itself comes into danger, for the minister is the mainstay of the security of the king's life.

The King and the Kingdom are the primary elements of the state. Kautilya attaches enormous importance to the moral purity of the King and holds that he should also preserve the social purity of the people.

Next to the ethical guardianship of the world, Kautilya mentions the duty of choosing ministers. "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence he shall employ ministers and hear their opinion." They should be men of tried ability, of absolute integrity, of financial skill and of great proficiency in the science of politics. These ministers seem to have been pure administrative officers and not councillors. Those "whose character has been tested under religious allurements," says Kautilya, "shall be employed in civil and criminal courts ; those whose purity has been tested under monetary allurements shall be employed in the work of a revenue-collector and chamberlain ; those who have been tried under love-allurements shall be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, both external and internal ; those who have been tested by allurements under fear shall be appointed to immediate service ; and those whose character has been tested under all kinds of allurements shall be employed as prime ministers, while those who are proved impure under one or all of these allurements shall be appointed in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories" They were to be consulted by the king in all acts of administration. The subject-matter of a council shall be entirely secret.

As a safeguard against the autocracy of ministers

Kautilya holds that as a single minister might proceed wilfully and without restraint and as two ministers might either overpower the king by their combination or imperil him by their dissension, the king should consult three or four ministers at least.

The King could not remain indifferent to the affairs of the state.

Kautilya insists on the king's personal scrutiny over all departments. He divides the day into 16 parts and allots a duty to each. "Of these divisions, during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure ; during the second part he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people, during the third he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study ; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold, but also attend to the appointments of superintendents ; during the 5th, he shall correspond in writs with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies ; during the 6th, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation ; during the 7th, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, and during the 8th part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief." Similar duties were fixed during night, 4 parts being assigned to sleep. Activity was thus an absolute requisite.

We read further :

The ministers or superintendents of departments were about 16 in number, and included a chamberlain, a collector-general, an accountant-general, the superintendents of agriculture, manufactures, public works, forests, and so on.

Kautilya prescribes very minute and elaborate rules for the guidance and conduct of the finance minister and his subordinates. The chamberlain and collector-general, he says, "shall have so thorough a knowledge of both external and internal incomes running even for a hundred years that, when questioned, he can point out without hesitation the exact amount of net balance that remains after expenditure has been met with." He shall "conduct the work of revenue-collection, increasing the income and decreasing the expenditure." He was to keep a careful vigilance against officers whose conduct was such as to cause loss of revenue to the State. "A Government officer, not caring to know the information gathered by espionage and neglecting to supervise the despatch of work in his own department as regulated, may occasion loss of revenue to the Government owing to his ignorance, or owing to his idleness when he

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is too weak to endure the trouble of activity, or due to inadvertence in perceiving sound and other objects of sense, or by being timid when he is afraid of clamour, unrighteousness, and untoward results, or owing to selfish desire when he is favourably disposed towards those who are desirous to achieve their own selfish ends, or by cruelty due to anger, or by lack of dignity when he is surrounded by a host of learned and needy sycophants, or by making use of false balance, false measures and false calculation owing to greediness."

Sources and forms of income :

Kautilya enumerates six sources of income, the durga or city, the rural parts, mines, gardens, forests and herds.

Kautilya sees the necessity of classifying the *forms* of income as distinct from the *sources* of income, of the *Ayamukhas* as distinct from the *Ayasarira*. And in his classification we find certain divisions which naturally strike us as curious. He divides the forms of income under seven headings, namely, mula (capital), bhaga (share), vyaji (premia), parigha (?), klipta (fixed taxes), rupika (premia on coins ?) and atyaya (fixed fines).

We read the following as regards the emergency means of replenishing the treasury:

Kautilya explains the ways and means by which the treasury could, on special occasions* when special expenditure was necessary, be replenished. The king could demand the payment of one-third or one-fourth of the produce of his *rich* agricultural subjects. He could increase the fines on the peasant criminals and order special cultivations for the State. Similarly one-sixth of the forest produce, and "of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, sandal flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh and dried flesh," one-half of ivory and skins of animals, could be taken. Merchants dealing in gold and silver, in pearls and gems, and elephants and horses had to pay 50 *karas*. "Those that trade in grains, liquids, metals (*loha*), and deal with carts shall pay 30 *karas*." The clothier, the copper, bronze and brass merchant, the liquor-seller had to pay 40 *karas*, and artisans 20 *karas*. "Dramatists and prostitutes shall pay half of their wages. The entire property of goldsmiths shall be taken possession of." Those who reared cows, buffaloes, etc., had to give away one-tenth of their live-stock. Two wholesome restrictions Kautilya gives in regard to these special taxes ; and they are (1) that they ought to be taken only once and never twice; and (2) that poor people, those engaged in important government service, those who colonise waste lands, forest-tribes and learned Brahmans, ought not to be made to pay.

Besides these special taxes the king could demand subscriptions on false pretences. He could sell honours and titles, employ sorcerers to delude men and deprive them of their over-abundant wealth, take away the collections of religious institutions, create pseudo-temples for popular endowments, and resort to other ingenious methods. Spies might be made to become partners of commercial exploiters with the view of robbing them, prostitute spies might be made to enamour rich men and poison them. Measures like these, says Kautilya, "shall be taken only against the seditious and the wicked and never against others."

Speaking of the administration of justice in the law-courts the writer observes:

One remarkable feature was that the judge could be fined for neglect or over-bearing temper, for unnecessary delay and similar defects. He could be fined eight times the value of a suit if he spoiled it in some way or other, and could be chastised with capital punishment if he unjustly awarded it to the parties.

"The laws of punishment in criminal cases were very severe and draconian."

Torture could be resorted to, except in the cases of youngsters, the aged, the afflicted and the lunatics, to extort confession; but torture was legal only in case where there were sufficient evidences to shew that a particular man was guilty. No woman could be subjected to it in case she was pregnant or had not passed a month after delivery. "Torture of (ordinary) women shall be half of the prescribed standard." An alternative to torture was espionage, and this was to be resorted to in case of Brahmans and ascetics. Kautilya enumerates the various kinds of torture that could be resorted to, and divides them into four kinds,—*viz.*, punishments (which in turn were six in number), whipping of which there were seven kinds, suspension from above which had two varieties and water-ordeal. Thieves of individuals or the royal treasury could be subjected many times to these tortures. "Whatever may be the nature of the crime, no Brahman offender shall be tortured. The face of a Brahman convict shall be branded so as to leave a mark indicating his crime:—the sign of a dog in theft, that of a headless body in murder," and so on. After having thus branded to a wound and proclaimed his crime in public, the King shall either banish him or send him to work in mines. Those who seized *valuable* articles from Government mines or manufactories could be beheaded, and those who took articles of small value fined.

An alternative to fines in some cases was the parading of the criminal through the streets, his body being smeared over with cowdung, and an earthenware pan with blazing light tied round his loins. Shaving and exile were other alternatives. An officer using unauthorised seals could be even condemned to death. An unjust judge could be punished with the middlemost amercement (*i.e.*, fines of 200 to 500 panas) and dismissed. An adulterer had to pay a fine of 500 panas or had his ears and nose cut off. Abduction was chastised by the cutting of the legs or fine of 600 panas. "When a Sudra calls himself a Brahman, or when any person steals the property of gods, conspires against the king, or destroys both the eyes of another, he shall either have his eyes destroyed by the application of poisonous ointment or pay a fine of 800 panas." "Any person who aims at the kingdom, who forces entrance into the king's harem, who instigates wild tribes or enemies, or who creates disaffection in forts, country parts or in the army shall be burnt alive from head to foot." If a person broke the dam of a tank he should be drowned in that very tank. A poisoner was subject to the same penalty. An incendiary was to be thrown into fire.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Fitness of Orientals for Self-Government.

At the last annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University and former Political Adviser to the President of Chinese Republic, read a paper on "Reform in China". In this paper President Goodnow made certain statements concerning the political incapacity of the Orientals, which drew from Dr. Sudhindra Bose of Iowa State University a few impromptu remarks. They have been published in *The American Political Science Review*, and run as follows :

It seems that the Occidental people find no end of difficulty in understanding and interpreting our Oriental laws, customs, and institutions. We are told, for instance, that the Chinese like other Asians, who are mainly agricultural peoples, are unfit for representative government. I doubt if this statement can stand the test of adequate proof. Take, for example, the people of China, whose recorded history runs back to 2800 B. C. These Celestials, these agriculturalists, had from time immemorial enjoyed local self-government, had been accustomed to "take communal action" : they would close up their business and resist the imposition of an unjust tax. It is to be remembered that the powers of the mother of parliaments developed in this fashion. "The financial functions of parliamentary assemblies are always the centre of their action."

In India, another agricultural country, we had the village community which contained the true germs of representative government. These village communities have frequently been described by such authorities as Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir Henry Maine as "little republics."

Further, we are told by Western critics that the Chinese, along with the other people of the Orient, are slow to move, that they are static, preferring to submit to the iron rule of an autocratic king. On the other hand those who have even a slight acquaintance with Chinese history know that the Chinese are a democratic people. Mencius, the great Chinese political philosopher, put the people first, the gods second, and the sovereign third in the Chinese scale of national importance. Mencius once said to a ruler : "If you can win the hill people—that is, the humblest of the common folk—then, indeed, will you become the Son of Heaven." Again, when Wu Wang killed the tyrant emperor Chow some time in the eleventh century before Christ, the Chinese historians wrote : "Wu Wang did not slay his ruler ; he simply executed a tyrannical individual."

In India, too, we find that the ancient Hindu law-givers have laid down that the misgovernment of a tyrant king not only constitutes a default of the ruler's title, but even a forfeiture of his life. Indeed, Manu himself has said that a king who oppresses his subject should be deprived of his life together with his relatives.

There is no more virtue in killing kings or their kinsfolk than there is in manslaughter in general ; these facts are referred to only to show to what extent and in what sense orientals believed in the divinity of kings.

In Asia as in Europe the divine right of kings, the belief that the rulers were appointed by heaven, has, of course, found credence. But when these Asiatic monarchs failed to promote the general happiness of the nation, failed to live up to the will of heaven, they were given short shrift. They were removed and replaced by another sent of heaven. Historians seem to admit that such revolutions have taken place at least twenty-one times in China, resulting in as many changes of dynasty. Besides, there have been various usurpations of power of a limited scope, and if all these partial revolutions are considered, China, the so-called conservative China can boast of no less than thirty revolutions.

The old assertion that the Asian people are unfit for self-government does not bear examination. Look at Japan ! When the Asiatic Japan promulgated its constitution of a parliamentary government in 1899,

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the astonished Europe laughed. Has not the marvellous success of Japan—Asiatic Oriental Japan—in establishing and maintaining a constitutional government proved beyond the shadow of a doubt what other Asian nations could also do if they were free?

In India, the land where I first saw the light of day—the land where mighty empires existed and flourished long before the English had ceased to dwell in paleolithic caves—in India, I say, the people are told to-day, after a hundred and fifty years of "enlightened cultured" rule, that the Indians are not and never will be fit for self-government. How in the name of common sense can a country be fit for self-government, or for that matter for anything, unless it has a chance to try it out? Is it not almost a political truism that self-government alone fits a nation for self-government?

To be sure, some of the Oriental nations have shown incompetency: they have been found guilty of graft and corruption. We are sincerely sorry for them. But I have been informed on good authority that there are also many countries in the West which are not above the charges of graft and corruption. Are we to believe now that the Western nations have proved their inability for representative governments? For one, I have little faith in the judgment of patronising Europeans, who on their annual summer tours in the United States brazenly ask: "How long can this republic endure?"

To conclude, I challenge the assumption that representative forms of government are the monopoly of the West. I resent the implication that the Orientals are in any essential manner different from the Occidentals. We of the East ask only one thing of the West. It is this—that you of the West stay away from our problems: leave us to solve our own problems, to work out our own destinies, while you spend your time looking after yours. The greatest good you can do us, the lasting benefit you can confer on us, is to let us alone.

——

Destructive Virtues

is the title of a short though thoughtful article appearing in the *Spectator*.

"Certain qualities like certain plants, seem to take the goodness out of the ground. Where they flourish they flourish alone. In their immediate neighborhood nothing else comes to perfection,"—these are the opening lines of the article.

Take for instance the quality of amiability.

There is something destructive in its sweetness. Very amiable people have no other marked characteristics. Amiability always makes a man or a woman popular. Why the word has been debased till it means almost the reverse of lovable we do not know. But some word had to be fouud to fit a curious negative quality which no one could dislike, and which was destructive alike of faults and virtues, and that one was chosen haphazard.

The character of the really lovable person is always painted in decided colors, and most of us would hesitate to apply the word "amiable" to any one we really cared for. It is, of course, incorrect to make it a synonym for "stupid." Only persons of a very small vocabulary make so silly a use of the word. Stupid people are very seldom amiable. They may be slow to take offence, because they are slow to take in anything, but they are most ill-natured and implacable when once they have grasped it. Lack of imagination—and that is what stupidity is—is a deformity of character. We ought to be sorry for the deformed, but we are not obliged to say that they are graceful. It is the element of the heroic which amiability destroys—enthusiasm, passion, and the power of sacrifice. The great human qualities are weakened by it, and the amiable person is not much missed. "So-and-so is dead," we say. "What a pity! He was a very amiable man"; and straightway we forget him and what manner of man he was. Conspicuously amiable people never come, as it were, very near to any one. They are isolated by the fragrance of their own atmosphere. It is a great gift, however, for those endowed with it are often impervious to pain, always free from worry, very little capable of resentment, and never short of pleasant company.

Self-control is another destructive quality.

Where it exists to any very conspicuous extent, it is apt to dwarf the rest of the character. Yet what a fine thing it is! A man determined to hide all his emotions from his fellows has a pride which is inhuman in its grandeur. What, though, does one mean by inhuman? No trait is less animal than self-control. It is impossible not to admire the man whose self-command is perfect; it is impossible also genuinely to like him. Now and then such people inspire a rather childish form of hero-worship, a sort of idolatry; but their worshippers regard them, consciously, unconsciously, as symbols—signs implying moral conceptions, not men and women. If a man becomes a tyrant over himself, he will destroy his personality almost as surely as he would destroy that of any other victim of his over-developed will-power.

The following observations on literary musical and histrionic faculties will be found interesting:

We have heard it said that the musical faculty destroys others, but an instance of this theory has never come within the present writer's experience, and would seem to be effectually contradicted by musical biography. All great composers have been men of strong minds. Calculating boys are said to grow up stupid; but these interesting freaks of Nature seem to be

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complete freaks. Neither their existence nor the sort of temporary, spurious, and limited genius they possess has ever been accounted for. Ordinary mathematicians are, as a rule, men of conspicuous ability in other branches of thought. This much must, we think, be conceded to them, though their special talent often arouses in peculiarly abstract forms of mind a sort of jealous contempt. The ignorant world admires the mathematician very much, but among learned men he is very often suspect. Is it true that the histrionic faculty destroys others? Logically, this would seem to be impossible. Histrionic power should be the outcome of wide sympathies and a deep understanding of human nature. There should be something of Shakespeare in every great actor. Some people would probably say that there is such a something. On the other hand, no one will deny that more often there is a good bit of the ape. In so far as acting consists of mere imitation, we expect it does kill other talents; but perhaps such acting is never great. The literary faculty is supposed by many men who have not got it to unfit a man altogether for active life. They insist on making the old false verbal division between men of thought and men of action. The men who say it refuse to believe that any but active work is work at all, and therefore they omit the factor of time wholly from their calculation. Shakespeare could not have written his plays and been Prime Minister, but that a country would be lucky indeed which was ruled by a Cabinet of Shakespeares we suppose no one could doubt.

"In conjuction with love, jealousy, though a horribly inconvenient quality, is hardly a vice" and does not fall under the category of destructive virtues.

Ought jealousy to be called a vice? Whatever it is, it is in some of its forms a fearfully dominant quality. But we doubt whether love can exist in a high form without something of it. Putting aside the question of husband and wife, no woman can see herself dethroned in the heart of her child without a pang, even though imperative separation makes such dethronement desirable for the child's happiness. But jealousy, which has nothing to do with love is a horrid thing—the bind-weed of character squeezing the life out of all that is best and most human. It mutilates sympathy, it destroys geniality, it gives birth to spite. It is like a demoniacal possession, and the demon is roused to mischief by the sight of good luck and happiness, and will destroy them if he can.

Russia and India.

Under the above heading Mr. John Pollen, contributes to the *Journal of the East India Association* an interesting article in which we find many points of similarity between the Russian and the Indian peoples. In fact there is much of the oriental in the Russian, and they are sometimes correctly styled as the *Orientals of the West*. The observations of Mr. Pollen are specially important as they come from one who has had long personal experience of both Russia and India. We learn that the writer had paid three visits to Russia had been connected with the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, and had put in thirty-two years' Indian service. Says Mr. Pollen:

I wandered freely through the length and breadth of Russia, and, except at the hotels in the big towns and when leaving the country, I was never troubled about my passport at all! and I may add that during my residence in Russia I never experienced any incivility from Russian officials except once, and that was from some German underlings in St. Petersburg. In their kindly readiness to help the stranger, I found the Russian police were very like the Metropolitan and Dublin policemen and the Irish constabulary. The village police reminded me very much of the Indian village police; and coming from the plains of India, I was, of course, quite at home with the Russian village headman, the village community, and the village system generally. Many things in the customs, manners, and surroundings of the Russian people, particularly in the rural districts, are simple and plain to the traveller from the East, although they sometimes hopelessly puzzle the wanderer from the West. Like the Indians, the Russian country-folk are great upon greetings and salutations, and I was much amused at the way the sledgemen and cab-drivers in Moscow and other towns used to take off their caps and hats to one another as they drove by. I remember once asking one of these drivers why he was always doffing his cap, and he reminded me that it was written in our Scriptures that the Godhead had created man in His own likeness, and "that," said the driver, "is the reason why I take off my cap to my neighbour, for in saluting him I am saluting the image of my Maker." Nothing, however, as is well known, will induce an orthodox Russian to worship or salute a graven or carved image of any kind whatsoever (and in this he is as strict as the strictest Moslem), for this would be breaking the Commandment—"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," etc.; but he does not care how many painted or sainted pictures he bows down to and to all appearance adores. Great is the reverence paid by Russians to eikons, or Holy Pictures, of which there are many in every orthodox Russian home and in churches and in shrines. These eikons are as numerous in Russia as "Ganpatis," "Hanumans," and "Mahadevs" in India.

When an orthodox Russian enters a room he always first salutes the Holy Picture in the east corner and crosses himself before he takes any notice of anyone in the apartment. In most of the offices and shops in Russia, besides the eikon you will also find a picture of the Emperor, and this is why you take off your hat on entering. You are, as it were, in the Imperial presence.

In Russian churches there are no graven images and no chairs or seats, but there are plenty of exquisite mosaics and Holy Pictures, or eikons, richly robed in carved gold or silver garments and studded with precious stones, representing our Lord, the Virgin, Prophets, and Holy Men of old. In the Russian church the worship is more individual than collective, and you can stand or kneel or prostrate yourself, just as the spirit moves you, or can have a quiet chat with your neighbour while listening to the window-shaking intonations of the gorgeously robed priest. But you will hear no music save of that of the human voice, for organs are unknown in orthodox churches.

Speaking of manners the writer says:

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You offend against Russian taste by eating with your hat on, or by moving the salt, or by crossing your legs or by sitting on the edge of a table, or by entering a room with your overcoat or goloshes on, etc.

About the treatment of women in Russia we read :

Russia is in many respects Oriental, and this is, perhaps, chiefly seen in the way women are treated and regarded. Traces of the "purdah" and of the seclusion system can still be found, especially in remote provincial towns. In the villages and rural districts, however, there is little trace of the "purdah," for there the women are very much in evidence. They seem the only people who work or really *do* anything. The Russian woman is, speaking broadly, not beautiful to look upon ; but this does not matter much, for amongst the country-folk the village maiden is selected as a bride, not for her looks or accomplishments and acquirements, but for her "muscle," the chief object of the father-in-law, or head of the family, being to get a good, strong, healthy worker into the household. The bridegroom, except in rare instances, has very little to say to the choice, but piously receives his wife (as Adam did his Eve, and as they still do in India), as "a help-meet for him," without questioning the wisdom or judgment of those who made the choice. The ordinary Russian is, however, no believer, in "woman's rights," and some of the popular sayings and proverbs of the people are even more uncomplimentary to the fair sex than some that obtain in India. Thus, if woman offers advice unasked, she will probably be told that though her hair is long her wit is short, or that she is "lank in locks but lacking in wisdom, or loose in logic." Another saying declares that there is "only one soul in seven women!" While a third proclaims that a woman has no soul at all, but only "steam." The latter assertion, perhaps, implies a compliment, for there can be no doubt that woman is the "propelling power" in a Russian household, and in the village councils and assemblies her voice frequently prevails above that of the men. In the peasant's hut and on the farm she does everything ; she is the first up in the morning and the first afield. She grinds the corn, lights the fire, prepares the meals, attends to the children, drives the plough, weeds the field, digs the potatoes—and most of these things she does *singing!*

Wife-beating is recognized as a right in Russia, and a peasant would be amazed if you told him he had no right to beat his wife, and he would tell you that at the village altar he swore not only to love and to cherish, but also to chastise her if necessary. I must say I never saw any wife-beating in Russia, but I have seen many a good wife belabouring her drunken spouse and dragging him along home by his shaggy red locks! The drunken husband usually takes this treatment most good-humouredly, and strives to kiss his wife as she is pulling him along, thus returning a kiss for a blow—the right thing to do—as we were taught in Sunday-school.

This statement of Mr. Pollen about the treatment of drunken husbands by their wives is admirably borne out by Dostoieffsky in his famous novel *Crime and Punishment* where he describes a similar incident.

The writer goes on to say :

The position of women in Russia is, of course, not now what it used to be, and it is to Peter the Great that the emancipation of the women in Russia is chiefly due. He did away with the old custom according to which the bride and bridegroom were not allowed to meet until the day of the marriage ceremony, and the bride was not unveiled till the marriage ceremony was over. He aimed at the equality of the sexes, and published a decree that six weeks should elapse between the engagement and the wedding, so that the couple might make each other's acquaintance. He encouraged the education of women, and got his own daughters educated. It is suspected that English ladies (of whom there were always several at the Russian Court from the days of John the Terrible) really influenced Peter in making these innovations. Peter's wife and sister also helped the Emperor in his heroic efforts to better the position of women in Russia.

From his own "personal knowledge and observation" the writer has to say the following about the Tsar of all the Russias.

The Tsar moves about amongst his people as freely and with as little ostentation or precaution as the members of our own Royal Family. I have seen him driving about in a single-horsed sledge all by himself, and on ceremonial occasions I have watched the Imperial procession moving slowly down long lanes of respectful spectators, with only a few policemen about twenty or thirty yards apart to keep the crowds in order. The Emperor is regarded as a semi-divine personage, and is the well-beloved representative of his people—in very truth their "Little Father"!—and the accounts which represent him as a dreadful tyrant are all nonsense. His throne is as broad-based upon his people's will as that of our own "temperate Kings."

About the Russian people he says :

A very lovable, light-hearted people are the Russians, fond of sad songs, tea, beer and brandy or vodka. The peasants and village labourers (again like the Indian and Irish cultivators) are very happy-go-lucky, inclined to take things easily, to indulge in "Kalatnost" ("dressing-gownedness"), "fatalism," and "perhapsedness" ; "What will be, will be" ; "Perhaps, Don't be afraid, and God is not without mercy." To get a good idea of the Russians one should see them at the railway-stations and in the village inns and taverns as well as in their own homes. They seem seldom to be in a hurry (except when they are driving or sledging, and then they go the pace). They arrive at the railway-stations, just like the people in India, hours before the time fixed for the departure of the train, and loiter contentedly about the spacious waiting-rooms carrying huge pillows (for a Russian never travels anywhere without a pillow), or they sit feasting in the truly regal refreshment-rooms ; while their ladies stroll up and down on the platforms outside smoking cigarettes, or sit drinking tea in a corner round a samovar. Wherever a Russian man or woman goes, the samovar is in evidence.

The leading characteristics of the Russian people, high and low, are certainly hospitality and kindliness to strangers.

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The Future Government of India from a Practical Point of View.

The *Asiatic Review* for November prints a letter from the pen of J. B. Pennington which should be of especial interest to us at the present moment when the proposal of forming a Home Rule League is being discussed in India. In the letter under notice, which is remarkably free from any bias, the writer has made out a strong case for the Indians. Says he:

It is impossible for the people of India, or any other country, to learn the art of government without practice; and the only reasonable question is, How are they to get that practice?

We have taught what is often called "a microscopic minority" to become one of the finest subordinate services in the world; but we have done very little so far, except incidentally, as in the quasi-independent Indian States, to teach them the art of governing others, except, again, in a very subordinate way. How, then, did we ourselves learn the art of self-government, so far as we have learnt it? Chiefly, it must be confessed, by fighting amongst ourselves for hundreds of years. But we cannot afford to let the millions of India learn the art of self-government by cutting each other's throats and the survival of the fittest. Nor is it necessary. "All great statesmen," says Gustave le Bon, "of every country, including the most absolute despots, have regarded popular imagination as the basis of their power, and have never governed in opposition to it." "It was by becoming a Catholic," said Napoleon, "that I terminated the Vendean War; by becoming a Musalman that I obtained a footing in Egypt; by becoming an Ultramontane that I won over the Italian priests; and had I to govern a nation of Jews I would rebuild Solomon's Temple."

The writer closes his letter by re-telling the story of Peary Mohan Banerji of Uttarpara, better known as the *Fighting Munsiff*. The official report of his services in the Mutiny, by the District Magistrate of Allahabad (Mr. Thomson) runs as follows:

"Babu Peary Mohan was appointed a Munsiff at Manjhanpur in this district in November last, and has since been indefatigable in his exertions to drive back the rebels in his part of the district. Though not actually in his province of duty, he offered himself to the Commissioner to assemble the well-affected Zamindars, to engage and conciliate the doubtful, and thus create a Government party against the disaffected. He has succeeded so well that he has been able gradually to restore the police authority in all but a few villages now held by the rebels, and gained a victory, his report of which I now enclose."

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* gave the following particulars of his career:

"The native Civil Judge—a Bengali—by capacity and valour brought himself so conspicuously forward as to be known as "The Fighting Munsiff." He not only held his own defiantly, but he planned attacks, burned villages, wrote English despatches thanking his subordinates and displayed a rare capacity for rule and fertility of resources."

It was Lord Canning who in his despatch highly commended the gallantry of Peary Babu and first called him "The Fighting Munsiff."

To the *Islamic Review* for December A. Neville J. Whymant contributes a short notice of

Jalal-Ud-Din Rumi

the Persian mystic and poet, about whom we are told:

He was born of noble descent, at Balkh, in A.D.1207 and died in A.D. 1273, but lived for most of his life at Quniya (the classical Iconium). He is described as chief of all the Sufi poets, not only by native scholars and biographers, but by independent historians of East and West.

He was the founder of that great order of Sufis the Mawlavi, that mystical order of dervishes, and is to this day revered as the Interpreter of Heavenly Mysteries.

Perhaps the chief charm about this man "clad in garments of song" is that he was mystic before poet. Only when his soul had soared into the heights and sunk to the depths in pitying condescension did he take his reed and write his verses. He went through a turmoil of chaos to the Fountain of Life itself, and there fed his soul on the Eternal Vision of Divinity.

Although he was above all a mystic, there is that about his poetry which recalls the fragrance of Hafiz.

His two great creations are the *Diwan-i-Jalal-ud-Din-Rumi* and the *Masnavi*.

The Masnavi is regarded by the Sufi Brotherhood as the infallible guide to them in daily Sufi practice. Of course Al-Quran is to them the premier guide but The Masnavi is a fragrant garden of perfume where the Sufi may walk and find comfort and peace. This book is a code of law and guidance to those mystics whereby they may regulate their lives in accord with the will of the All-compassionate, the All-merciful. For the essence of his teaching—although by mystic phrase and verse—was the view of the ultimate Unity of All Being—the cardinal doctrine that Allah is one, and through Him all is one.

The Diwan abounds in glorious idealism. Perfect mysticism and psychic perception of Divine truths are manifest in these pages. Let us see a few:

"Keep clean thy Garment from defilement,
Keep clean thy hand and mouth,
Thy Heart from Spite's revilement.

. . . . . .

Within, *Within*, let all things spotless be."

In the original of these lines there is an insistent call lost in translation, but it can be seen how great is his call to the *Soul*. Again:—

"My desire shall always be
More to have than Needs decree,
Even as gay Flowers I pluck
New Spring Blossoms smile at me.

And, when sweeping through the skies,
From swift spheres new Fires will rise,
Only True, Immortal Love
From Perfect Beauty doth arise."

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At night time think of this :—

"When all is still and the earth has gone to sleep,
Wake Thou in me!
When wearied with the day my tired eyes sink to rest
Wake Thou in me!
When eyes in Paradise unsleeping guard me o'er
As stars above,
Dwell in my sightless eyes as my Dear Guest,
O Wake! Wake Thou in Me.

. . . . .

And when the Dark of after-Life is here,
And Love's smile dawns
And draws me, Love-like, ever to thy Breast,
Wake Thou in me"

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Administration of Criminal Justice in Ancient India—*A. V. Ramanathan.*

Mr. A V. Ramanathan tries to give us a view of the "Administration of Criminal Justice in Ancient India" in some 15 pages. His paper is based on the *Sukraniti*. But the latter work, as we have it, is a product of the 8th century of the Christian era. No doubt many traditions in the Sukraniti are ancient, but the work can hardly be a basis for predicating a system to be gathered from it as "ancient." The administration of Criminal Justice in Hindu India was a growth and the stages of that growth have to be distinguished.

Mr. Ramanathan's review of the system as found in the *Sukraniti* is fair and faithful. He has done well to point out the mistake of the popular view that imprisonment in Hindu times was not a common form of punishment.

No thorough attempt has yet been made to present the criminal branch of the legal history of Hindu India. When it is done, the world will find that it was the most advanced system, judging it even from modern standards. The law of evidence was developed to a point beyond which it has not progressed in modern times. The system of punishment has to be considered in the light of criminological theories of the Hindus which undertook to "cure the psychology" (*prayashchitta*). The rigour of ancient penal laws was gradually softened by various modifications introduced by the crown during successive centuries. For instance: certain exemptions in favour of merchants introduced by the Mauryas were pleaded 800 years after them, those exemptions really superseding the letter of ancient law. The historian of criminal law of Hindu India has to take into account that his sole guide is not the Hindu code.

K. P. J.

A Study of Education in Baroda—*Thakorlal Ranchhodlal Pandya B.Sc., A.M., Ph. D. (Published by the author, Baroda).*

Baroda and its enlightened prince have been long identified by the present generation of Indians with everything which is most progressive in the country. "Compulsary education is the one plank," says Mr. Manubhai Mehta in his valuable introduction to the volume, "in the edifice of reforms inaugurated by H. H. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad which is likely to serve as the mystic ladder to National Regeneration." After reading Dr. Pandya's interesting essay one could hardly doubt the truth of the dictum.

Dr. Pandya begins with rather a cursory historical sketch of education in India from the earliest times down to the present day. One of the most fascinating chapters in Indian history, viz. the account of our ancient Parishads, of the great monastic universities of ancient and mediaeval India has still to be written. Dr. Pandya has however written a very interesting book dealing with the history, organisation and problems of education in Baroda.

In 1893 the first tentative measure towards compulsory education was introduced in a small district, and it was not until April 1907 that education was made compulsory throughout the state on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness' rule. "In Baroda," says the author, "the order from throne brought about a change which would not have occurred even within a century." The results already achieved within less than 10 years are truly amazing. The percentage of population receiving education in the whole country is only 1·9; in Baroda it rises to 10. "The average number of square miles served by one school in the Bombay Presidency comes to 16·7 as against 3·8 in Baroda, which spends over 10 per cent of its total revenue on education." "The total expense on education per capita in British India," remarks Mr. Manubhai with justifiable pride, "amounts to 1/16 of a rupee; in Baroda it amounts to ¾ of a rupee."

Education is a gift worthy of kings, and the royal bounty of H. H. the Gaekwad extends alike to boys and girls, irrespective of their castes and families. The reforming spirit of the Maharaja did not stoop to compromises with regard to the education of girls, or of children of our unredeemed countrymen—the 'pariahs,' in deference to protests or murmurings from orthodox quarters. "The dignity of labour is better understood in Baroda; and few states in India have laboured as jealously as Baroda to snap the chains of caste-hegemony and burst the barriers of birth-rights and vested privileges. Separate primary schools have been opened in villages for the benefit of the untouchables; and they are also given free admission along with boys of the 'chosen' classes into the higher secondary schools." No less

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than 9 per cent. of the total number of these depressed classes are at school. 'An order from the throne' has indeed been effective.

Well-nigh 70 millions of Indians are ruled by princes of their own blood, and yet the self-governing Indian States receive but scant recognition at the hands of our educated countrymen. Nowhere in India is to be found that bond of unity, that spirit of spontaneous loyalty and affection as is cherished by the subjects of our Indian States towards their rulers People in British India are apt to overlook the unique position of these States as regards the future development of the country. Under the watchful supremacy of Pax Britannica the Indian States are left to devote all their energies and resources solely to internal progress; and the centralisation of power in the hands of a single person gives that freedom and elasticity necessary in embarking on new and even venturesome experiments, which a highly complicated and organised administrative system cannot command. Hence it is but just that we should look to our States to take the lead in matters of social and political progress. It is from them that we expect the evolution of a polity suited to our national genius, in accordance with modern needs and springing directly from the roots of our national tradition.

Dr. Pandya's book gives an admirable survey of the results achieved by a single piece of legislation, undertaken not in response to popular demand, but entirely on the ruler's own initiative. It is by no means an undiluted panegyric, but also deals with the various shortcomings as regards the low rate of teachers' pay, the suitable medium of education in the secondary schools and various other educational problems. It is but fitting that such a book should be dedicated to Modern Baroda and its Maker—the present Maharaja.

M.

The Study of Indian Economics—*by Prof. N. M. Muzumdar. (Bombay) Price, 2 Annas.*

This short essay was delivered as a lecture to the Bombay Students' Brotherhood. Prof. Muzumdar passes in rapid survey the various economic problems of modern India and suggests the usual lines of inquiry. Prof. Muzumdar has done well in giving a list of useful books bearing on Indian problems.

N. C. MEHTA.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT.

The Sanskrit Research: *Anglo-Sanskrit Quarterly devoted to research work in all fields of Indian Antiquity, conducted by the Sanskrit Academy of India, Bangalore, Edited by Pandit Lingesha Mahabhagawat (Kurtkoti). Annual Subscription Rs. 5-0-0, £ 0-7-0, $ 2-00. For copies apply to the Oriental Books Supplying Agency. B, Shukrawar, Poona City.*

Generally we do not review periodicals, yet the importance of such a journal in the field of Sanskrit learning persuades us to say a few words about it. "There are," as is said in the editorial, "two classes of persons interested in Sanskrit learning. Pandits who have been trained according to old lines, and scholars who have received education according to new methods." And it is very rightly believed that without the help of either of them Sanskrit learning cannot satisfactorily progress in all its aspects. We are, therefore, very glad to see that the guiding body of the Magazine under review has fully realised the truth. So says the Editor in describing the object of his Quarterly that his "Magazine is designed to give to both these two types of workers a meeting place and a platform. And it is our earnest hope that the two streams of thoughts once they have come together will be complementary to each other and will, like the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, flow onwards to a common goal....." It should also be observed here that our Sanskrit Pandits are generally quite unacquainted with the great advance made in various directions by the Western scholars in the research work of our Sanskrit literature and this deplorable state of the former is by no means desirable. Both the scholars Eastern and Western must know each other very well and we have reasons to hope that this kind of journal will help us to some extent in our attaining the object. The first number of the Sanskrit Research on our table contains ten articles in English and four in Sanskrit from the pens of distinguished scholars including the great Indian Savant Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. Almost all the contributions are interesting and suggestive, but one "Orientation of Sacrificial Hall" by Pandit Shyamshastri B.A. seems to rank first for its originality. We heartily welcome the new Quarterly.

The Vishnusahasranama *with a translation in English by S. N. K. Bijurkar, B. A. (Mamlatdar), Malwan, Ratnagiri, pp. 165. Price Two annas.*

Those who believe in the existence of God also believe that there is *only one* God. To believe in more than one God is utterly absurd. We know no religion deserving mention where the existence of many Gods is maintained. It is true that the Hindus worship Vishnu, Shiva, Durga and a thousand others like them, but nowhere do they say that there is more than one God; on the contrary it is often urged that even to suppose such a thing is obviously unreasonable. When they worship Vishnu they do not think or are not advised to think that Shiva is quite different from Vishnu. To a true devotee every thing appears as Vishnu; for there is nothing but Him. He has manifested Himself in the form of the existing world; in every thing He is, and every thing is in Him. This is what a true Hindu worshipper thinks. He holds and he does it very reasonably that God has endless—innumerable qualities (अनन्तगुण). And these qualities or attributes if rightly contemplated upon fill one's heart with the divine nectar of pure piety and real love which easily lead one to realize Him. This is why the Hundred and Thousand names (शतनाम and सहस्रनाम) of different deities are composed and daily recited in Hinduism.

Vishnusahasranama or the Thousand names of Vishnu belongs to this class of writings. Like the Bhagavadgita, Sanatsujatiya, etc., it forms a part of the Mahabharata (*i.e.*, XIII अनुशासन पर्व 254). Its importance is evinced by the fact of its being commented upon by the great Shankaracharya and other ancient teachers.

In the text adopted by Mr. Bijurkar the reading of the second line of the verse 104 (p. 139) is "सपिता प्रपितामहः". It is also found in two MSS. as indicated by the editor of the *Mahabharata* published in Kumbakonam. But the reading सविता (See the edition of the Mahabharata referred to) seems undoubtedly preferable. On page 88 "निष्ठा शान्तिः परायणः"—

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these three words are taken by the author as one name, but evidently these are different ones. We also cannot understand how this line is rendered by him as "Best refuge of devotion and tranquillity." The translation which is not in a few cases defective and inaccurate would be better should the author add a short explanatory note to the difficult words where it is absolutely necessary, as for instance, दषट कार: (p.13,) क्रम: (p. 21) etc.

The Jaina Scripture Gift Series. No. 2. Pure Thoughts. Samayikapatha *by Acharya Amitagati, translated into English by Ajitprasad M.A., LL. B, Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.*

In this nicely printed booklet Mr. Ajitprasad, the well-known editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, has offered us with his own translation the original Sanskrit text of the above work consisting only of 32 (or 33) verses which is recited by the votaries of Jainism in their daily divine service called *Samayika*. The text appears to have been reproduced without any correction from Brahmachari Shitalprasadji's edition in Bombay and consequently there are some mistakes. The translation is also not faithful, some of the original words being left out untranslated or misunderstood.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI.

Shail-Bala arthat Adarsha Badhu, *by Panday Murlidhar. Published by Haridas Vaidya, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 103. Price as. 5.*

This is the Hindi translation of the novel of the same name by the famous Oriya writer Pandit Janardan Pujari. We cannot say what immence benefit it can do to any female, old or young, into whose hands it may be put. The silent suffering of a female under the tyranny of her father-in-law's household is depicted in a simple and homely narration; and the book is as much a homily to the tyrants as to the sufferer. No household should be without this book The printing and get-up are the best possible. The District Boards and educational institutions will do well to purchase sufficient number of copies of this book for prize distribution in girls' schools.

Charit mala *by Pandaiya Lochan Prasad. Published by Haridas Vaidya, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Price as. 5.*

This is a collection of short lives of some noted celebrities, most of whom have been wisely selected from among Indians. The book is sub-divided into two parts: Stree-vibhag and Purush-vibhag, the former consisting of the lives of four ladies and the latter of 12 gentlemen. Most of these short lives were published in journals and have been reproduced after suitable alterations. The people honoured have been dexterously chosen to be such whose lives may not be known to the people through text-books and other agencies. We commend the book strongly to the perusal of the public and young men. The get-up and printing leave nothing to be desired.

Balvir Charitavali *by Pandit Nandkumar Deva Sharma. Published by Joshi Company, Shivthakur Lane, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 89. Price—as. 8.*

This is a collection of the lives of some ancient saints and others who evinced considerable heroism in their boyhood. There are books of biographies especially meant for young men and even for girls and ladies, but there were lack of handy books especially meant for boys. The language is in some parts too hard, and the general rule for publications meant for boys should be that their language should be simple: there ought to be no exception to it. In other respects, their is no objection to the language. There are some printing errors here and there.

Italy ki Swadhinta athwa us ka adhunik itihas *by Mr. Nandkumar Deva Sharma. Published by Govindram Hasanand, 213, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta Crown 8vo. pp. 108. Price—as. 6.*

This might be said to be the modern history of Italy. The narration is interesting and has been couched in suitable language and style. Besides the historical aspect of the book, there is some especial interest in it which is due to the way in which the narrative has been handled. The printing and get-up are nice and the language satisfactory.

Hindi Bhaktamal *aur Pranpriya Kavya by Mr. Pannalal Jain and to be had of Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Chandawari, Surat, Crown 8vo. pp. 38 Price—Anna 1.*

This small pamphlet contains some poems which are of a religious turn. They teach morality and can thus be read with profit by all. Though the author is a Jain, there is not much of his own religion in a special way in the publication.

Daish Bhakti kai Nau Prakar *by Mr. Ganga Prasad Gupta. To be had of Manager, Art Press, Benares City. Demy 8vo. pp. 32. Price As. 2, Rs. 1-4-0 for a dozen.*

In this book it has been shown that patriotism can be evinced in nine ways. In the opinion of the author loyalty is another form of patriotism. The author has quoted from authoritative writers and the book as a whole is very interesting.

M. S.

URDU.

Tuluya Alam *by Lala Atma Ram M. A, Asst. Professor of Mathematics, Government College, Lahore, Published by the Society for Promoting Scientific Knowledge, Lahore. Demy 8vo. pp. 38. Price As.—4.*

This is a very useful publication on the origin of the Universe and the way in which the earth and other planets were produced has been dealt with in an exhaustive way. The style is the best suited to young readers. The book combines in it up-to-date and current information with simplicity of narrative. We commend the book to school authorities. There are several instructive and neat illustrations in it. The get-up is nice.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Kartanya Kaumudi, *by Shatavadhani Pandit Muniraj Shri Ratnachandraji, published by Chunilal Vardhaman Shah, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 431, Cloth bound. Second Edition, Price Re. 0-8-0. (1915).*

Pandit Muniraj Shri Ratnachandraji is an ornament to the ascetic section of the Jain Community on this side of India, and his Study of Sanskrit is deep and extensive. He has written this book in Sanskrit,

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whilst the text is explained in Gujarati. It is taken up with the different duties of men and women, and is full of popular illustrations which carry the meaning of the writer home. Though there is nothing new in it, still we think that a perusal or even a study of the book would repay the trouble taken in doing so.

Swami Ramtirtha, *his Sadupadesha, Parts 8 and 9, published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, translated by Ratilal Chhotalal Pathak, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press. Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1915) with pictures.*

Several more sermons and letters of Swami Ramtirtha are embodied in this volume which is well got up and furnishes useful reading.

Rajani *translated by Mohanlal Makandas Mehta, and Bhagbanlal Girijashankar Bhatt, published by Balwantrai Kallianrai Thakore, B. A. Printed at the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Press. Thick Card board. Pp. 162. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1915).*

The Gujarati Sahitya Parishad has appointed a *Bhandol* (Funds) Committee and its Secretary Prof. B. K. Thakore has exerted himself in getting this book published. It is a translation of Bankim Chander Chatterji's novel, of the same name. In an introduction Prof. Thakore sets out his own opinion of Bankim's work and analyses the character of the different *personae* of the novel, and in raking up old bones from a graveyard nineteen years old, of this book, in the shape of a translation made by the late Narayan Hemchandra, the pioneer in the line of introducing the best Bengali works to Gujarat, points out his mistakes, and by contrast exalts the present work, in the moulding of which he says he has taken an active part with the two translators. That the labors of these men should have been requisitioned in translating one small work strikes one as being rather a disproportionate expenditure of time and energy, but perhaps some sort of driving force was required to finish the work as early as possible, and hence the conjoint efforts. The translation is well done, and will win approval of all those who would care to go through it.

K. M. J.

BENGALI.

Anjali or "Offering." By Satis Chandra Ray, M. A., Principal, Dyal Singh College, Lahore. Twelve annas.

This is a small devotional book of prayer and praise, suitable for being carried in one's pocket. It embodies the outpourings of a devout, earnest and sincere spirit, expressed in choice language.

R.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Pandit Tattvabhusan on the Arya Samaj.

While reviewing Lala Lajpat Rai's book on the Arya Samaj, Pandit Sitanath, we are afraid, has stepped beyond the boundaries of a reviewer. The learned Pandit is not sure if he should consider the teachings of the Arya Samaj to form a system at all. We are afraid the reviewer has not given a serious thought to the subject. Probably he has not studied the Arya Samaj literature. Else the great attempt of Dayanand to harmonise religions, his regular and well-ordered programme of life, his reconciliation of *Jnan, Karma* and *Upasana* paths into one organic whole should have elicited exactly the opposite remarks from the reviewer.

We join the learned Pandit in regretting the fact that Lala Lajpat Rai has not attempted a reasoned exposition of the doctrines of the Arya Samaj. But we can not believe that there can be no exposition of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Veda. Surely the learned Pandit does not mean to tell us that the great Hindu sages like Vyas, Patanjali, Shankar, Ramanuj, Dayanand and Christian leaders and learned moulvis who believe in the infallibility of one scripture or the other are all either fools or knaves.

The Pandit shows utter ignorance of facts when he says that there is no demand for the reasoned exposition of the doctrines in the Samaj. Nearly all the Arya papers have taken Lala Lajpat Rai to task for this omission. Had the learned Pandit cared to read the *Vedic Magazine*, he could not have made such a statement.

We might also state here for the information of the learned Pandit that ever since the Arya Samaj has come into existence there has been a demand for the reasoned exposition of the doctrine. The doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas has been discussed by the founder in his two masterpieces—the *Satyarth Prakasha* and the *Rig Veda Adi Bhashya Bhoomika*, by the martyr preacher Pt. Lekhram, by Swami Darshanananda, by Lala Jiwandas, by Rao Bahadur Lala Atma Rama, in a way by Pt. Gurudatta Vidyarthi, M. A., and several other gentlemen in the Samaj. Prof. Tarachand has devoted no less than ¾th of the space of his 'Life of Swami Dayanand' to a reasoned discussion of the teachings of the Master. We hope this could show the Pandit that Arya Samaj Leaders do not believe in the Veda as a matter of policy, but they hold that a belief in the Veda is a necessary and serious article of their faith. The Arya Samaj is not founded on a *lie*—a conscious falsehood.

As regards the allegation that the Swami believed in the Veda as a matter of policy, let us state that his life gives a direct lie to such allegations. His whole life was so full of sincerity and truth that hypocrisy and falsehood could have had absolutely no place in his life. Sjt. Aurobindo Ghosh has referred to it in his article on Dayanand.

The doctrine of *Niyoga* establishes beyond a shadow of doubt his sincere desire to preach nothing but what he believed to be right. He did not believe in compromise and never sacrificed his principles to other considerations.

Lastly we shall refer to the charge of spiritual barrenness in the Samaj. We regret to note that in this case also Mr. Sitanath has depended upon mere hearsay. He does not appear to possess firsthand knowledge. Now the Swami was a great spiritual leader. Principal Vaswani has paid him homage for this. Sjt. Aurobindo Ghosh has spoken of the 'puissant jet of this spiritual practicality' flowing out of Dayanand's life. M. Blavatsky in the obituary note spoke of the *Yogic* powers of the Swami. A great number of men, like Pt. Gurudatta

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Vidyarthi, have been struggling steadily to lead high spiritual life. An average Arya Samajist goes through his spiritual *Sadhan* daily, weekly, and on especial occasions. Dayanand believed in *Bhakti* of a 'silent, serious and systematic character.' It may be stated that the 'sadhan' demanded by Dayanand is extremely exacting and therefore all are not able to completely conform to it. Hence there are regrets expressed—regrets which only tell us that the ideal is still far and that great and more serious struggle is needed. The critics misunderstand this situation, echo and re-echo the regrets and try to establish that there is an utter lack of spiritual life in the Samaj.

"NARAYAN."

Teaching of History in Indian Colleges.

Every teacher of History must have read with profound interest and attention Professor Jadunath Sarkar's article "The Confessions of a History Teacher" which appeared in the December issue of the "Modern Review." The article is eminently suggestive and practical and although some of us may not be able to see eye to eye with the learned Professor in all things or may have different experiences to recount, we cannot but feel extremely thankful to him for his masterly discourse on the subject. We must also feel highly thankful to the Editor of the Review for inviting comments and suggestions on the paper and thus opening up a useful discussion. In response to his appeal I proceed to make a few comments on the subject of History teaching in our Colleges.

With all due deference to the Professor, I feel constrained to remark, in the very beginning, that I find it rather difficult to concur in some of his observations as regards the difficulties besetting the teachers of History in Indian Colleges. Personally I have not much experienced those difficulties myself as a History Lecturer all these years and I have reason to believe that, in this respect, I do not stand alone. It seems to me that these difficulties have been very much overrated by the Professor. Taking, first, the 'language' difficulty, although it must be acknowledged, to some extent in the case of our Lower, Secondary and even High School boys, it must certainly be difficult for some of us to believe that our College students too are really so deficient in English as to be unable to follow History lectures given in English or to give their answers in that tongue. If only the Professor takes care to come down to the level of his students and express himself in plain and simple language, I feel certain this difficulty cannot much present itself. I have only to cite my own experience as well as that of many others in this part of India, to bear out the truth of my statement.

As regards the difficulty caused for want of suitable environment in India, it seems to me—so far at any rate, as College students are concerned—to be largely imaginary. It cannot be difficult for our college students, with the aid of the illustrations and descriptions given by their Professors as well as of their own imagination and reasoning, to realise conditions and institutions outside the range of their experience. In fact, it is the very aim and province of History to deal with the events and institutions of ages and countries widely separated from us and by transporting us in imagination to those ages and countries to enlarge our mental horizon and develop our curiosity, imagination and sympathy. The difficulty pointed out by Prof. Sarkar, if it were much of a difficulty, cannot at any rate be one peculiar to Indian students alone. Taking lastly the difficulty caused by the "burden of too many subjects and too ambitious a syllabus', I have only to observe that these are days of specialisation when each subject of study is meant to be taken up only by those who have a special aptitude for it. Seeing that History is a specialised study for many years (4 or 5) with some of our students and that a lion's share of their time and attention is given to it, the syllabus cannot really be regarded as being too ambitious.

From the foregoing remarks, it is not however meant to be understood that the teaching of History in our Colleges is altogether free from shortcomings or that the subject is everywhere as popular with our students as it deserves to be. What I wish to indicate is only that, if the subject fails to be sufficiently attractive and popular or receives but scant attention and patronage from our students, the real cause for it must be sought not so much in the difficulties pointed out by Prof. Sarkar as in the inefficiency or in indifference of teachers themselves or in the faulty methods of teaching followed by them. If the teaching of the subject is to prove satisfactory, it need not be said that the subject must really be handled by a specialist who is keen at it and ever devotes himself heart and soul to its study. A veritable student himself, the teacher of History must ever be delving in the mine of historical literature and keep himself well-posted on the latest results of historical research. Further, he must be an enthusiast in his profession and be richly endowed with the gifts of voice, manner, delivery, imagination, judgment, talent for description, etc. needed for every successful teacher of history.

As regards the system of teaching to be followed in Indian Colleges Prof. Sarkar maintains that "the European system of the Professor delivering lectures and his pupils immediately writing down the main points of his discourse in their own words is impossible here" and that consequently the dictation of notes by the teacher cannot be avoided. "Notes must be dictated if the lecture is not intended to vanish like the passing breeze." The system recommended by him is then a combined system of teaching and notes-dictation. In this connection I may, however, be allowed to observe that the system of notes-dictation is indeed a pernicious system and should, as far as possible, be avoided. The system is dull and mechanical : it involves much waste of time : it is likely to give students a sense of false security : it is likely to foster cram : it may be overdone by the lazy teacher : it subjects all kinds of students to the same rigid treatment. In these and other reasons I am inclined to think that the system of notes-dictation should, leaving subjects calling for the utmost exactness and precision of language (*e. g.*, Logic, Psychology, Physics, etc.), as far as possible be dispensed with. The system that I have myself followed with considerable advantage and success for many years, as regards history teaching in Intermediate classes, is in a way the very European system that Prof. Sarkar has ruled out of Court. Tried by the test of my own experience, it is a success and I do strongly commend it to the attention of the History teachers in Colleges. For the success of the system, the following condition must however be fulfilled. (1) The students must be furnished by the Professor, in advance, with brief outlines of the class lectures with suitable references for reading. What I have done here myself is to furnish my students with a small printed book embodying the outlines of a two years' course of lectures. Students are thus enabled to come fully prepared for the class-lecture and consequently to follow it with close attention and

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unflagging interest. (2) The lectures given in the class must, as far as possible, be of a general character and deal only with salient points. If they enter freely into minor details, they are sure to become dull and distasteful to students. Details must be left to be picked up from the text-books. (3) Good text-books must be prescribed for students and their careful and diligent study must be enforced. (4) The delivery of the lecture must be slow, clear and deliberate and importance points must specially be emphasised and if necessary repreated again and again. Under these circumstances, the Students must be in a position to take brief notes, clearly and correctly, of the lecture. By means of ancedotes, illustrations, parallels, contrasts, reflections, the lecture must be made as lively, interesting and educative as possible. (5) he students must be required to take notes—longer or shorter—of the lecture and these notes must be examined from time to time. This is done by me during library periods. It is the notes taken by the weaker students that do really call for special attention at the hands of the teacher. If notes are thus taken by sudents in the class, the lecture cannot certainly vanish like the passing breeze.

By way of suggesting additional aids to the teaching of History, I have to make the following observations.

First, discussion classes or Seminars should be held by the teacher from time to time. Such classes are held by me once a fortnight. In these classes are discussed either questions given out beforehand or one or two short essays written by students on subjects assigned beforehand with references. Such Seminars will, for more reasons than one, be found to serve a really useful purpose. Personally, they have been found by me extremely lively and stimulating, keeping students, as they do, always active and on the alert. By Prof. Sarkar these classes are conducted in the Vernacular and by experience *Vernacular* Seminars have been found by him more successful than English ones. I am, however, of opinion that considering that our students have to learn their subjects in English and give their answers in English and that consequently it should be our aim to improve their knowledge of that tongue as much as possible, these classes should be held *in English* rather than in the vernacular.

Secondly, considerable attention must be paid by the teacher to the practice of Essay-writing by students. Essay-writing is done by my own Intermediate students here once a fortnight. Three or four subjects are assigned to them in advance, with suitable references. On the Essay-writing day, the class is divided into 3 or 4 sections and one subject is allotted at random, to each group. The time allowed for writing is 40 minutes. The essays are corrected by me one by one, in the presence of the students themselves, during the library periods and one or two of the best Essays are also read out in the class. It is constant practice in Essay-writing alone that can give definiteness and precision to the knowledge acquired by our students and enable them to face any examination ordeal, cheerfully and confidently. Prof. Sarkar appears to follow this system only in the case of M. A. students and on really advanced lines so as to cultivate, in them, habits of research. His system is certainly deserving of high commendation. I, however, believe that, on somewhat elementary lines, the system may also be followed, with considerable advantage, in the case of lesser students too.

Thirdly, as Prof. Sarkar observes, "we must encourage our students to read freely, instead of pinning them down to particular book or set of books." If our History students are to acquire any proficiency at all in the subject, it can only be the result of a judicious and well-arranged course of reading. It is, therefore, the duty of every History teacher to see that his History library is well furnished and that, in the case of particularly useful books, a number of copies is provided for each. Further the students must be advised by the Professor as regards the selection of books from the Library. He should also insist on their taking down brief notes in the case of whatever book they read and these notes should be examined by him from time to time.

P. S. RAMAKRISHNA IYER.
Lecturer in History, Ernaculam College, Cochin State.

The Idieal in History Teaching.

I have great pleasure in sending you the following few remarks suggested to me by the able and candid "Confessions" of Prof. J. Sarkar.

Of the three obstacles standing in the way of attaining the ideal in history teaching noticed by Prof. Sarkar, the want of an adequate staff and equipment seems to me to be the greatest and to call for immediate remedy. I am not undervaluing the difficulties of language and environment, but so long as almost everybody is considered fit to lecture on history, and so long as it is thought that history is, of all sciences the cheapest to impart—in the matter of equipment, the teaching of history is bound to fall very far short of the ideal. In this connection I must notice that reform should commence at the very bottom and pupils should be trained to methods of enquiry even in the higher forms of secondary schools. But this means the employment of an able staff all round, which again implies additional cost. I have found that our fresh-men who join the college-classes not only find considerable difficulty in following big text-books, like Bury's *History of Greece*—a much better book by the way, than either Tout's '*Advanced History* or Lodge's *Modern Europe*—but cannot follow a chain of arguments or weigh evidence intelligently. These defects can be considerably remedied by better training in the lower classes. As it is I have found it possible to remedy these defects of the student's mind in most cases by a careful adjustment of the courses given. This necessarily calls against rapidity in work to start with, but what is lost in speed is gained in quality; and it is possible to make real and rapid progress in the later stages of the course, once the ground is prepared carefully beforehand.

The language difficulty is a real difficulty; but I cannot testify to better success with a vernacular medium, at least in my College and in this district. I may here state that most of my students speak and write English better than Tamil though they commit many mistakes of grammar and idiom in English, and that English serves me better as a medium of expression than Tamil—I mean in handling historical subjects. Perhaps the vernacular is not so well off in this part of the country as it should be; but I would like to put in a strong plea for a more extensive and intensive study of languages—classical, vernacular and foreign, especially for those who wish to do original work in the domain of India's history. I have always tried to avoid dictating 'notes' with some exceptions, and I have often left large portions of the subject to be worked up by the student himself; in spite of some defects, which can be remedied by effec

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tive 'tutorial' assistance, I have found the system working on the whole satisfactorily.

Prof. Sarkar says "we must encourage our pupils to read freely." It is only by such a method that the study of the subject could be vitalized. Nothing appears to me more dangerous to freedom of thinking in the student, than a tendency in the teacher to dogmatise on controversial topics. Nothing will counteract this danger better than an extensive reading both in the teacher and in the student. Prof. Sarkar's suggestion that answers should be valued according to quality and not according to quantity, as is now done, is very sound; but for obvious reasons I dare not follow his suggestion until the method is generally adopted in the Madras University.

K. A. NILAKANTAN, M. A.

Hindu College,
Tinnevelly.

P. S.—Recently, under the auspices of the Tamil Association of my College a paper on 'Hannibal' was read in English, evidently because the Association wanted a change!

The Meaning of Certain Words used by Brahmagupta.

May I offer the following suggestions and queries with regard to Prof. Mitra's artricle on "The Meaning of Certain Words used by Brahmagupta" in your November number?

From the facts that out of 16 propositions on quadrilaterals only 3 are as a matter of fact correct if *chaturasra* means 'quadrilateral' generally and *bishama* means 'scalene', and out of 5 propositions referring to *bishama chaturasra* only 2 are correct if *bishama* means scalene, while all are correct if the terms mean respectively 'cyclic quadrilateral' and 'having its diagonals at right angles to each other,' Prof. Mitra infers that it "is established beyond reasonable doubt" that Brahmagupta used these terms with the latter meanings.

A. With regard to *chaturasra*.—Surely the inference, and the only legitimate inference, that can immediately be drawn from Prof. Mitra's facts is that Brahmagupta was as a matter of fact using and working with cyclic quadrilaterals. It is a subsequent question whether in doing so he realised that his results were (in most cases) limited to these and therefore consciously used the term *chaturasra* with a limited meaning. No light is thrown on this by the facts in themselves; other considerations must be brought forward, such as any knowledge we may otherwise have as to the scope and accuracy of Brahmagupta's knowledge, as to his methods of invention and use of technical terms, etc. Into such considerations I cannot enter; I desire simply to point out that Prof. Mitra's conclusion seems to go distinctly beyond the premisses as set out by himself.

B. In all cases of *bishama*, besides these general considerations, two special points seem to deserve notice:—

(i) The formula of the 8th verse for the diagonals is at once reducible to a much simpler form if the diagonals are at right angles, viz.

$$\frac{ab+cd}{k} \;\&\; \frac{ad+bc}{k} \quad \text{where } k^2 = a^2+c^2 = b^2+d^2.$$

Now if Brahmagupta had clearly before his mind the difference between quadrilaterals with mutually perpendicular diagonals and others, and gave the special name of *bishama* to the former, how is it that in this verse, in which he explicitly refers to *bishama*, he does not give for the special case its special and much simpler result?

(ii) Can Prof. Mitra make any suggestion as to what seems on the face of it a very extraordinary fact on his hypothesis—that the word *bishama* which etymologically, and I believe, in all its uses, has the connotation of 'uneven' or 'unequal,' should have been chosen by Brahmagupta to mean 'with mutually perpendicular diagonals?' Moreover, in the same work, both the relatively negative words *sama* and *abisama* are used in the sense of 'equal' or 'not unequal, the latter in the very natural restricted sense of 'having two opposite sides equal': It is almost as if, in English, while using the phrase 'even number' in its regular meaning, one were to use the word 'uneven, as meaning, say, 'square.'

E. J. WESTERN.

NOTES

Fitness for Self-Rule.

PRACTICAL UNANIMITY AS REGARDS THE GOAL & IDEAL.

That India should one day become self-ruling, either within the British empire or outside it, was a thought not absent from the minds of all British statesmen. Some of them have left it on record that that was in their opinion India's destiny. For instance, the Marquess of Hastings wrote in his *Private Journal* (May 17th, 1818):

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest." (p. 361-362, Panini Office Edition.)

That self-government is our goal is admitted by all. Even British officials in

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India have in some recent utterances admitted that self-rule is the ideal towards which India should move. Self-government has found place among the subjects discussed approvingly by members of the Congress and the Muslim League parties. It is the declared object of the proposed Home Rule League. The question has also been discussed in the press in recent months. While all agree that self-rule is our goal and ideal, there are widely divergent opinions as to the time needed for the realization of this ideal. Lord Morley, the *radical* statesman, could not imagine a time when India would cease to be under personal rule. Others, gifted with a little more political imagination, place the time of the fulfilment of our hopes in the very remote future. Others, again, say that though the time is distant, it is not very distant. Some are of opinion that Indians ought at once to have some powers of control over the administration given them; while some others think that a complete scheme of self-rule should be immediately prepared, and powers should at once begin to be given to the representatives of the people in accordance with that scheme, full control over the administration civil and military, being vested in them in the course of the next 10, or at the most, 20 years, thus taking an effective step towards the perfect nationalisation of the government within a decade or so following. Under the circumstances it may be of some use to try to understand what is implied in fitness for self-rule.

What Self-rule implies.

What is the work that a self-ruling nation does or is expected to do? or, in other words, what is meant by managing the affairs of a country? The principal duties of a government are to defend the country from foreign aggression, to maintain peace and order within its borders by preventing or suppressing rebellion, revolution and robberies, to raise a sufficient revenue by means of taxation of various kinds, to spend this revenue in the most economical and beneficial way, to make and enforce laws, to administer justice, and to make arrangements for education and sanitation, to maintain communications throughout the country by means of waterways, roads and railways for facilitating travelling and commerce, to make the country rich by helping and encouraging the people to develop its agriculture, industries and commerce, to help the growth and expansion of a mercantile marine for the purposes of international commerce and intercourse, to encourage the growth of its literature and fine arts, &c.

Government with Foreign and National Personnel.

These duties can never be performed satisfactorily by any foreign government. They can be so performed only where the government is national. For the foreigners constituting a foreign government having a duty to perform both to their own country and the subject country they govern, they cannot pay undivided and single-minded attention to the welfare of the latter, and in a conflict of interests between the two countries cannot prefer those of the subject country, as it is natural for men to be more anxious for the welfare of their own country than for that of other countries.

What the British Government has and has not done.

In India for the last century and a half the British Government has been doing almost all the duties of a government, some energetically, some in a lukewarm manner, and some with indifference. To some duties it has not yet set its hands. For instance, there is no Indian navy, and Government has not helped or encouraged the building up of a fleet of mercantile vessels. On the contrary, it is during the British period of Indian history that the indigenous shipping and ship-building industry have declined and almost entirely disappeared. The Indian army is not manned in all its arms by Indians, there is no aerial fleet, and the commissioned officers are all non-Indians. But this is a digression.

Our Fitness in British and pre-British Periods.

Those State duties which the British Government in India performs, are performed more or less with the help of the people of India. They were performed by Hindus and Musalmans in the age immediately preceding the British period, and in still more ancient times by Hindus and Buddhists alone. But whether Hindus, Buddhists or Musalmans, those who managed the affairs of the country in the pre-British

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period were Indians. Englishmen did not come to a country of savages, but to a country where the art of Government had made great progress.

In the British period, too, Indians have, on the whole, proved their fitness for any kind of work, civil or military, which they have been allowed to do. So it cannot be said that they are totally unfit for the discharge of all kinds of civil and military work.

Subordinate and Independent Duties.

It may be objected, that it is in subordinate capacities that Indians have done their work and proved their capacity. That is true in the main. But in those cases also in which Indians have held independent charges, they have proved their capacity. Moreover, as they have not been given opportunities to prove their power of initiative and their fitness for independent work in most departments, logically it can only be said that in these departments neither the fitness nor the unfitness of Indians has been demonstrated. It should be borne in mind that this applies only to the British period. In the pre-British period Indians could and did do all kinds of work. Should it be said that there had been a deterioration since then, Indians alone could not be logically held responsible for such a result.

Proof of Worth and its Recognition.

Government may say, "We would have given you high posts if you had proved your worth." But that is begging the question. How can fitness for a particular kind of work be proved unless one gets an opportunity to do that sort of work? It is like saying, prove that you can swim and then you will be allowed to touch the water. Moreover, it is not true that Indians get those appointments to which their qualifications entitle them. Take the educational department. Here the rule is to appoint even raw British and Colonial graduates to the higher service to the exclusion of Indians of tried merit.

In executive and administrative work, too, we find men like Romesh Chunder Dutt and Krishna Govinda Gupta could not get a lieutenant-governorship or even a chief-commissionership, though it cannot be said that they were inferior in ability to the general run of those British officers who have filled these posts. There are many Deputy Collectors who can teach many Magistrates their duties. But the former always occupy a subordinate position. In the army even Indian winners of the Victoria Cross cannot hope to be lieutenants.

There is, no doubt, a natural reluctance on the part of Englishmen to acknowledge our fitness. For if our fitness were admitted, there would be only two courses open. One would be to give us all the posts for which we were declared fit; but that would mean the exclusion of Englishmen from many lucrative careers. The other would be to declare practically that though Indians might be fit, Englishmen, for selfish reasons, were resolved by the exercise of political power to prevent them from getting their due. But the rulers of India could not naturally make such a brutal declaration.

Present-day Indian Achievement: Correlation of Capacities.

The successful management of the affairs of a country is not so mysterious nor so intricate and complicated a matter as to be beyond the powers of Indians to tackle and master. Different kinds of genius, talent, and capacity are not separate and independent entities; they are organically connected and correlated. If a nation gives evidence of genius, talent and ability in some spheres of human activity, it is safe to presume that it possesses the power to shine in other spheres of activity, too, if only it were allowed the opportunity. We shall not speak of ancient times. Even in these so-called degenerate days, the Indian is found among the world's great spiritual teachers and thinkers, the world's great litterateurs, the world's great artists, the world's great scientists, the world's great statesmen, and the world's great captains of industry. Even under the depressing circumstances of subjection, the Indian has fought his way to the British Parliament, to the highest Councils of the Indian Empire in London and Delhi-Simla, and won the Victoria Cross by conspicuous valour in the field of battle. It will not do to say that the small number of men to whom we refer are exceptions. The biggest trees are found, not in the midst of treeless deserts, but in tracts where there are other trees only less big than themselves. Take any age in any country and you will find that the most

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famous poet, scientist, statesman, general, &c., were not solitary individuals, but only the greatest among great men. Shakespeare, Darwin, Gladstone, Wellington, Nelson, were not freaks of nature, but had contemporaries who were almost their equals. What is true of England or of any other country, is true of India, too. We have many men almost as gifted as those who have made a name, many probably equally gifted, and some possibly more gifted. Given the opportunity, and there is bound to be a greater manifestation of ability of a high order in all spheres of human life.

Getting and making of opportunity.

We have used the word opportunity more than once. It may be said that nations like men make their own opportunity, nobody gives them opportunity. This is but partially true. The Negroes of America have got some opportunity and are consequently showing what stuff they are made of. In their native countries they never got the opportunity. But the objection has been raised, "Why could they not make their opportunity in their own country? The fact that the white European ancestors of the white Americans became civilized earlier than the Negroes shows the superiority of the white men; for the white men *made* their opportunity, the Negro had to be *given* the opportunity." It may similarly be said to us: "Why ask for opportunity? Make your own opportunity. If obstacles are put in your way, overcome them." So we will, so far as it lies in man to mould his destiny. But may we here remind all so-called "superior" races of one fact? Human history is not limited by the few centuries of European ascendancy. The Hindus, the Egyptians, the Chinese were civilised, they got and made their opportunity before all or at least the majority of European races. Why could not the Europeans make their opportunity when the Egyptians made theirs? Does that fact show the inferiority of the European races? The Japanese got and made their opportunity only half a century ago. There have been ups and downs in the history of all countries. Let none arrogantly assume that they have been wholly the makers of their own destiny. Let none, also, weakly assume that they are entirely powerless to mould their present and their future. Let all who have the power give the requisite opportunity to those who need it;—the time may come for the givers of opportunity to be its seekers. Let all who seek the opportunity make it as far as in them lies, and it does lie in them to a very great extent. Fate or destiny is not a fixed but an indefinitely elastic boundary which nations can push further and further outwards by their strength and perseverance.

Past, present and future forms of government of a country.

Some people seem to think that the present and future forms of government of a country cannot be different from the forms of government which prevailed in it in former days. This belief or fancy has no foundation in historical fact; for in every one of the countries where at present there are either constitutional monarchies or republics, there was at some period of their history absolute monarchy. But should it be taken for granted that the past forms of government of a country qualify or disqualify its people for representative government at present or in the future, Indians would not stand utterly disqualified.

Democracy in Pre-British India.

The earliest republics known to Europeans were those of ancient Greece and Rome. In India there were republics in ancient times in regions wider in extent than Greece and Rome combined, and for a longer period of time than the entire period of duration of those old European republics. College students who read Prof. Rhys Davids' "Buddhist India" and Mr. Vincent A. Smith's "Early History of India" know this fact. In the second number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal have written of republic in the Mahabharat. In the ancient Indian monarchies there were effective checks upon the powers of kings, though these were not exactly of the kind known to Europeans as constitutional. The Sanskrit word "raja," Rhys Davids says, originally signified something like the Greek *archon* or the Roman *Consul*. In his article on "Constitutional Aspects of Rituals at Hindu Coronation," published in the Modern Review for January, 1912, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has shown that Hindu Kings used to be elected, or in any case their ascension

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to the throne required popular ratification. This view finds support from the Hindu epics the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. In the Ramayan we know what King Dasarath did to ascertain the desire of the people as to who should be his heir-apparent, and also how the discontent of the people found expression when their favourite Ramchandra was exiled. In the Mahabharat similar evidence is found in what happened when the blind king Dhritarastra tried to make his own son Duryodhan king instead of the Pandavas, the rightful heirs. In the history of the Pal dynasty of Bengal we find the people electing a king after a revolution. Some account of the checks upon autocracy in ancient India will be found in Dr. Sudhindra Bose's and Mr. R. G. Pradhan's articles in the present number of this review. In Southern India, there were the "five great assemblies which checked the autocracy of Tamil kings, and which consisted of the people, priests, astrologers, physicians, and ministers." That village communities in India were so many little republics is well-known. This is true both of Northern and Southern India. Regarding Southern India Mr. Vincent Smith says:—

"Certain long inscriptions of Parantaka are of especial interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well-organized local committees, or panchayats, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction. It is a pity that this apparently excellent system of local self-government, really popular in origin, should have died out ages ago. Modern governments would be happier if they could command equally effective local agency." (Early History of India, 2nd Ed., p. 418.)

The Art of Government in India of the Past.

To what a pitch of efficiency the art of imperial and local government was carried in ancient India is clear from such works as Chanakya's *Arthasastra*, *Sukraniti*, &c., the epics Ramayan and Mahabharat (particularly the Santiparva of the latter), the *Samhita* of Manu and other *Samhitas* (codes), many epigraphic records, such as those on which Sir Sankaran Nair wrote in this review, the Greek accounts of Chandra Gupta's administration, and the achievements of Emperors Asoka, Samudra Gupta, Dharmapala, &c. In the Muhammadan and Maratha periods there were great statesmen and administrators like Sher Shah, Akbar, Aurangzib, Shivaji and others. The statesmanship and administrative capacity of the Peshwas deserve to be better known than they are. An excellent idea of Akbar's administrative system can be had from Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari*. The revenue system of his minister Todar Mal has been followed by the British Government. Islam is democratic, and Musalman traditions favour the representative system. Before Ranjit Singh became the autocrat of the Panjab, the affairs of the Sikh states were managed according to democratic methods. The remains of ancient monuments of various descriptions, old land communications, water-ways, irrigation works, &c., bear witness to the high civilization and civic capacity of the people and rulers of India in pre-British days.

Our history, therefore, does not disqualify us for self-rule.

Conquest, and Loss of Capacity for and Right of Self-Rule.

Englishmen generally think and many Indians also seem to hold that our unfitness for self-rule has been demonstrated once for all by the British conquest of India. They seem to ask: "If Indians are fit to manage the affairs of their own country, why were they conquered at all?" Conquest would seem, therefore, to be a justification for deprivation of self-rule. We need not here discuss historically whether British India as a whole or its major portion was conquered by the English. Let it be granted that we are a conquered people and let us examine this doctrine in the light of history.

Examples from British Empire History.

The French Canadians were conquered by the English in 1763, but the whole colony became self-governing in 1791. After that date the French Canadians revolted more than once and were defeated and conquered as often. But they continue to be self-ruling. Some fifteen years ago the Boers of South Africa were defeated and conquered, but they were granted self-government almost immediately afterwards. Ireland was conquered centuries ago. But before the Union with Great Britain in 1801, Ireland had its own Parliament, and since the Union the Irish have enjoyed representation in the British

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Parliament in a larger proportion than their numercial strength would entitle them to. They have rebelled, attempted to rebel and used methods of violence again and again, and have been baffled in every instance. But they have not been deprived of their right of representation. And now they are going to have Home Rule. Wales is a conquered country, but enjoys parliamentary representation and has local self-government. England was conquered by the Romans, the Angles and Saxons, the Danes and the Normans. But it is now among the freest countries in the world. Every country, in fact, which is now free and independent, was conquered at some period or other of its history. The British Colony of New Zealand has its own parliament. The aboriginal inhabitants of this colony, the Maori, now number only 50,000. But they return four members to the New Zealand parliament. This right was granted to them in 1871, immediately after their conquest by the white colonists. The Encyclopaedia Britannica tells us:

"They were poor marksmen, and had but little skill in laying ambuscades. During ten years of intermittent marching and fighting between 1861 and 1871 the Maori did no more than prove that they had in them the stuff to stand up against fearful odds and not always to be worsted.....Even as it was the resistance of the Maori was utterly worn out at last. After 1871 they fought no more."

Other savage people in the British Empire who enjoy self-rule are the Gilbert and Ellice Islanders, of whom we have written in another article. True, the Maori and these savages are small in number; but the enjoyment by them of self-rule disproves the doctrine that conquest involves the forfeiture of civic rights.

Examples from Foreign History.

Numerous examples may also be given from the history of countries lying outside the British Empire. America conquered the Filipinos some 17 years ago. These half-civilized and uncivilized men have had home rule for the last decade or so, and have been promised independence or complete autonomy in another decade or two. Serbia had been autocratically governed by Turkey for centuries. With the assistance of some of the Christian powers of Europe and according to some provisions of the Treaty of Berlin it obtained independence in 1878, and its king and people have been managing their affairs well ever since. Such also is the history of Bulgaria. It was under Turkish rule for centuries, and became independent in 1908 with the help of some European powers. Its king and people have not displayed any incapacity to conduct their own affairs.

Conquest does not involve loss of Self-rule.

We need not multiply examples. Those which we have already cited are sufficient to show that conquest and dependence do not lead to utter loss of administrative capacity, nor do they mean or necessarily involve or justify forfeiture of civic rights. It is only right that it should be so. If some man, good or bad, armed or unarmed, defeats another man, that does not in any country mean that the former and his descendants and successors are entitled to deprive the latter and his heirs and successors of the natural right to possess, use and manage their estate, nor that they have lost the power to do so.

Contemporary History.

Let us briefly refer to contemporary history. Belgium has been a free country for some 80 years. It has been self-governing, and has made great progress in education, industry and commerce. Germany has conquered Belgium. But England, France and Russia are not convinced that that fact would justify the extinction of Belgian independence and liberty, nor that that fact proves the unfitness of the Belgians to govern themselves. On the contrary, the Allied Powers are rightly trying to restore liberty to Belgium. Serbia has similarly been conquered by Bulgaria and Germany. But the Allies are trying to make her free again. Poland had long been partitioned among and ruled by Germany, Russia and Austria. But during the present European war, both Russia and Germany have promised autonomy to Poland. If conquest and long subjection meant utter unfitness for self-rule, how have the Poles all at once become fit for autonomy?

India's size and her many languages, creeds, races, and castes.

Home Rule has been thought unsuitable for India, because of its being like a large continent, where there exist many languages, creeds, races, and castes. But the Russian Empire is very extensive and is inhabited by a variety of races and religious sects,

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and by peoples speaking many different languages. Yet it enjoys local self-government, and a large measure of imperial self-rule. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, too, is characterized by diversity of races, sects and languages, It has a constitutional monarchy and the form of government is largely representative. The United States of America is a republic populated by various races, speaking different tongues and having different creeds. The number of languages, as distinguished from dialects or local patois, spoken in India, has been exaggerated. In the census of 1901 they were stated to number 147; by 1911 they had increased to 220! In real fact one or other of a dozen principal languages would be found to be understood, whatever the province that might be chosen to test this statement. Besides, whatever force the multiplicity of Indian languages might be supposed to have against the exercise of self-rule by India as a whole in pan-Indian affairs, it can have none whatever against the enjoyment of provincial autonomy. In the United Provinces, Behar, Orissa, Bengal, Andhra, &c., the people of the province all understand one main language. As for our many sects and creeds, the people of India professing them are, to say the least, really not more intolerant of one another's beliefs and practices than the Christian sects inhabiting any Western country.

Despotism and the Orient.

It is sometimes observed that as orientals have always been used to despotic government, they appreciate only autocracy; they can neither appreciate nor are fit for self-rule. In the first place, it is not a fact that despotism has been the prevailing form of government in oriental countries in all ages. We have already given some idea of the different kinds of government which prevailed in India of the past,—which were more or less democratic in character. It would not, however, have mattered much, if we had been accustomed only to absolutism in the past. Western peoples who now have republics or limited monarchies in their country had been at some time or other of their history governed despotically. As for oriental countries, Japan has had representative government for the last fifty years, growing very powerful and prosperous in consequence. China, though not out of the woods yet and though under a sort of dictator, is a republic. The insurrections caused by the attempt to convert it into a monarchy show how deep-rooted and widespread the republican feeling is in China. Even under Manchu rule and earlier still, the Chinese had always enjoyed a large measure of local autonomy. A constitutional monarchy, with a parliament, has been established in Persia also; but the conflicting interests and intrigues of European powers have prevented the Persians from showing their capacity for self-rule. The success of Japan alone, however, demonstrates that oriental peoples may be capable of self-government.

Self-rule in the Indian States.

In the Indian States, known as the Native States, the Rulers, the principal officers and the subordinate officials are Indians. Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore, and several small states are on the whole as efficiently governed as British India. Some of them are superior to British India in material prosperity, in education, in the encouragement of industrial development, and in respect of the separation of the judicial from executive functions. No doubt, the British Government has helped the Indian States by guaranteeing protection from external aggression and prevention of internal revolts, and occasional advice given, by political residents. But the people of British Inda, too, do not demand the immediate severance of the Indo-British connection; Home Rule under the protection and guidance of the British Empire is the demand of Congress and Moslem League alike.

Geographically and ethnologically Nepal is a part of India. Nepal manages its own affairs without British protection and guidance. It is true that neither the Feudatory States of India nor Nepal can hold their own against a leading European power. But Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro have not been able to defend themselves against the Teutonic powers. The Teutonic powers could conquer Denmark and Holland also, if they liked. Do the British, the French and their allies for that reason call in question the capacity and the right of the Belgians, the Serbians and Montenegrins or of Holland and Denmark, to govern themselves? Or would it be right to do so?

The objection may be urged that the

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power to manage the affairs of the *small* Indian states is not a proof of the capacity to administer the affairs of a *large* Empire like India. Our reply is twofold: (1) If our capacity to govern the small Native States be admitted, why cannot we in British India, leaving imperial politics alone, have self-rule in the provinces, or in the Divisions or in the Districts, or even in all the municipalities? The peoples' hands are tied even in village unions. (2) In the second place, the Colonials in some of the British Colonies have to deal with small areas and small populations. Their success in managing their affairs has been considered a sufficient proof of their capacity to lead some British Cabinet ministers in recent months to promise that when the war is over, they shall share in the government of the Empire. Lord Chelmsford, a former governor of New South Wales and Queensland, and a London County Councillor, has been thought fit to be appointed Viceroy of India. Why cannot then the successful work of the great ministers of the Native States, like Salar Jang, Seshadri Iyer, Dinkar Rao, Romesh Dutt, &c., be taken as a proof of Indian capacity to deal with imperial politics? Some of the independent European countries, too, are small, yet nobody questions their right and capacity to govern themselves. The following tables will afford a basis for comparison between some of our states, some British colonies and some European countries.

Indian States	Area in sq. miles	Population
Gwalior	25,107	30,93,082
Travancore	7,129	34,28,975
Baroda	8,182	20,32,798
Mysore	29,459	58,06,193
Hyderabad	82,698	1,33,74,676
British Colonies		
New-foundland	40,000	2,40,000
New Zealand	1,05,000	10,[illegible]0,000
New South Wales	3,10,400	16,50,000
Victoria	88,000,	13,20,3000
Queensland	6,70,500	6,06,000
European Countries		
Belgium	11,373	75,71,387
Denmark	15 582	27,75,076
Holland	12,582	62,12,701
Switzerland	15,976	38,31,220
Montenegro	5,603	5,16,000
Serbia	18,650	29,11,001

We could have given the figures for the South American republics like Chile, Argentine Republic, &c., but it is unnecessary.

Power of self-defence.

Anglo-Indian papers like the *Englishman* say :—

"A country which is *unable to stand by itself* in all things, to finance itself, to defend itself, is obviously not ready to govern itself."

Is there any British colony which can stand by itself in all things? Can any of them defend itself? But for British Imperial protection Japan could annex Australasia, and the United States could annex Canada. On the outbreak of the Boer war, it was Indian troops who landed first in the British South African Colonies to defend them. But, though the British colonies cannot defend themselves, they are not considered unworthy of self-government.

Is France able to defend herself, standing alone by herself? Obviously not. For, then British troops and Indian troops would not be on French soil to defend France. Is England able to stand all alone in self-defence? Obviously not. For she has requisitioned the aid of her allies and her colonies. The help of even poor despised India could not be dispensed with; for her sons have been sent to fight for the British Empire in Europe, Asia and Africa. Germany could not stand by itself. It depends on the help of its allies. It does not then seem to be axiomatic that a country which cannot defend itself with its own resources alone is "not ready to govern itself."

Financial Independence.

As for financial independence, we do not know whether there is any civilized country in which foreign capital is not invested. Not to speak of Asiatic countries like Japan, China, Persia, &c., which are self-ruling, European countries like Russia are being developed with foreign capital. Even in England there are millions of German money invested, and, similarly there is British capital invested in Germany. During the present war England has been obliged partly to finance her allies. As for herself she has had to go to the American market for money. It would seem then that financial independence could not be taken as an essential qualification for self-government.

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It may not be irrelevant here to point out that England owes her present opulent condition to capital taken from India. Readers of Mill's *History of India* and Brooks Adams's *Law of Civilization and Decay* know that British industrial development would not have been possible without transferring to Great Britain much of India's hoarded wealth, amounting to hundreds of millions.

"ROME WAS NOT BUILT IN A DAY."

We are often reminded by both Indians and Anglo-Indians that "Rome was not built in a day." It is meant thereby to tell us that as England and other free and self-governing countries took centuries to evolve and learn to work their present advanced political institutions, India ought not to expect to become self-governing in the course of a few years. From the historical primers which we read at school, we did indeed learn that it took Rome centuries to grow from the collection of huts, which Romulus and Remus probably built into a city of palaces and cathedrals with magnificent suburban villas. But in later times, it did not take as much time to build Washington, Melbourne, Sydney, San Francisco, Chicago, or new Dacca; nor is it expected that new Delhi or new Bankipur would take centuries or even decades to build. The present up-to-date steam-engines of various sorts can trace their descent to Hero's apparatus, constructed B. C. 130. If a student of mechanical engineering now wants to learn to make a steam-engine, he does not begin with making Hero's machine, nor does he learn the art in 130+1915=2045 years. He becomes a finished mechanic in a few years. The marvels of modern chemistry have grown from the days of the alchemists in the course of centuries. But the modern student of chemistry learns the science not by toiling for centuries through a hundred births and re-incarnations, but in less than a decade. The youth apprenticed to the ship-building trade does not begin with dug-outs or canoes, but with the most up-to-date vessels, mastering the art of building the latest merchant vessels and dreadnoughts in a few years. The modern mechanic who wants to manufacture all sorts of weapons for the army and the navy, does not go to a museum to see how the palæolithic and the neolithic men made their stone hatchets or flint spearheads and arrow-heads in order to imitate them. He learns in the course of a few years to make machine guns, 14-inch cannon, shells and torpedoes. The modern Japanese did so learn from the West, and are now teaching and helping the West in some cases. When 50 years ago the Japanese youths who subsequently came to be known as the Elder Statesmen went to all the most civilized countries of the world to learn the art of government, they did not bother their heads with the witenagemot and the eorls and the ceorls and the cnihts, but at once set about to learn and did learn in a few years all that there was to learn about the latest representative institutions and their working; and the school of experience afterwards made them what they became.

The art of statesmanship, like all other arts, is and can be learnt in a single life-time. The British baby who afterwards grows up into a statesman is born just as ignorant as the Indian baby. British infants are no more born with the general's baton or the statesman's portfolio than are Indian babies born with the coolie's spade or stone-breaking hammer. Given the same opportunity and facilities, the Indian baby is sure to equal any other baby in development. If statecraft were entirely or mainly inherited, all or most of the descendants of all or most statesmen would have become statesmen, and few boys whose fathers were not statesmen would have become statesmen. Abraham Lincolns would then have been impossible. Mr. Asquith has learnt what he has in his own life-time, Count Okuma has learnt in the same space of time, so has Dadabhai Naorji; so did Asoka, Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Sher Shah, Akbar, Aurungzib, Shivaji and others. Their ancestors did not pile up knowledge and experience of statecraft for them and physiologically transmit it to them. There may or may not be some truth in hereditary talent or racial characteristics; but it has always been a conscious or unconscious trick on the part of the few in possession of power and privilege to try to persuade the many outside the pale to believe that birth is the sole or most dominant determining factor in the making of the destiny of individuals and nations. In India the trick succeeded to so great an extent that for generations

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Sudras have continued to our own day to believe that it was only by acquiring merit after numerous births that they could become Brahmans or twice-born. But now the spell seems to have broken even in India. Many persons hitherto known as Sudras now claim to be twice-born.

The evolution of a thing or the discovery of a truth or method takes a long time, involves great labour and may require much genius, but to acquire a knowledge of them is a very much shorter and easier process.

It does not require generations or centuries *to learn* statecraft, though it may have taken centuries *to evolve and perfect* the art; just as it does not take generations or centuries to learn any other art, science or craft, though the latter may have arrived at their present state of perfection or maturity after centuries. In the case of all the other arts this fact has been tacitly admitted; in the case of statesmanship or statecraft, however, it seems to be denied. But facts with their incontrovertible logic have come to the rescue of all struggling and aspiring nations. It is within living memory that the Serbians, Bulgarians and Rumanians have become free after long centuries of subjection to Turkey. They did not take centuries or generations to learn statecraft, but began to manage their affairs efficiently as soon as they got the chance to do so. It cannot be urged that they are more intelligent or brave than the Indians, or that their civilisation is of older date than that of India. If it be urged that they are Europeans, and what is true of Europeans cannot be true of Asiatics, we can cite the case of the Japanese, who, from the commencement of the Meiji or new era, began to govern their country in the most approved fashion. The Japanese possess an ancient civilization which, it may be urged, fitted them for their new career of political progress. But the Filipinos have not started with any such real or supposed qualification; and yet they are satisfactorily exercising the right of self-rule after an apprenticeship of less than a decade under American administrators. Should it be urged explicitly or by implication that our only disqualifications are that we are Indians and that we have been under British rule for more than a century and a half, we must throw up the sponge and confess to being thoroughly beaten.

Capacity for Self-rule Relative: No absolute standard of fitness for Self-rule.

There is no absolute standard of fitness for self-rule. Like every other kind of capacity, the capacity for self-rule is relative. There is no nation on earth which is absolutely, perfectly fit for self-rule. From the very fact that they are all self-ruling it must be acknowledged that the English are fit, the Irish are fit, the Germans are fit, the Belgians are fit, the Montenegrins are fit, the Japanese and the Chinese are fit, the Ethiopians are fit, the Negroes of Liberia are fit, the Negroes of Haiti are fit, the uncivilised Maori and Gilbert Islanders are fit, the Serbs, the Boers, the Bulgars, the Filipinos and the Afghans are fit, the Nepalese are fit. But have they all made equal progress, or are they all equally powerful? God has not fixed the exact degree, kind or measure of capacity which would entitle a nation to self-rule; nor is it possible for any man or nation to fix the standard. The British people in general think that they are perfectly fit for self-rule. But have they always been able to show sufficient ability and tact in the administration of the affairs of their own country? If they had, there would not have been so many revolutions, rebellions and riots and so much bloodshed in their history. Like all other peoples they have occasionally committed great blunders. They have blundered even in the course of the present war. But even the most serious mistakes are not held, and justly so, to disqualify free and independent nations for self-rule. What then is the validity of the objection that Indians being inexperienced would often go wrong if allowed to govern themselves, and they ought not, therefore, to have self-rule? The man who never made a mistake never did anything of any value. The infant who never fell or stumbled, never learnt to walk. Nations learn and become strong and progressive both by their failures and successes.

British capacity for Government.

In their own country the British have shown great administrative ability. But they have not shown equal ability in India. They have, indeed, prevented foreign aggression and established and maintained peace and order in the country, they have very regularly and strictly collected and

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spent the revenue, they have on the whole dealt out even-handed justice between Indian and Indian and, in civil cases, between Indians and Europeans, but during their nearly two centuries of rule they have not been able to make Indians equal to the peoples of the least advanced European countries, and of Japan, in education, in material prosperity, in health, in power of self-defence against external and internal aggressors and in the enjoyment of immunity from the depredations of robbers and wild animals. Among the civilised countries of the world there is no country which is so subject to famines, and pestilences and other epidemics. In 17 years the Americans have made the Filipinos more literate and more free from malaria than we have become in 150 years. Japan has attained greater success in fighting malaria in Formosa than our government in India. The good that has resulted from the work of the bureaucracy in India we admit; but judged by the standards we have spoken of, particularly by the two main and essential tests of intellectual and material advancement, the success of the bureaucracy has not been such as to justify them in arrogantly declaiming against the incapacity of the Indians. The relatively poor success of the British Government in India is all the more noteworthy, as the natural resources of India are vast and varied and her inhabitants are not wanting in intelligence, courage, industry, thrift, sobriety and other good qualities of character.

Character.

Character is one of the chief factors which determine capacity for self-rule. The crime statistics of India compared with those of some of the most civilized countries show that we are not inferior in character to other civilized peoples. Corruption and misappropriation of public money are certainly not more rife in India than in the United States of America. During the centuries during which England has had parliamentary government, prime ministers and men in both higher and lower political positions have been known to be corrupt and wanting in personal integrity. Recent enquiries relating to the Civil Service in England have brought to light glaring instances of nepotism. The assumption that Indians are unfit for self-rule, because there occasionally come to light cases of nepotism, municipal or other jobbery, embezzlement and corruption, is preposterous: when made by Indians it shows both the very high standard by which they judge themselves as well as their ignorance of the state of public morality in other countries; when made by Westerners, it is either pharisaical and pecksniffian or is due to their ignorance of the state of things in many Western self-ruling countries.

Local self-government.

Local self-government in India has been, on the whole, as successful as one could reasonably expect from the little freedom enjoyed by the local bodies. Our roads, drains, &c., are not now in a worse condition than when the officials alone were entirely responsible for their upkeep. The Bombay Government has recently granted to several municipalities the right to elect their presidents. The Bengal Government has recently given the municipalities a free hand in the preparing of their budgets, saying,

> "The Governor in Council is satisfied that the experiment has on the whole justified itself, while at the same time he notices in the affairs of municipalities a growing sense of responsibility and capacity for self-management, which encourages him to believe that further confidence in their powers of financial administration would not be misplaced.

These are indications that local self-government has not been a failure.

Literacy.

It has been sometimes asserted that India cannot be self-ruling because of the prevailing illiteracy. In the mouth of the bureaucracy it is a very curious argument. They have not cared to make India more literate than she is. Education is progressing at a snail's pace. In Japan 28 per cent of the children of school age were at school in 1873; by 1902-1903 the percentage had risen to 90. In India the percentage is 19·6. When the shears of retrenchment have to be applied, education is the first to suffer, though at the same time the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service may be increased. It was owing to the opposition of the bureaucracy that Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill was rejected. Our boys are willing to learn and to pay for their tuition, but there are not schools and colleges enough for them. The people cannot open schools and colleges in sufficient numbers because of the standard of

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requirements set up by the Education Department.

However, when nearly 50 years ago representative government was established in Japan it was mainly the Samurai who were literate; among the rest of the population education was not widespread. In India, too, the higher classes, particularly the males, who alone at present take part in public life, are educated to a considerable extent. And as in all countries representative institutions have been worked in the earlier stages by the higher classes, it would be enough for the purpose of Indian Home Rule if a sufficient number of educated and capable men could be had to represent the people in the local, provincial and imperial councils. And it is well-known that this number can be had.

England has enjoyed representative institutions for centuries, but education has been widely diffused there only during the last century or so. In the age of King John, when the barons wrested the Great Charter from him, many of the nobility could draw spear-heads more skilfully than the letters of the alphabet; book-learning was despised by them. In later ages of parliamentary history, too, literacy was not the prevailing feature of English society. In other free countries, also, free institutions and a high percentage of literacy have not always gone together. However, if literacy be considered an essential qualification for self-rule, it is in the power of the rulers to attain the requisite standard within a decade. A century ago India and China were about the most literate countries in the world. It may be possible for us to overtake those who have since then left us behind. Our rulers do not, in actual practice, however, seem always to care much for education. For Government have often nominated men to sit in the provincial and imperial councils who do not know English though the proceedings of these bodies are conducted in English.

"If the British Withdrew from India?"

There is one argument which the opponents of Indian self-rule consider a clincher. They say: "If the British went away from India, leaving her to her fate, she would fall a prey to some other powerful nation, as her sons would not be able to defend her against foreign aggression; and these new conquerors would undoubtedly be worse than the English." In the first place, the present Indian demand is for Home Rule, *not Independence*; so why should the British withdraw? No doubt, a self-ruling India would not keep so many highly paid English officials, nor would it be so good a field for commercial and industrial exploitation as it is at present; though that is a somewhat distant contingency. But still some Englishmen would find employment here as they do in the self-governing colonies, and there would still be a sufficiently large and remunerative field for the investment and employment of capital, as there is in the British colonies and in the independent countries of Russia, Turkey, China, Persia, &c. Where the honey is there will be the bee, too: It is not in human nature to leave a place where there is hope of gain.

Standing by itself no British colony can defend itself against foreign aggression. It is the might of the British Empire which shields the colonies. Why should not the Empire extend the same help to India on the same terms? Why should England demand from India as the price of defence the monopoly of power, of high appointments and of opportunities for exploitation?

We know the colonials are white and we are not. We are not the kinsmen of the British people. Therefore perhaps the underlying idea in the minds of many Englishmen may be: "Why should we care to defend your country if the bargain be that we are to receive all the blows and you are to receive all the blessings, we are to do all the hard work, and you are to roll in wealth and luxury?" But as we have been often told by many English notables that England's work in India is philanthropic, it would be highly noble of Englishmen and extremely creditable to them if, from altruistic considerations they remained in India to defend it even after the grant of Home Rule to India, until we were able to do so ourselves. Should it, however, be considered a very unconscionable bargain, we would respectfully suggest that in future Englishmen would do well not to lay exclusive stress on England's philanthropic mission in India.

It is not exclusively our fault that we are unable to defend ourselves. As both Sir S. P. Sinha and Mr. Haque have said and shown in their addresses, Government have not helped us to be strong, have even kept us weak.

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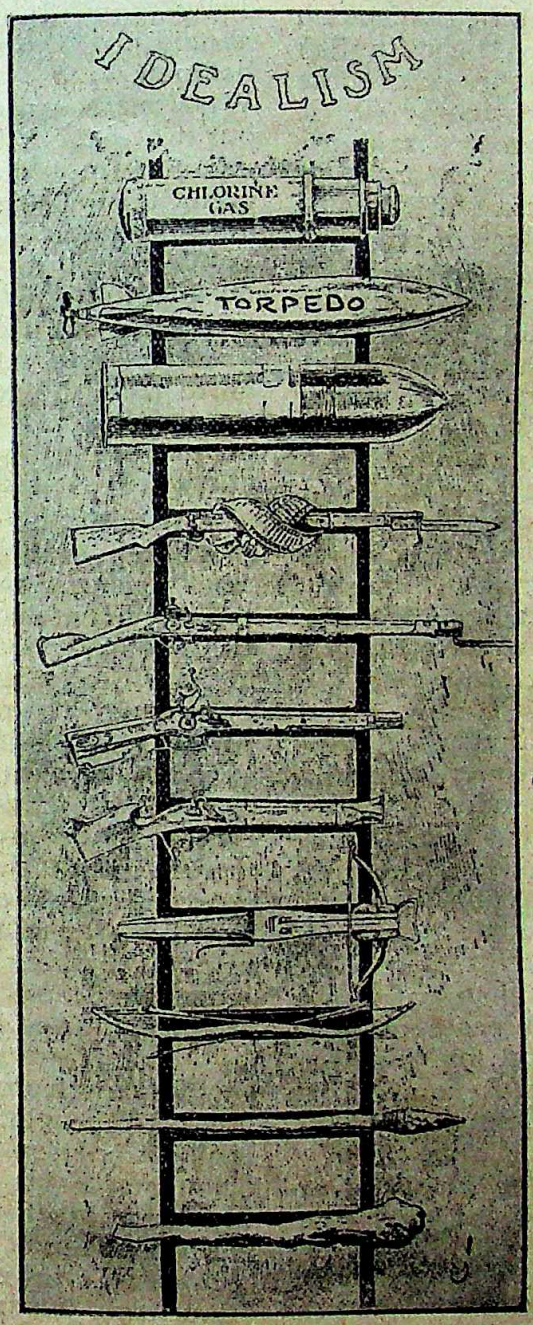
There is a way out of the difficulty. Indian soldiers have given unquestionable proofs of soldierly qualities. In the pre-British period and in the early days of British rule, people of every province of British India could and did enter the army. That practice should be revived, and Indians should be trained both as privates and commissioned officers in all sections of the army, including artillery. An Indian aerial fleet and an Indian navy should be built, manned by Indians. In this way England could yet make India self-dependent as regards her defence. It may still be England's proud boast that she had made India stronger than she had found it;—it is not so now, perhaps the reverse. If England did her duty in this respect in the way suggested, it would be to *her* advantage also. For the present European war is certainly not the last great world war. In the next, and perhaps still more terrible and destructive, war, England would require the help of a strong India. If India were not strengthened, England might have to regret it. As for ourselves, we are accustomed to adversity, and ought to be able to face the hardest decrees of providence with unblinking eyes. For who know whether it would not be necessary for India to pass through the fire of still greater tribulations than in the past before she reached the goal of her high destiny by getting rid of her fatal weaknesses? It is for England, prospersous, happy England, to consider whether she would be able to meet adversity in the same way.



THE LADDER OF CIVILIZATION.
Rungs by which mankind hopes to reach the ideal. From *Puck*.

For, under present circumstances, *so far as human eyes can see*, England and India require each other's help. We know it; whether the proud prosperity of England has blinded her to it or not, we do not know. Perhaps England thinks that she alone is indispensable to India, but not India also to her. All this humanly speaking. The real fact may be that each may be able to do without the other, that each may even be better for parting company with the other in a friendly way. But we do not know what lies hidden in the womb of futurity. Time will show.

INTERNAL TROUBLES.

Another serious consequence which is apprehended to follow from the imaginary threatened withdrawal of the English from India in case we insisted upon having self-rule is that there would be no end of sectarian, racial, and caste fights in India. But, we again ask, why should they withdraw? And, particularly, why should they withdraw before making India strong and united? But supposing they obstinately insisted upon withdrawing and carried out their threat, what would be the result? We have briefly dealt above with the contingency of aggression from without. As for internal troubles, the history of all countries, including European, shows that no country has been entirely free from them in every age. Internecine wars and civil wars and riots have occurred in all countries. After a time either the conflicting parties have composed their differ- or some have gained the upper hand

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and thus somehow or other order has been re-established. What has happened in other countries would happen in India also. We are not a particularly quarrelsome people. In addition to racial or sectarian or class fights, which we sometimes have in India, too, Westerners have their labour and capital riots, their suffragette fights, their election riots, which we have not got in India. Should the English leave India, we might have the good sense not to indulge in mutual fighting at all. If we fought, the state of disorder would not be everlasting; peace and order would return exactly in the same way or ways as in other countries. It is true that when the different European nations were fighting for supremacy in India, there was great anarchy and disorder, and the English gradually evolved order out of chaos. But such periods of disorder are to be found in the history of every country and continent. They are not peculiar to India. Had India been particularly and always a land of disorder, it could not have become a prosperous civilised country. One single proof of its former prosperity should be conclusive. It is that from remote antiquity various nations of the West have sought to monopolize the trade of India. As for its civilization, Sir Thomas Munro wrote even so late as the first quarter of the last century that if there were at that time an exchange of that commodity between England and India, England would gain by the import cargo. A country does not grow civilized in the midst of chronic disorder. That India of the future might possibly remain free from racial or sectarian riots even though the English were not to be here as policemen and peace-makers, would seem to be indicated by the fact that in the Native States there are not so many "religious" riots as in British India.

But we do not really see any reason why the English should withdraw from India, nor believe that they will.

Conclusion.

We are not unfriendly to the English, nor anxious that they should leave our shores. There is no race which has a fully developed and all-sided manhood. International contact and intercourse are advantageous to all. What we want is room, opportunity, freedom, to grow in all directions. We do not want to be repressed, suppressed, or exploited. Our aim is self-development, self-realization, self-expression, and the giving to the world what we are peculiarly fitted to give. We know our aspirations are just, legitimate, and righteous, and therefore we should not be afraid of consequences. We know it is to the interest of Englishmen not to withdraw from India. But if they do, we should not be anxious. For it is not Englishmen, it is not Europeans; it is not Westerners, who made us or who guide our destiny. A Power superior to all made us and is moulding our lives. Our destiny is in His hands, and next to His, in ours and in those of other races.

We are not perfectly fit for self-rule;—no nation is. We are not entirely unfit for self-rule;—no nation is. Fitness grows by practice and exercise. We want to grow more and more fit in that way, which is the only way.

The youngest Indian Chemical Researchers.

Although for the sake of convenience chemistry and physics are treated as distinct sciences they are in reality one, and should be included in the comprehensive name of physical science. The line of demarkation between the two is fast disappearing, and many problems have begun to be solved of late years with the joint aid and co-operation of both physics and chemistry. This close interlinking of the two sciences has given rise to the new branch of physical chemistry. One of the most renowned exponents of this science is Svante Arrhenius of Stockholm, and Wilhelm Ostwald is its great apostle.

In our country Mr. Nilratan Dhar has been the first to take to it assiduously, and an account of his work has appeared in this Review from time to time. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Dhar has recently been awarded a State-scholarship in consideration of his researches, and he is now pursuing his favourite subject at the Imperial College of Science, London.

Messrs. Jnan Chandra Ghosh and Jnanendra Nath Mukherji have already given ample promise of their capacity to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Dhar. They have occupied the first and second places respectively in the recent M.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University, and *both submitted theses based on original researches.* Ghose's investigation on "Electrolysis by Alternating Currents,"

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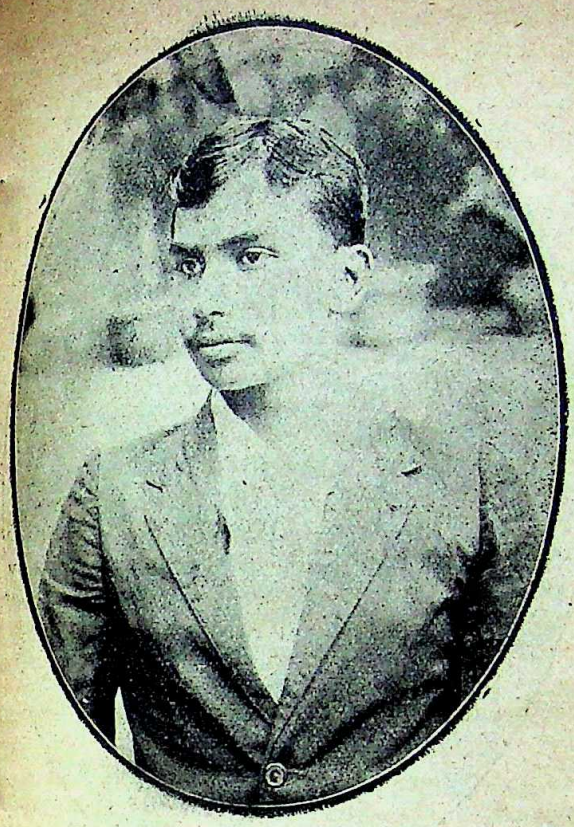

Mr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh, M.Sc.

Mr. Jnanendranath Mukherjee, M.Sc.

published in the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, has been highly spoken of. Mr. Mukherji has struck out a new line—the chemistry of colloids. Many important chemico-physiological problems can be properly understood and solved only by a systematic study of this class of bodies, and the two papers bearing on this subject contributed by Mr. Mukherji and also published in the above journal, throw much light on the dark intricacies of the constitution of the colloids. We congratulate the governing body of the Palit Endowment on having secured the services of the two young enthusiastic workers, who have barely passed their teens, as assistants to the Palit Professor of Chemistry. It is understood that in due course they will be engaged as Assistant Professors of chemistry.

Messrs. Dhar, Ghosh and Mukherji are among the most favourite pupils of Dr. P. C. Ray. In his recent opening Calcutta University lecture on the "Pursuit of Chemistry in Bengal" the Doctor referred to them as well as other young workers in the field.

A Bombay Sculptor.

A gentleman wrote to us from Bombay last November :—

"While going over the pages of your issue for the current month, I find in your notes a paragraph advocating patronage for Indian Artists, at least in the case of Indian subjects, in statuary. You have rightly put forward the claims of Mr. Mhatre, who is an artist of great eminence. The art of sculpture seems to be progressing at a great speed in India. Almost on the heels of Mr. Mhatre I can point out to you another artist in Mr. V. V. Wagh who has opened a studio in Bombay. You have commented upon the imperfections of the bust of Sir Rabindranath Tagore made by foreign artists. I send you herewith a photograph which conveys a rough idea of the model made by Mr. V. V. Wagh of the great Poet, and you can judge yourself the merits of the likeness. This model was seen by many of the Tagores in Calcutta, the nearest relations of the great Poet, and they were all unanimous in saying that it was a faithful likeness. I remember Mr. Wagh telling me, on his completing this model, that the head of the great Indian poet

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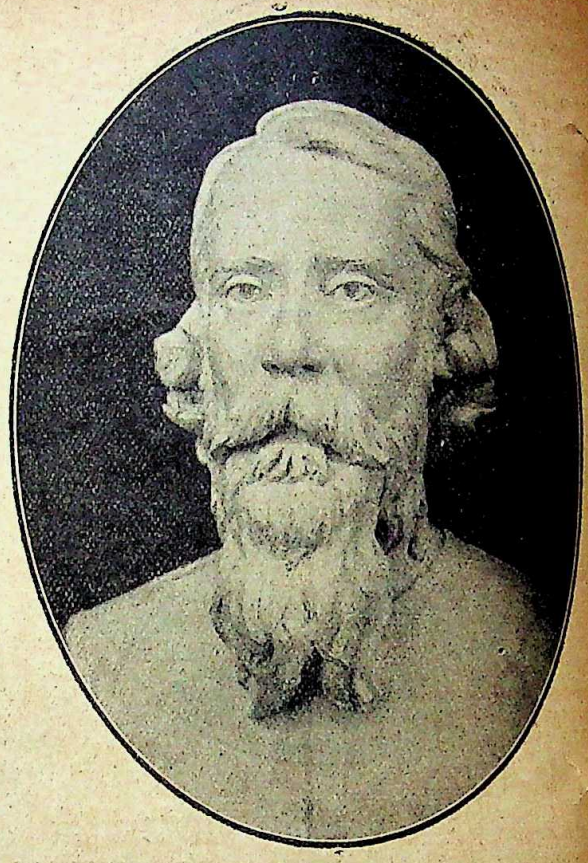
Bust of H. E. Lord Hardinge.
By V. V. Wagh.



Bust of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.
By V. V. Wagh.

was as difficult for portraiture as it was unfathomable in intellectual power.

"Then again, Mr. Wagh had sittings from H. E. the Viceroy, when H. E. was giving sittings to another European sculptor. Inspite of the fact that Mr. Wagh got very few sittings, compared with those obtained by the other, the model turned out by Mr. Wagh was so successful that after seeing this model Her Excellency the late lamented Lady Hardinge lost no time in sending to Mr. Wagh the following appreciation, through the P. S. to H. E. the Viceroy, who writes:—

24-3-14,
Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

Dear Mr. Wagh,

Her Excellency The Lady Hardinge has asked me to let you know that she is highly pleased with the bust you have prepared of H. E. The Viceroy and thinks it is an extremely good likeness.

Please allow me to congratulate you on your success.

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. H. Duboulay.

"As I have a copy of the photograph of this model, I send you one."

Success in War and Aeroplanes.

The Aero Club of America (New York) tells the public in a bulletin that the earlier successes of the Germans in Russia were due to their superiority in aircraft.

The comparatively small German forces, possessing a large number of aeroplanes and experienced aviators, had such a tremendous advantage over their foe that they were able to advance through difficult country and take fortified places in spite of the overwhelming numbers of the Russian Army. In a summary prepared by Henry Woodhouse, a governor of the Club and managing editor of *Flying*, the following statements are made:

"The success of the Germans, who, with 1,200,000 men, have succeeded in forcing the Russian Army which has more than twice as many men, to retreat abandoning strongly fortified places, has been due entirely to:

"1. Failure on the part of the Russian army chiefs to recognize the possibilities of employing aeroplanes to good advantage for reconnoitering, and directing artillery-fire; co-operating in the work of cavalry and infantry; and in protecting the Russian lines from the prying eyes of the efficient German air-scouts, who

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unchallenged, not only mapped, but secured detailed photographic plans of the Russian positions and distribution of forces.

"2. Failure on the part of the Russian army chiefs to recognize the necessity of shifting of front and of making strategical moves to offset the advantage gained by the enemy through having more and superior aeroplanes and aviators.

"3. The small number of Russian aviators, and their lack of experience, due to not having maneuvered with the troops before the war.

"4. Lack of aeroplanes to co-operate with Russian artillery in directing gun-fire.

"5. Lack of sufficient numbers of aeroplanes and equipment at the disposal of the Russian aviators, which would have enabled them to operate with maximum efficiency.....

"At the beginning of the war there were about eight hundred aeroplanes in Russia, and about one thousand in Germany. But Germany had about one thousand fully trained aviators, whereas Russia had only about four hundred, most of whom had only qualified as pilots and had not had any experience after that in military work. The aeroplanes available in Russia were of many types, with different kinds of motors and different controls, and men who had only operated one type of machine for a short time, were not able to pilot other types. Many of the machines were light monoplanes, equipped with only fifty horse-power motors, and had to be discarded.

"A few large Sykorsky aeroplanes could not be used for a time because they required large fields for starting and landing. Aside from this they are much slower than the German machines, and are easy targets for anti-aircraft guns. For these reasons, the ten Sykorsky biplanes that have been in commission during the past six months could not render maximum service.

"Whereas German aviators have each had an average of four aeroplanes ready for their use, the Russians had to wait for their machines to be 'tuned' up. The Russian aviators, lacking experience, went out only occasionally, and saw little; the German aviators maintained a constant air-patrol, and brought back detailed accounts and photographs of the Russian positions."

Science counts in these days in warfare as in all other mundane affairs. The practical lesson for us in India is that India should have aeroplanes with trained Indian aviators. The aeroplanes which the Panjab is presenting to the British Empire should, when the war is over, be brought back and kept in that province in order that Panjabi young men may be trained in aviation. Elementary justice would demand the adoption of such a course.

"The Cycle of Spring."

"The Cycle of Spring," published in the present number of this Review, is a kind of exposition and synopsis which Sir Rabindranath Tagore has written of his two delightful and deeply significant Bengali dramatic pieces, *Vairagya-Sadhan* (Practice of Renunciation) and *Phalguni* ("Of Spring-tide"). These were played the other day in the family residence of the Tagore family in Jorasanko in aid of the famine-stricken people of Bankura. Sir Rabindranath, who is a master of the histrionic art, himself took a leading part. Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, C. I. E., and a few other members of the Tagore family also appeared on the stage. The other players were for the most part teachers and boys of the Bolpur school.

Verily, as the poet teaches, there is a cycle of never-ending rejuvenescence in the universe. Winter is Spring in the making, and Life lurks disguised in Death. Thus is Fear cast out and senility is seen to be a myth.

Mr. Mazharul Haque's Presidential Address.

Hindu-Moslem Unity.

In his perfectly sane and judicious presidential address at the recent Bombay session of the Moslem League Mr. Mazharul Haque, referring to a class of critics of "the old school who had made a bogus of the Congress" said :—

They think it dangerous that the Hindus and Mahomedans should come together and unite for the progress of India and, therefore, they want to keep them as far apart as possible. These views have long since been exploded and I do not think it worth while to refute them at this late hour of the day. Now every thinking man fully realizes and is thoroughly convinced that, unless the whole country unites and strenuously works for the advancement of the motherland, no isolated effort can gather that momentum which is requisite for our regeneration.

Indian Civilization a Composite Whole.

Mr. Haque gave expression to the correct historical view that Indian civilization is "the outcome of the combined efforts of all the peoples of India." He spoke of Islam in India as follows :

The first advent of the Muslims in India was along these very coasts in the form of a naval expedition sent by the third Khalif in the year 636 A. C. This was more than four hundred years before William the Conqueror defeated the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. After many vicissitudes, into the details of which it is unnecessary to go, the Muslim Empire was firmly established in India. These invaders made India their home and did not consider it a land of regrets. They lived amongst the people of the country, mixed with them freely and became true citizens of India. As a matter of fact they had no other home but India. From time to time their number was strengthened by fresh blood from Arabia, Persia and other Muslim lands, but their ranks were

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swollen mainly by additions from the people of the country themselves. It is most interesting to know that out of the present seventy millions of the Muslim population, those who have claimed their descent from remote non-Indian ancestors, amount only to eight millions. Whence have the remaining millions come, if not from Indian ranks? The Muslims enriched the hoary civilization of India with their own literature and art, evolved and developed by their creative and versatile genius. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin the entire country is studded with those gems of art which remind one of the glorious period of Muslim rule. The result was a new civilization which was the outcome of the combined efforts of all the peoples of India and the product of the two greatest civilizations in the history of the world. During Muslim times all offices were equally opened to all, without any distinction of class, creed or colour. The only conditions were fitness and efficiency. So we have the spectacle of a Hindu prime minister, a Hindu commander-in-chief, Hindu finance minister and a Hindu governor of Kabul. Ethnology and folklore of India speak eloquently of manners and customs showing the influence of one people upon the other. The only link which the Muslims kept with the countries outside India was the spiritual link of their religion. This was under the circumstances inevitable. Islam enjoins a brotherhood which in my humble opinion is much wider and more catholic than the modern European notions of nationality. It embraces peoples of different races, colours and countries within its fold, whilst it does not exclude the binding forces of nationality. Arabian history is full of instances when Musalmans and Christians fought side by side to defend their country from the attacks of foreign foes. These are the facts of history written in large letters, and those who run may read them. This short historical retrospect may be succinctly expressed in two words which fully and clearly describe the elements and conditions of our existence in India. We are Indian Muslims. These words, 'Indian Muslims,' convey the ideas of our nationality and of our religion, and as long as we keep our duties and responsibilities arising from these factors before our eyes we can hardly go wrong.

"WE ARE CONQUERORS," NOT THE CORRECT ATTITUDE.

When Mr. Haque said that out of the 70 millions of the Muslim population of India those who have claimed descent from remote non-Indian ancestors amount only to 8 milions, and that the remaining millions have come from Indian ranks, he unconsciously protested against the arrogant attitude of those of his co-religionists who consider Indian Muslims conquerors and look down upon the Hindus as conquered. The fact is the majority of Indian Musalmans are only the co-religionists, not the descendents, or kinsmen of the former conquerors of the greater part of India, just as the Indian Christians are the co-religionists of the British rulers of India, not their descendants or blood relations. Moreover, as caste is not so strong among Muslims as among Hindus, of the 8 millions of Muhammadans who claim descent from foreign ancestors there can be but few who can claim continuous unmixed descent from a foreign stock. Like many of the Mughal Emperors, most, if not all of them, are partly Indian and partly foreign. And even if some could claim unmixed descent from foreign stock, it would be as unwise and absurd for them to assume airs of superiority and look down upon the Hindus, as it would be for the present-day descendants of the Norman conquerors of England to adopt a similar attitude with regard to the generality of Englishmen. Apart from the fact that when England came to be recognized as the suzerain power in India, the Indian Moslems had *really* yielded the palm to the Hindus, we all now have the same political status or rather want of status, just as in Great Britain the descendants of the Britons, Angles, Saxons, Danes and Normans are all politically equal. It is also good logic to say that if A's ancestor defeated B's ancestor, it does not follow that B is inferior to A, or that A's descendants have got the right in perpetuity to crow over and insult B's descendants.

IN POLITICS, INDIAN OR MUSLIM?

The question has often been asked and answered whether Indian Muslims are Indians first and Muslims afterwards or the reverse. Here is Mr. Haque's answer:—

When a question concerning the welfare of India and of justice to Indians arises I am not only an Indian first, but an Indian next and an Indian to the last, an Indian and an Indian alone, favouring no community and no individual, but on the side of those who desire the advancement of India as a whole without prejudice to the rights and interests of any individual, much less of any community, whether my own or another. But whenever any question arose on which there was a clear and unmistakable Divine injunction conveyed to me by my God through my Prophet, I could not even consider, let alone accept as correct, anything conflicting with that injunction, no matter on what mundane authority it was based. With Divine authority as my only guide I will be not only a Muslim first, but a Muslim next, a Muslim to the last and a Muslim and nothing but a Muslim. People may scoff and laugh, but I hold firmly to these convictions. In the affairs of my country I stand for good-will and close co-operation between all communities, with a single eye to the progress of the Motherland. If we look sufficiently deeply into the different questions affecting India we should find hardly any which does not affect all equally. Are we less heavily taxed than are our Hindu or Parsi brethren? Do the repressive measures passed during recent times weigh less heavily upon the Musalmans than upon the Sikhs or the Marhattas?

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Are the newspapers of Muslims more free than those of the Hindus? Does the administration of justice produce different effects upon the different communities of India? Are the rigours and invidious distinctions of the Arms Act reserved only for the martial races, and are the non-martial free from them? No. The truth is that in essential matters such as legislation, taxation, administration of justice, education, we are all in the same boat, and we must sink or swim together.

As to the duties which Moslems owe to themselves Mr. Haque gives the first place to

SELF-RELIANCE.

For too long have we relied upon others. It is quite time that we got rid of unreliable and temporary props, stood upon our own legs and became a self-reliant people. For too long has our policy been regulated by distrust and dominated by fear. We have unnecessarily feared and distrusted the Hindus. We have had an unholy awe of authority and we have never placed any faith in ourselves, but have made ourselves dependent on others. All this must be changed. This policy has kept us from enjoying our rightful share in the public life of our country, to the great detriment of our best interests. We must have independence, and open our eyes in the fresh air.

WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DONE.

England has given to India the inestimable blessing of peace. She has maintained order amongst us. She is protecting us from external invasion and internal anarchy. She has given us a settled Government. She has brought the inventions of Science to our very doors. Lastly, she has freed the intellect of India from its cramped prison, wherein it was able to rise no higher than a blind adherence to rather out-of-date authorities. To my mind this is the greatest blessing that British rule has brought in its wake.

WHAT GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET DONE.

Mr. Haque expressed the opinion that "from an Indian point of view, the things that have been left unaccomplished are the things that really matter in the life of a nation."

England has borne the burden of India, but has not prepared her to bear her own burdens. She has not made her strong, self-supporting. She has not made her a nation respected by the other nations of the world. She has not developed the resources of the country, as it was her duty to develop them. She has not helped the Indian people to live a life of the greatest possible usefulness. She has failed to bring out the capacities of the people of Hindustan to their fullest extent. England's connection with India has lasted for about a century and a half and most parts of the country have been under her direct rule during this period. But the progress India has made with all her vast resources, material, moral and economic, is comparatively very small. Compare her with other countries. Compare her with Japan. Within 40 years Japan, from being one of the weakest and most backward countries of the world, has come to the position of one of the foremost and the most highly developed nations and is counted among the great Powers. But in the case of India, the government of the country has been conducted on lines which were not conducive to any better results. The children of the soil have no real share in the Government of their own country. Policy is laid down and carried on by non-Indians which oftener than not goes against the wishes of the people and ignores their sentiments.

Policies and principles of a nobler kind may be laid down by higher authorities, but their value is determined by those who have to carry them out. Thus it has often been the case in India that noble intentions have degenerated into pious wishes and even into harmful actions. If the Indian people were real partners in the actual governance of the country, the Indian point of view would have prevailed, much that is now admitted to have been mistaken would have been avoided, the country would have progressed and the ruling classes would have been spared the bitter and sometimes undeserved, criticisms hurled against them. Unless and until India has got a national Government and is governed for the greatest good of the Indian people, I do not see how she can be contented. India does not demand 'a place in the sun' in any aggressive sense, but she does require the light of the Indian sun for her own children.

INDIANS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

In addition to the ordinary higher and highest civil posts in the land which were practically closed to Indians, Mr. Haque laid claim for his countrymen to the posts of Political Residents and Agents in the Indian States and said that he saw "no reason why picked Indians should not be accredited to the courts of countries outside India, as ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, and why the post of consuls should be reserved for Europeans only." The higher ranks of the military service, and the naval service should, in his opinion, be opened to Indians.

RECONSTRUCTION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The reforms which Mr. Haque demanded were, he said, "neither immediate nor peremptory."

We can wait and must wait till the end of the war, when the whole Empire will be reconstructed upon new lines; but there is no harm in postulating our demands now and informing the British people of the unity and the intensity with which the reforms are insisted upon. When the affairs of the Empire are taken into consideration, our views should be before the English nation. Of course we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily, but surely. Put hope deferred maketh the hearts sick; and delay deprives the reforms of all their grace. If you ask me to give you an indication of the reforms which are immediately needed, I would say that the first step towards self-government must be taken by abolishing the packed official majority in the Imperial Council.

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We must have a sure and safe elected non-official majority, which would discuss and deal with all Indian questions from the Indian standpoint. The late Lord Minto was quite right when he recommended this very reform which I am placing before you now. Next, we must free the Executive Council of the Viceroy from the incubus of the bureaucracy. Then fierce light would be thrown into the dark corners of Indian administration. We must have more Indians in the Executive Council, which is really the chief source from which policies emanate. In England the members of the Cabinet are not drawn from the official classes, but from the non-official. Again, a great reform that is needed is what has been called "Provincial Autonomy." Provinces are now working within the circumscribed limits allowed by the Government of India. In domestic affairs and finance they should have the fullest liberty of action. Local Self-Government should not be a mere sham, but based on real foundations as contemplated by that noble Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. The Arms Act must disappear from the Statute Book and no limitation should be laid on the entry of Indians into any Public Service, as I have clearly indicated in my speech. Volunteers should be enlisted freely from all classes. Agriculture must be improved and Commerce and Industry helped. Education will have to be free and compulsory.

Sir S. P. Sinha's and Mr. Haque's Addresses.

We do not think it is either necessary, expedient, or desirable to pronounce any opinion as to the relative merits of the presidential addresses delivered by Sir S. P. Sinha and Mr. Haque, though their views may be compared, contrasted and criticized, where they lend themselves to such treatment. But several papers have extolled Mr. Haque's address at the expense and to the disparagement of Sir S. P. Sinha's, speaking of the latter as being less advanced, less courageous, less favourable to home rule, &c., than the former. We are, therefore, constrained, against our will, and in justice to Sir S. P. Sinha, to say what we think. As we had no opportunity of seeing Mr. Haque's address before it appeared in the Calcutta dailies on the 31st December, on which date our January number was published, it was not possible for us to say anything on this subject earlier than this number. We have already bestowed on Mr. Haque's excellent address the praise that it deserves. But Sir S. P. Sinha's address is not less courageous or statesmanlike than that of the Moslem leader. In fact, Sir S. P. Sinha's ideal of self-government is more clearly conceived, more thoroughgoing and fuller in outline than that of any other president of any Indian congress or conference or league that we can call to mind at the present moment. Of course, our memory may play us false, nor can we pretend to have read all presidential addresses. Sir S. P. Sinha no doubt said: "The goal is not yet." But Mr. Haque, too, said:

Of course we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily, but surely.

Sir S. P. Sinha said exactly the same sort of thing.

In our last number we pointed out that Sir S. P. Sinha ought to have said something on the recent repressive measures and on the Indian Civil Service Temporary Provisions Act, which he did not do. Mr. Haque's address is free from this defect. Regarding the Indian Civil Service he said:

Why the examination should not be held both in England and India to give the youths of both countries equal chances is an anomaly which passes my comprehension. For a number of years the country has been loudly demanding this much delayed justice, but instead we get the recent Indian Civil Service Act which has entirely abolished the competitive system. No doubt the operation of the Act is temporary, but a wrong precedent has been created, and no one knows to what further developments it will lead.

His observations on the two recent repressive measures, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act, and the way in which they have been worked, leading to the disappearance or dragging on of a lifeless and miserable existence of several papers, and the internment of many Moslem leaders and others were just and outspoken. His criticism of the "men of blood and iron" was well deserved. It is these portions of his address which must have brought down on him the wrath of many Anglo-Indian papers.

The passages in Sir S. P. Sinha's address which dealt with the Arms Act, the right of Indians to become volunteers, to obtain commissions in the army, to enter the navy, and the right of men of all provinces to become soldiers, were, as far as our memory enables us to judge, never surpassed or equalled by any similar utterance of any other Indian leader in courage and clearness of expression and impassioned, th ough statesmanlike and irrefutable, logic.

Dr. Ray on the Pursuit of Chemistry in Bengal.

Professor P. C. Ray's inaugural Calcutta University Extension Lecture on the

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pursuit of chemistry in Bengal was very instructive. It had the eloquence of facts and was consequently rousing and hope-inspiring. About a century ago, in Germany, to quote Liebig's words, "it was a wretched time for chemistry." But in the course of two decades, he and Wohler "by their epoch-making discoveries almost revolutionised the views of chemists on organic chemistry; in fact one may go so far as to say that they created organic chemistry.

GERMANY IN 1823.

However, neither of these great apostles could catch inspiration in their native land. The former went to Paris to learn at the feet of Gay-Lussac, and the latter preferred to repair to Stockholm in 1823, to be initiated by the great Swedish chemist Berzelius. The fire which these great pioneer chemists borrowed from Paris and Stockholm was rekindled with vigour on their return to Germany and has been ever since burning with increased and dazzling brilliancy.

ENGLAND IN 1837.

England, though she could boast of a Boyle, a Priestley, a Cavendish, a Dalton and a Davy, was, however, slow to follow in the wake of the chemical renaissance in France and Germany. Up till the forties of the last century she was found lagging behind in the race. Liebig, who visited England in 1837, writing to Berzelius naively says; "England is not the land of science; her chemists were ashamed to call themselves chemists because the apothecaries had appropriated the name." According to Sir Edward Thorpe there were not in 1837 more than a couple of dozen persons in the British Isles altogether receiving systematic instruction in practical chemistry and even that supply was probably fully equal to the demand. There was in fact little to tempt men to take up chemistry as a means of livelihood. Teacherships were few in number, analytical chemistry as a profession hardly existed, and chemical manufacturing was done by rule of thumb, and for the most part very badly done."

Such, said the Professor, was the state of things in the forties in England in the last century, and such is the state of things in the India of to-day, so far as chemistry can offer attraction to young men as a means of livelihood.

It is scarcely too much to say that 99 per cent. of our University students who take up chemistry do so simply because it happens to be a branch of the Science curriculum, and they have to give it up and forget all about it as soon as they have secured a degree. Yet in the midst of such discouraging and depressing circumstances we must cultivate our favourite science.

But we must not be daunted. Where other nations have succeeded we can also attain success, provided we have the requisite devotion and zeal. Intellectual capacity we have. Our struggle is only with poverty. Scientific workers in pre-

vious ages had to carry on their investigations under much more adverse circumstances.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE PIONEERS OF SCIENCE.

If we read carefully the history of the different branches of science we invariably find that they have attracted votaries in the early stages of their progress in the midst of almost insuperable difficulties. You all know that Copernicus held back the publication of his great book "On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies" for 36 years for fear of giving offence to the all-powerful Church; that Bruno was burned at the stake for teaching the plurality of worlds, and Galileo visited with the terrors of the Inquisition for his vindication of the Copernican doctrine. Nay, Roger Bacon, one of the precursors of our own science, was thrown into prison and had to rot in a dingy cell of a cloister at Oxford for practising the Black Art, as chemistry was then called. Browning in his "Paracelsus" has delineated the wrestlings and inward longings of an ideal alchemist, who is only an honest seeker after truth, who pursues knowledge for its own sake irrespective of what it brings. Voltaire tells us that at the time of Newton's death there were not 20 readers of the Principia out of Britain. These great and mighty interpreters of the laws of nature cared not for name or fame, but considered themselves lucky if only they could be instrumental in giving to the world the results of their lifelong labours. Kepler had imposed upon himself years of incessant toil including midnight vigils in observing and recording the motions of heavenly bodies; and after embodying the results of his labours he exclaims, "I may well wait a hundred years for a reader, since God Almighty has waited six thousand years for an observer like myself."

If Europe is what she is to-day—if she is in the van of scientific progress—it is in no small measure due to the self-denying ordinances of these great heroes in science and their worthy successors.

To those who intend to pursue chemistry in India the Professor could not promise a rich harvest in the immediate or near future.

Those who are pioneers in this field have no traditions to go by or follow up; they have to chalk out their own path and formulate their own schemes and carry them out as best as they may. Difficulties arise at every turn but with faltering steps the weary pilgrim must keep marching on towards the goal, happy if he reaches it but equally happy if he perishes in the attempt.

He added in a different connection.

I have always been reluctant to appeal to the sordid instincts of man in giving a stimulus to the cultivation of science. I prefer to take our stand on a higher platform. The heroes of science some of whose names have been mentioned in the earlier part of my address have always pursued their favorite branches with a singleness of purpose and without an eye to material gains and neither penury nor persecution could damp their ardour and they have left priceless legacies as the common heritage of mankind. As a new light flashes across the mind of the inquirer or as he hits upon a novel discovery, which has made him lose his sleep and apetite for days and months

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he is seized with ineffable joy often bordering upon delirium and unconscious of all that is around him is led to exclaim—*Eureka*. The vocation of a student of science is sacred—he is a citizen of the world—he transcends all artificial barriers of race and nationality.

Yet within the last twenty years or so during which original investigations in chemistry have been earnestly carried on in Bengal, that science has added a little to the material prosperity of the country.

Material Advantage.

The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works had its birth and early struggles in the dark and dingy rooms of a house not far from this place and it started with the modest sum of Rs. 800. With the recent expansions which have already been taken in hand it will soon cover an area of 24 bighas (8 acres) and its present capital of 5 lacs will have to be doubled with a view to the installation of new plant. It has always been a fixed principle with the Directors of this business not to take in any one as a chemist whose knowledge is not up to the M. Sc. standard of our University. There is another matter—rather of a delicate nature—which may not be passed over in silence. The works has been conceived, initiated and managed solely by Bengali brains, energy and pluck and it has never been necessary to call in the aid of any foreign "experts." Perhaps you may be interested to know that owing to the serious dislocation in chemical trade due to the war and the stoppage of supplies from Germany it has been doing a roaring business in some lines; *e. g.*, magnesium sulphate is being turned out by tons and a consignment has been shipped to England; it has also been its privilege to be of some little help to Government in the matter of supply of acids, etc., for munition. If I have at all referred to this chemical works in my address it is only to demonstrate that the successful application of science to industry is by no means incompatible with Bengali genius.

Intellectual gains.

In the field of intellectual progress, too, the results, though small, have not been discouraging. Among the Professor's own students can be named original investigators like Prof. Panchanan Niyogi, Messrs. Rasik Lal Datta, Nil Ratan Dhar, Rajendranath De, Jitendranath Rakshit, P. K. Dutt, Jnan Chandra Ghosh and Janendranath Mukherji, and Drs. Biman Bihari Dey and Hemendra Kumar Sen Gupta (both D. Sc.'s of London University on the strength of their theses). The Dacca Laboratory can boast of "Messrs. Brajendranath Ghosh and Sudhamoy Ghosh, who have also just won Doctorates of the London and Edinburgh universities respectively on the basis of their theses." "Mr. Anukul Chandra Sarkar, the first Ph. D. of our University in Chemistry, has amply proved that travelling abroad is by no means a *sine qua non* for completing one's chemical education. Within some 20 years as many as 130 communications have been sent to the world's chemical journals from the chemical laboratory of the Presidency College alone. "The laboratory of my friend, Professor Watson [of Dacca], is also responsible for two dozen or more papers." A monograph on complexions recently published in England quotes Mr. Nil Ratan Dhar as an authority.

In times of peace chemistry has played an important part in the industrial development and progress of the most advanced countries and is destined to play a similar part in all countries. As for war, "even the man in the street realises that the battles which are being daily fought and the new surprises sprung upon the wondering public in connection with this the greatest war since the creation of the world have had their rehearsals in the laboratories of chemists."

What is Wanted.

Both from the point of view of intellectual progress and material advancement, the pursuit of science is absolutely necessary. We require many colleges properly equipped for teaching up to the M.Sc. standard; we have at present only one. In the University College of Science a promising beginning has been made. But "unless the Palit and Ghosh endowments are adequately supplemented the Science College will not be in a position to start fully on its active career.

I hope Bengal has not seen the last of her great benefactors to our University. I trust another Palit or Ghosh will open his purse-strings in this hour of our dire need. I plead to our Government which has done so much in the past for the progress of education to come forward with a liberal grant.

The University Regulations should be so changed as to make the teaching of elementary science in our schools possible, if not compulsory. That will go to create a scientific atmosphere in the country, which is absolutely necessary. It will also provide honorable careers for some of our science graduates. If rich and poor alike do their part manfully, if the state does its duty in no niggardly spirit, then the dream of the great professor will surely be realized.

A dream.

I spoke of Physical Science as an exotic plant in India. Perhaps, I should modify or qualify the expression. Ancient India was the cradle of mathematical and chemical Sciences and I have narrated in

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my "History of Hindu Chemistry" how these filtered to Europe through the medium of the Arabs. Indeed, the first Faraday lecturer of the Chemical Society in the introductory part of his lecture observes: "What an awakening for Europe! After two thousand years, she found herself again in the position to which she had been raised by the profound intellect of India, and the genius of Greece." Remember it is to India that the place of honour has been thus assigned by the illustrious French chemist, Jean Baptiste Andre Dumas. I hope it will be hers once more to hold aloft the torch of Science and assert her true place in the comity of nations.

The Indian Society of Oriental Art.

The Report and audited accounts of the Indian Society of Oriental art for the years 1913 to 1915 form a very interesting publication. Particularly interesting and instructive are the comments of the French and English papers, extracts from which in translation and original respectively have been given in the appendix. To these we have a mind to turn in a future issue.

The Society has been doing very important and useful work in reviving and keeping up interest in the art traditions of India. It is evident that we are already in the midst of an artistic renaissance. The remark that some of the new artists have been imitating or drawing inspiration from Japanese art, though it should serve as accusation, need not discourage us in the least. From the days of Chaucer downwards English literature has owed much for its materials, forms, and inspiration, to Greek, Latin, Italian, French and German literatures. Yet the originality, greatness and power of English literature cannot be disputed or denied.

It is discouraging to read in the Report repeated references to the arrears of subscriptions due from members, the greater portion of them being in arrears. The Society has altogether 120 members, of whom some 47 are Indians, the rest being Europeans. It does not seem a natural state of things that an *Indian* society of *Oriental* Art should have 50 per cent. more non-Indian than Indian members. We do not, of course, know whether the Society has made adequate efforts to get the adherence and support of Indians. It is very easy and pleasant to fullfil the conditions of membership. It is very profitable, too. For, though a subscription of Rs. 24 per annum is said to be payable, as most of the members do not pay, we suppose it is not good form to pay. How otherwise can such large arrears be accounted for? For on hurriedly glancing through the names of the members, both European and Indian, we can not find any particularly impecunious ones.

We have said, it is very profitable to become a member,—we mean a defaulting member. One hasn't really got to do any thing or pay anything and yet one has many solid advantages, as the following extracts from the Report will show:—

> By the courtesy of the India Society, London, our Society has been able to purchase some copies of Mr. Fox Strangway's "Music of Hindustan" for sale to the members at a concession price of Rs. 7-14 per copy, the published price of the work being Rs. 15 per copy. By arrangement with the India Society, London, Mrs. Herringham's monograph on Ajanta paintings (15 colour plates and 30 collotypes) will also be available to members at £3 per copy, the published price being £4 4s. per copy.
>
> Mr. Gangoly's monograph on "South Indian Bronzes," copies of which he has so generously presented to members, is a very interesting study of Indian sculpture based on original sources not utilised by any previous writers, and in its attractive get-up and sumptuous illustrations has met with great appreciation. This work, which has been published wholly at Mr. O. C. Gangoly's expense, and Mr. Tagore's "Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy" have been issued as free publications to members for 1914 and 1915, respectively. Members requiring additional copies of Mr. Gangoly's work may procure the same from the Secretaries at Rs. 10 per copy, the published price of the work being Rs. 15 per copy.

We have seen Mr. Gangoly's work. It is a very valuable and costly one. Apart from the labour and patience required to prepare such a book, it must have cost him several thousand rupees to produce so sumptuous and profusely illustrated a volume. The other work, a very original, illuminating and valuable essay, *viz.*, "Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy," is also really a costly production, though the members got it, too, *gratis;* for the illustrations in it having been printed from our blocks, as is the case with some reproductions published and sold by the Society, we know that the blocks alone cost us more than Rs. 200. After all this we must really confess that the *gratis* instinct is getting very strongly developed in us, and we are going to apply for a defaulting membership of the Indian Society of Oriental Art without any avoidable loss of Time.

Though we have said that we do not know whether the Society has made adequate efforts to get Indian adherence and support, we do not suggest that it is easy to get it. From the financial results of our own efforts to popularize neo-Indian Art, and the ridicule and abuse heaped upon us,

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it is clear that our people do not yet appreciate it. The papers generally do not even refer to our reproductions of Indian pictures. It would, however, be a psychologically interesting study to enquire why when a publication like the first number of "Indian Ink," issued under European auspices, obtains a loan of blocks from us and reproduces some of our pictures, they meet with a chorus of praise from all those quarters which are usually unappreciative of our efforts. It is also psychologically instructive to find that when the Indian Society of Oriental Art holds its charming exhibitions the papers appreciatively comment upon many pictures which when reproduced in our pages before or after the dates of the exhibitions are entirely ignored by them. Perhaps appreciation, like many other things, has its prejudices, freaks and snobbishness.

The Nation's duty to Professor Bose.

We have said in a previous issue that we owe it to Dr. J. C. Bose to give him a laboratory and some research fellowships for students to receive training under him. He has indeed got from Government a recurring grant of Rs. 50,000 for five years for himself and his assistants and mechanics and a grant of Rs. 25,000 for a workshop. He will also have facilities in the Presidency College. But all this does not mean that a laboratory is no longer needed. Some do not even seem to understand the difference between a laboratory and a workshop. Prof. Bose requires a special laboratory for himself, his assistants and his special students to work in, with a lecture theatre where he can occasionally address both specialists and the general educated public. The laboratory has got to be built and will be built. He has set his heart upon it, and will devote to it all that he can spare. The question for the general public is, who else are going to have the privilege of being associated with him in this institution, which will be both national and cosmopolitan. This college or that may give some facilities, but where are his successors to get their training and where are they to work? Shall the special kind of research of which he is the pioneer be continued in India, or shall the lamps lighted from our torch burn in the West alone hereafter? That is the question for us to answer.

A Galileo, a Newton or a Darwin did not build factories for their nations or bequeath manufacturing processes to them. One ought not to expect every scientific discovery to be directly coinable into rupees, annas and pies. Still, those who ask whether there is any money in Dr. Bose's discoveries may try to guess what money he could have made if he had, like Marconi, followed up and commercialized his discoveries in wireless telegraphy. We expect that the Americans and other go-ahead people will get money out of his crescograph and other apparatus and investigations by improving their agriculture therewith. Should Dr. Bose have time and opportunities to prove vivisection unsatisfactory and unnecessary, by experimenting on plants with drugs, both men and the lower animals will be spared much suffering, physicians and pharmaceutists will make money, and India, with her sublime teaching of *ahimsa* (non-killing), will have made a characteristic contribution to the world's treasury of knowledge and morals.

The Famine in Bankura.

We are deeply thankful to all those friends of humanity who from far and near are so generously sending us their contributions for the relief of the famine-stricken people in Bankura. Their contributions are thankfully acknowledged on another page. We regret very much that we are unable to personally thank by letter every one of the donors. We hope they will not find it difficult to forgive us when we say that being in a weak state of health it is with difficulty that we edit and conduct two monthly magazines. The work is exacting and does not leave us any surplus time and energy.

Relief-workers on the spot and others acquainted with the circumstances tell us that the work will have to be continued till July, and that the sufferings of the people will increase from March next, and consequently more help will have to be given. At present all the relieving agencies give only a quarter seer (half a pound) of rice per head per diem, whereas ordinarily the people are accustomed to take from half a seer to a seer per head per day, besides *dal* (pulse soup), vegetables and fish. An appeal has been made to the relieving agencies to increase the doles. It will be for them a pleasant duty to do so, provided they can get the money for the increased expenditure involved. Clothing and blan-

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kets have also to be purchased, as the cold in Bankura is rather severe.

An Incorrect statement made by Lord Carmichael.

In the course of the address which Lord Carmichael delivered on the occasion of the prize distribution at Dacca College, he said :—

"What I want to remind you of is that whatever is the help you get from Government, whether you think it great, or whether you think it small—and for my part I think it great—I know of no country where the general mass of students on the average are proportionately so helped by Government as students are here on the average."

This is a glaringly incorrect statement. Of the general mass of students, the majority in all countries are pupils in elementary schools. Now, in the majority of civilized countries, elementary education is free, many countries supplying books, paper, pencil, etc., also free. In some countries the scholars in elementary schools get even free lunches or mid-day meals. How then can it be said that in our country the general mass of students get more help from the Government proportionately than in other countries? Next in number to the pupils in primary schools are the students in secondary schools. In the United States of America even secondary education can be had free by rich and poor alike. How then can our boys and girls be said to be in receipt of the largest proportionate amount of help from the Government? Even in British India in Lord Carmichael's province, the students pay more in fees (Rs. 95,50,070 in 1913-1914) than the contributions from provincial revenues (Rs. 64,99,336 in 1913-14) and local and municipal funds (Rs. 23,92,426 in 1913-14) combined. In every other province the contributions from public funds are larger than the income from fees. The passage quoted above, therefore, could not have fallen less appropriately from the lips of the ruler of any other province than those of Lord Carmichael. In India itself in 1913-14 the Baroda State paid nine-tenths of the total educational expenditure, while in British India, the contribution from public funds in 1913-1914 was only 55 per cent. of the total expenditure. In Baroda and some other Native States elementary education is free, which is not the case in Lord Carmichael's province and most other provinces of India.

Here is what an Englishman who has retired from the Indian Educational Service writes to us in the course of a private letter :—

"The fees here are almost prohibitive. A friend of mine, a Subadar, who had to retire on account of ill-health before he was entitled to full pension and now gets only Rs. 40 a month, has to pay Rs. 11 a month for his son's fees, that is to say, more than a fourth part of his income. I do not think an Englishman who sends his son to Eton or Harrow has to say so much *in proportion*. The young man is reading for the Intermediate."

Considering our backwardness in education and the vast population of India, the state spends exceedingly little in scholarships for sending students abroad. Japan and China, not to speak of Western countries, spend far larger amounts and send abroad a far larger number of students.

Should it be supposed that Lord Carmichael's statement was made only with reference to College or University students, it would still be incorrect. For, to give only one example, in the United States of America,

"Wide diversity prevails at present among American Colleges in regard to fees. The State Universities for the most part charge nothing except for law and medicine....., the state, principally in the West, has been taking over more and more of education, with the consequent elimination of fees from the elementary school up through the university." (*Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe and published by Macmillan & Co., Vol. II, p. 589.)

Mr. Lyon on the main duty of Government.

In an address, containing advice to students, recently delivered by the Hon. Mr. P. C. Lyon, he said, "it was the inherent right of a nation to govern itself." This doctrine would be all right if it were not in practice officially interpreted to mean that "it was the inherent right of the ever-coming but never-to-come future generations of a nation to govern themselves." Yet it is to be hoped officials would be willing to consider the claim of our great-grandchildren to self-rule;—particularly as Mr. Lyon wished to impress upon his hearers that "the future of this country and the future of Bengal

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depended upon themselves and not upon the Government." For, obviously, if the Government and the people were one, their joint efforts could produce results which must be unattainable if, as now in India, the Government considered themselves a different entity from the people, and told the people to depend only upon themselves. In progressive countries Governments do not preach the doctrine of self-reliance *in this form*. There a part of self-reliance consists in making the state organisation subservient to the will and conducive to the welfare of the people. For everywhere the state is the most powerful and extensive organization and the biggest capitalist. Therefore the friendliness, encouragement and direct help of the state is necessary and beneficial in every walk of life, as, for example, the history of the evolution of modern Germany and modern Japan shows; though in Mr. Lyon's opinion, "The main duty of the Government was to preserve peace and tranquillity." We think to preserve peace and traquillity is only a means to an end, and that end is to promote human welfare, the welfare both of man's body and mind. Mr. Lyon also, perhaps unconsciously, admitted this when he went on to say that without peace and tranquillity there could be no development and progress. But this might be forgotten if it were dogmatically laid down that the preservation of peace and tranquillity was the main duty of Government without laying at least equal emphasis on the use which was to be made of this peace and order. In his recent work on "Political Ideals" Mr. C. Delisle Burns points out how the Roman ideal of law and order is the principle of permanence, as liberty is that of change, both being indispensable for civilized life.

"But order may be paid for too dearly if it is at the expense of liberty. Obviously in giving order to Europe, Rome had taken away all local vitality ... ... for order cannot imply the limitation of the natural development of what is set in order. If it were so, life would not be orderly, but only death; an order which is inflexible is tyranny,—or in the words of a keen Roman critic, 'we make a desert and call it peace.' " ... as liberty tends to degenerate into license, so order tends to be corrupted into unnatural fixity of the *status quo* ... ... the order which sacrifices originality, and therefore growth, destroys itself."

In giving order to India, the British Government ought to see that it does not take away all her vitality: already her vitality has been impaired to some extent.

Servants of India Society and the Indebted Poor.

A Press message informs the public that the efforts of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society to introduce co-operation amongst the most degraded of the wage-earners of city, viz., sweepers, scavengers and mill-hands, have produced encouraging results. After a careful study of the conditions under which this class of people live, members of the Society found there was no hope of reclaiming them except by improving their economic condition and educating them so as to organise their credit and start co-operative credit societies. In 1913 three societies for this class of very heavily indebted people were started. The results hitherto attained are full of promise. In two years 14 co-operative credit societies have been formed with a membership of 463. Of these 353 members have been redeemed entirely from debt to usurers, the average debt of each workman being rupees three hundred. Debit to the extent of Rs. 1,10,000 to usurers was reduced to 87,944 by conciliation and transferred from usurers to the co-operative society. At the same time the rate of interest was reduced from roughly an anna a rupee per month to a pice. Various societies have embarked Rs. 87,944 in redemption of debt. Of this total the members have discharged Rs. 40,033. Thus in two and a half years these societies have reduced indebtedness by nearly one-half and on the balance they are paying quite a reasonable interest. Various valuable offshoots are noted. Members who have borrowed from the societies for debt redemption have insured their lives and 247 such insurances for Rs. 250 each have been effected. A co-operative dispensary has been established and high schools set up.

The War that is always with us.

In these days of human warfare on a titanic scale, it is apt to be forgotten that we have in our midst war of a different, though not less destructive character. Plague continues to levy its terrific toll of thousands of human lives every week.

The plague mortality in India during the week ending January 22nd stood at 6,890 against 8,895 cases. Bombay Presidency and Sind report 2,265 deaths, Madras Presidency 552, Bengal 4, Bihar and Orissa 461, United Provinces 1,193, Punjab 71, Burma 243, Central Provinces 971, Mysore State 143, Hyderabad State 936 and Central India 96.

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Who will fight this terrible enemy of the poor?

U. P. Educational Conference.

It was a most important, influential, representative and successful conference which met last month at Lucknow to discuss the educational needs and formulate the educational demands of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected to the chair. By his ability, his eloquence, and his untiring industry and great sacrifice in the cause of education, he was undoubtedly the fittest man to guide the deliberations of such a conference. Raja Rampal Singh, chairman of the Reception Committee, was quite justified in declaring, "Let us have inefficient education, rather than efficient ignorance." Mr. Malaviya's speech and many of the other speeches were characterized by accurate information and cogency of reasoning. The resolutions covered the whole field of education, general, industrial and technical, for boys as well as girls, from the primary up to the university standard. The speakers rightly emphasized the duty of the state to provide education for the people in all stages. What it could not do directly, it ought to do indirectly by stimulating public liberality. We hope a complete report of the conference will be published early. The conference has shown its earnestness and wisdom by the formation of a permanent committee to look after educational matters. This has not been done a day too soon. The United Provinces were in ancient and medieval times the home of Indian civilization. Their present backwardness is not creditable either to the people or to the State. As the people have begun to show their earnestness, the State is bound to shake off its inertia, and change the obstructive attitude of its officials.

The Science Congress.

Last month Lucknow saw the sittings of the Indian Science Congress, too. This gathering also was very successful, as men like Prof. J. C. Bose, Prof. P. C. Ray, and others were present and delivered addresses. Considering the state of scientific knowledge in India, it was necessary and fitting that some popular lectures were delivered. India does not contain a sufficient number of original scientific investigators to make it possible yet for its science congress to be a gathering for the reading and discussion only of original papers; though the number of original contributions showed that the day may come when we may have something like the British Association in our midst.

Women on the Education of their Sex.

The women of Bombay and of the Panjab have spoken on the need of education of their sex. Let their sisters in the other provinces follow their example, though it is difficult for the purda-ridden provinces to do so. As suggested at the Lahore meeting, the Government should associate educated Indian women with itself in its efforts to promote the education of the sex.

Home Rule League still Required.

Even if the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress were both to carry on vigorously propagandist and educative work, the need for a Home Rule League would not entirely disappear. We require an organisation which would be the meeting ground for both Hindu and Moslem, and for men of all shades and degrees of progressive political opinion, which neither the National Congress (even after the recent amendment of its constitution), nor the Moslem League is. Politically, self-rule is the greatest and the most essential need of the country. Combined work for the realization of this ideal is both an education in self-government and a necessity. Combined work in co-operation with one another can alone enable us to understand, appreciate and respect one another better, and in this way produce national solidarity.

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MIDDAY

(From the Bengali of Satish Chandra Ray)

BY C. F. ANDREWS, M.A. AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., B.SC.

I.

How silent is the light !
What depth is in the clear blue sky!
The eyes grow weary of the dazzling light,
The forest depths are plunged in silence.

Who are these that pass so softly by the garden
Wandering with soft whispers and still softer steps?
Ah, my heart, at such an hour, why yield to dark despair,
Thy lute untouched, thy song of joy unsung.

Hushed in a sudden wonder with wide open eyes
Life's narrow fretfulness is lost in light profound.
What a glory of the sun fills the world!
The light is still. How deep the sky!

II.

To-day I am a lone spectator in the silent theatre of the world
And watch the shadows at their silent play.
They have come trooping down from the palace of the trees
And sit still by the lake when their play is done.

The birds restrain their songs
And fly past again and again.
The leaves bend low upon the trees
And hide the blossoming flowers with their kisses.

How silent are the ripples on the lake!
How soundless is the wood!

EVENING

(From the Bengali of Satish Chandra Ray)

BY C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., B. SC.

It is Evening and the tired earth with its chequer work of lengthening shade rests silently.
The beautiful twilight floods the sky and pours its after glow upon the tops of all the trees.
The birds float idly on their painted wings and hover to the ground and sink to rest.

Out of the depth of this still beauty the burden of an aching silence draws down upon my heart.
A voice that tries to speak to me is sounding through the air, inarticulate.
A scented touch seems to hold me like the blind clinging of the blind.
I have found no rest, no peace.

Where, oh where, is that wonderful word of consolation so full of sweetness of rest,—
That word which the sunset skies are seeking to utter ?
The bar to its speech is so frail, yet, unuttered, this silent beauty crushes my heart to tears.

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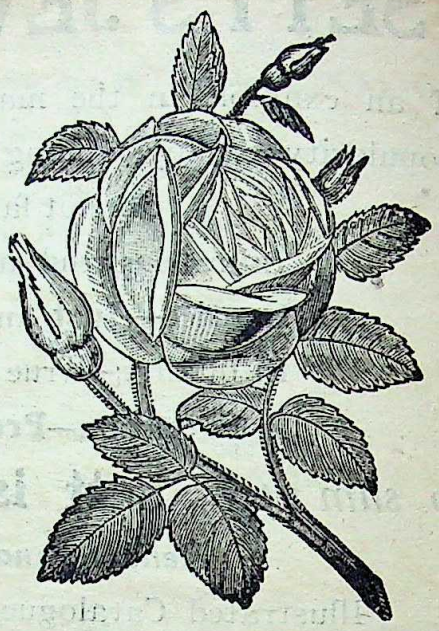

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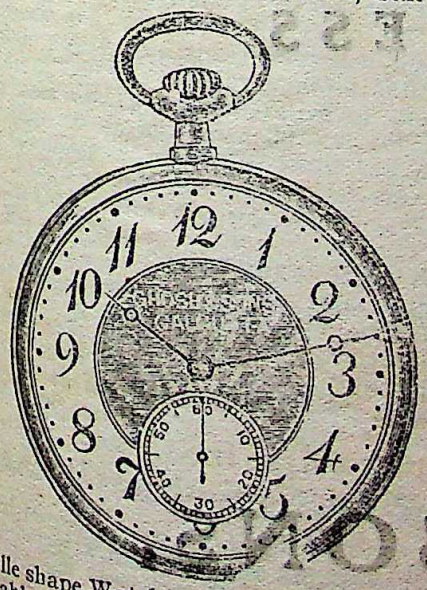

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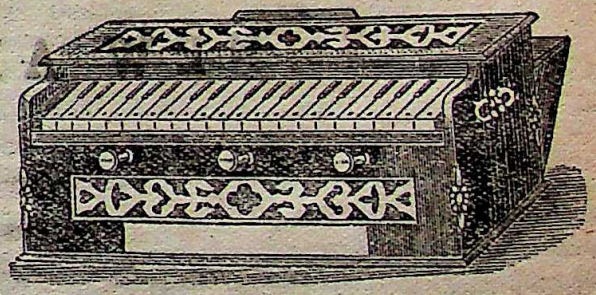

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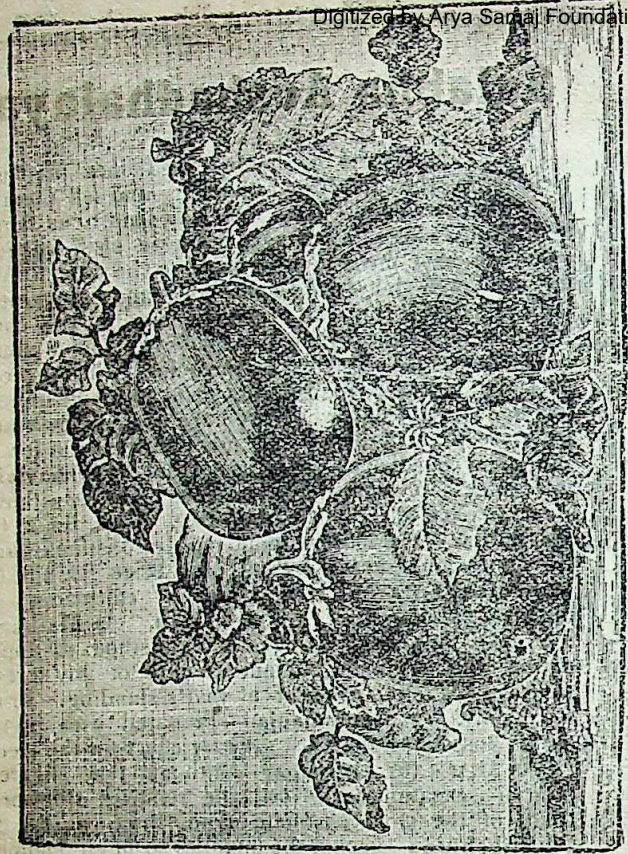

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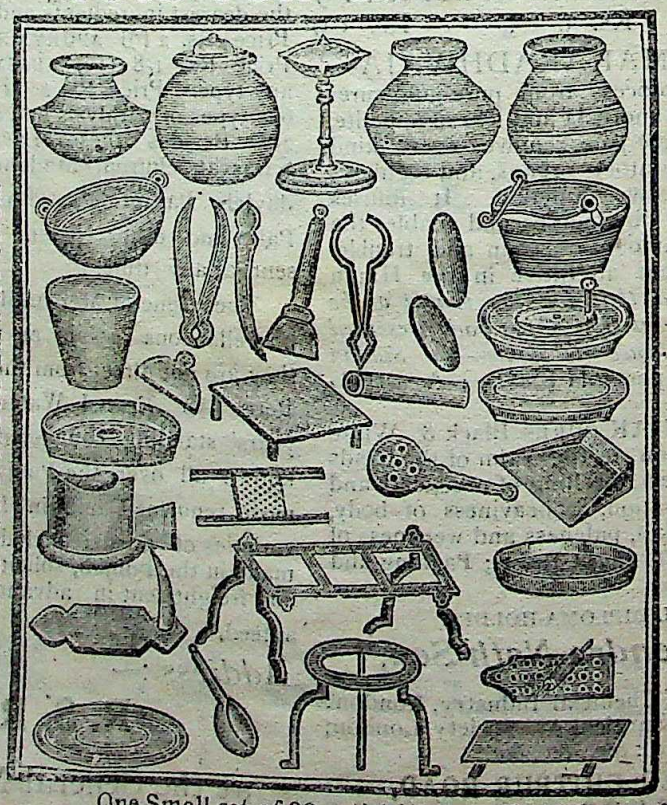

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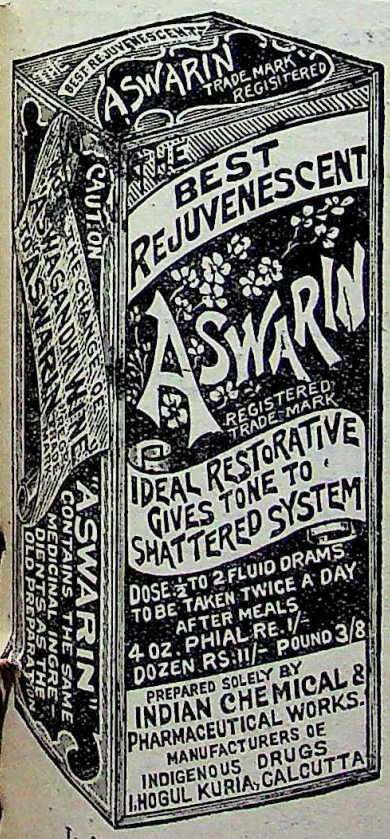

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A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

Contents :

	Page
ontispiece—HELPMATES (in colors)—SARADA-CHARAN UKIL	261
tes (illustrated)	261
Reminiscences (illustrated)—SIR RABINDRA-NATH TAGORE, D. LITT. AND SURENDRANATH TAGORE, B.A.	285
Lidasa, The Spirit of Asia—PROF. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A.	291
ermarriage Between Hindu Castes and Sub-castes—CHIMANLAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, M.A., LLB, ASSISTANT LEGAL REMEMBRANCER, BARODA STATE	293
London Money-market and the War—K. M. PANIKKAR	298
per-pulp from the Bamboo—DHRUVA SUMANAS,	302
Struggle (short story)—J. J. BELL ...	306
ls of Domestic Felicity—JOHN OWEN SURRAO	311
Beginning of Hindu Culture as World-Power —PROF. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A. ...	321
Visit to the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceuti-cal Works—PROF. SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJI, M.A., B. SC.	324
Reviews and Notices of Books—K. M. JHAVERI, DHIRENDRANATH CHAUDHURY, MAHESH-CHANDRA GHOSH AND OTHERS ...	326
Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji—C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., B.SC.	333
Gleanings (illustrated) :	
WHY A SAW CUTS	339
THE LIGHTNING-ROD	340
COTTON IN NATURAL COLORS ...	341
WHAT DRIVES MEN TO DRINK ? ...	341
PUTTING OUT A FIRE WITH KEROSENE ...	342
Phalguni : A musical Play by Sir Rabindranath Tagore—K. T. PAUL	342
The Maiden's Smile (a poem)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND DEVENDRANATH SEN, M.A., B.L. ...	345
My Offence (a poem)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND DEVEDRANATH SEN, M.A., B.L. ...	345
Invincible (a poem)—SAROJINI NAIDU ...	346
Indian Periodicals	346
Foreign Periodicals	350
Round the World with my Master—(illustrated) A DISCIPLE OF DR. J. C. BOSE ...	356
Addendum	360

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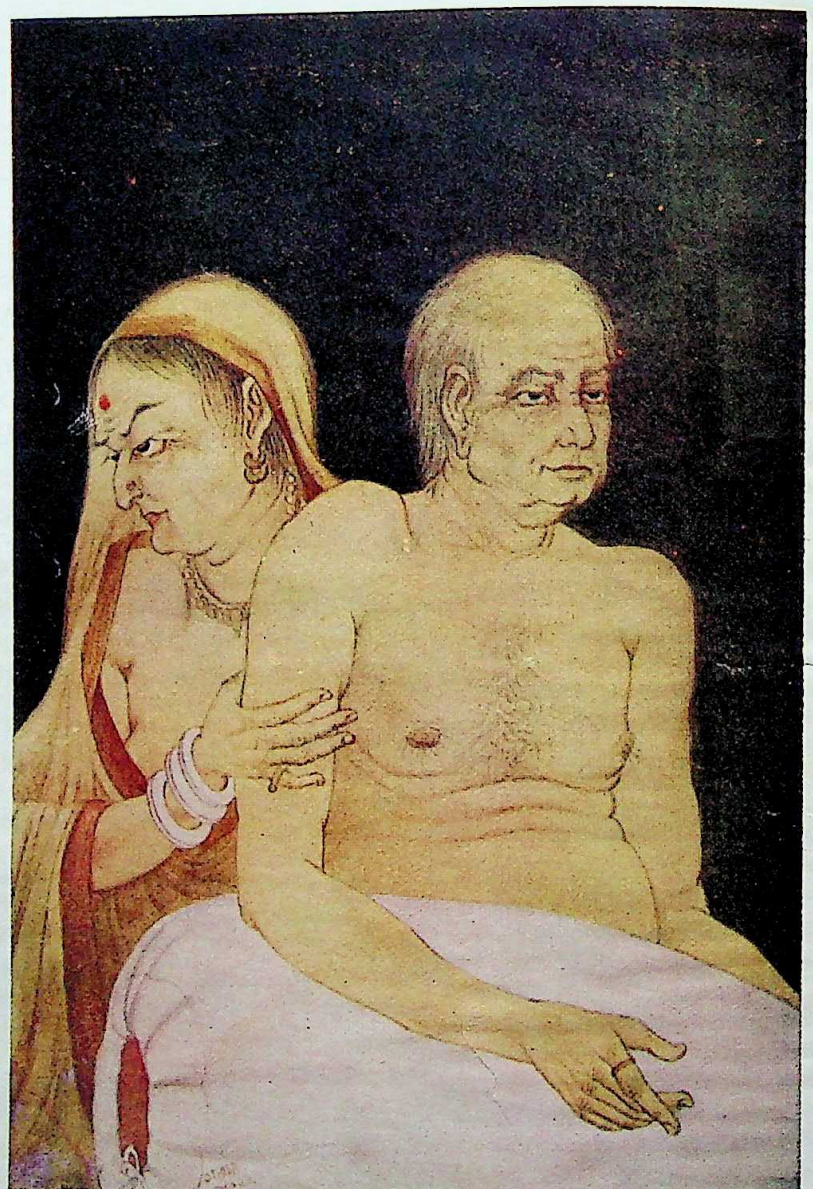

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Self-service as Spiritual Discipline.

There are orthodox Brahmans who cook their own food, at least during certain periods of their lives, not taking food prepared even by their mothers, wives, sisters or daughters, in the belief that such a practice is spiritually beneficial. We have no such belief, but it need not be discussed here. The practice, however, has, no doubt, a hygienic value; as in cooking his own food a man can be as scrupulously clean as he chooses, and can also avoid the use of stale, rotten or otherwise unwholesome articles of diet. It also to a great extent serves as a check upon luxurious living and gluttony. For though it is quite easy and pleasant to enjoy course after course of rich delicacies prepared by others, it is not quite so easy and pleasant to do the cooking of so many dishes for oneself.

If we try to dispense with the services of others even for a single day, ourselves doing the work of the scavenger, the sweeper, the scullion, the cook, we can realize what we owe to others. Some male persons are apt to have a proud feeling that they are the lords of creation, and that women have been created simply to minister to their wants. But if they attempt to do even for a single day what their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters do for them, it cannot fail to be brought home to them that those who serve are really more important than those who are served, and that the usefulness, the fame and the brilliant careers of men are built on the foundations of what women do for them in the privacy and obscurity of their homes.

A similar line of thought convinces us that we owe a great part of our usefulness to our scavengers and sweepers, to our menials, to the unskilled labourers, the peasants, the artisans, the craftsmen, the mechanics, the tailors, the shoemakers, the builders, the carpenters, the blacksmiths,—all, in fact, who toil to make us comfortable for a scanty remuneration. The very fact that we pay and pay small sums for their services serves to obscure and dull the sense of our great indebtedness to them. It may be bad economy for every one to try to do for oneself all that is necessary for one's existence, it may even be impossible so far as the needs and activities of a modern civilized man is concerned; but it is a good discipline for the soul to try to do even part of the work necessary for one's daily sustenance and comfort. It is sure to give one a lively sense of gratitude towards the humble workers of the world and to create true fellow-feeling, instead of that so-called sympathy which is in most cases nothing but the pity which fortunate persons patronizingly feel for those who occupy humbler ranks in life.

The greater the man the more is he able to stand in the place of, to identify himself with, the meanest of men in the world's estimation. With the broadening of his fellow-feeling, he becomes more and more universal.

We find it mentioned in Pandit Sivanath Sastri's reminiscences of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, published in the *Modern Review* for November, 1910, that a sage told the Paramhansa "to believe himself to be equal to the meanest sweeper, for instance. Ramkrishna at once resolved to do the duty of a sweeper. By stealth he would enter the *paikhana* or privy of a neighbour from below, and would take away the pots to the river to wash them and put them again in their places." It is given to few to be so thorough-going in the endeavour to universalize oneself; but the effort is worth making as far as one may find it possible.

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Business as Service.

Mr. John Farwell Moors, a prominent man of business of Boston, writes, in an article on "Ethics in Modern Business" contributed to the *Harvard Theological Review* for January, that "though the object of business is money-making, its essence is service." Facts, he says, in support of this conception face us on every hand.

For example, follow through the day the most typical of all citizens, the suburbanite. A cook serves him with breakfast his town with a side-walk, an eager boy with a newspaper, an engineer with safe conduct to the city. "Bag carried, Sir?" is his welcome there. Thereafter both necessities and luxuries are everywhere thrust upon him—collars, fish, custard pies, vacuum cleaners, pyramids of oranges and of apples vigorously shone on anonymous trousers. A street car takes him to his office-building, an elevator to his office, cleaned for him in the cheerless hours of darkness by a woman on hands and knees. Throughout the day a stenographer and office boy do his bidding. At lunch a restaurant serves him. When evening comes, superabundant theatres seek to entertain him. No socialist, however ardent, can conceive greater eagerness to serve. The very streets are congested with people bent on serving one another. The activities produced by charitable agencies are in volume as nothing by comparison. There is, however, a stern condition. The recipient of this service must pay for it. With rare exceptions, ability to pay can come only from the recompenses of service. The service of business is reciprocal.

The service of business is in one respect preferable to the service of benevolence or of friendship,—preferable to what is a "labour of love." When a man receives the service of business, he reciprocates by paying him who serves. In the case of the service of benevolence or of friendship, the person who is served receives a favour from the benevolent, involving loss of self-respect, or he remains under an obligation if the person who has served is a friend. One can do a good turn to a friend in return for his service, but the mere object of charity is rarely able to have the satisfaction of being able to serve those who have done him good as a matter of charity.

"Tiger" Jackson.

On the completion of the fiftieth year of his practice at the Calcutta Bar, his friends gave Mr. William Jackson, Barrister at Law, known as "Tiger" Jackson, a dinner. Mr. Eardley Norton read the following poem on the occasion:—

W. J.

Through the thin mists of fifty years
You stand for all that makes our Bar
The stay against official jeers,
The pride of men who [illegible]

In your brave hands its fame was safe,
Its proud traditions fresh and sure,
Inviolate from the chains which chafe,
The baits which tempt, the bribes which lure.

Men strive for stars and kindred chaff,
Men built on miscroscopic plan,
Yours is a nobler epitaph,
"Here lies the larger gentleman."

What higher praise can Envy grudge,
What cleaner records lawyers show
Than yours who never feared a Judge
Nor stooped to trick or wound a foe?

Still at injustice all aflame
As though a boy with your first brief,
We rise to toast your honoured name,
Impulsive, generous, dear old Chief.

E. N.

This praise is thoroughly well deserved.

What a Criminal might have been.

The judgment in the Benares Conspiracy trial contains the following passage:—

We have dealt at special length with the case of Sachindra Sanyal because we regard him as definitely the most dangerous of the accused before us. He was Rash Behari's chosen lieutenant in Benares and his activities have had both a wider and a more sinister character than those of the other accused. We find him at one time in Calcutta, at another at Lahore or Amritsar. There are elements in his character which might have made him a useful and even a noble member of society—as for instance his joining the band of volunteer relief workers in the Damodar floods. The perverted elements have however gained the upper hand and he has become an anarchist of a peculiarly dangerous type, the type of man who incites to deeds of violence while keeping in the background himself. No sentence short of transportation for life would be at all adequate in his case.

Why men who have the making of a noble character in them become criminals, is not only an important study in psychology that is worth making, but it ought to afford food for reflection to the patriot and the practical administrator as well. Both the social leaders of a country and its statesmen can be said to attain success in their respective roles only when they are able to convert possibilities into actualities.

Nepotism in England.

In discussing the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Bill and in abusing the Indian press in connection therewith, some Anglo-Indian papers took it for granted that selection in Great Britain would secure for India the services of the best men. But nepotism exists in England as it does in other countries, as the following extract from the "Bombay Chronicle" shows:—

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Nepotism in the English Courts.

The sixth and final Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service in England dealing with the Legal Department contains much evidence on the prevalence of old style patronage which is very entertaining. Here for example is a dialogue between Mr. Graham Wallas and Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie:—

"Page 5 of the Return sets out the actual names of the masters and assistant masters in the Central Office.

Mr. ——— has £1,500 a year; is he the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

He is certainly a near relation of a late Lord Chief Justice, but not a son.

Mr. ———, is he the cousin of a Lord Chief Justice's wife?—I do not know.

Mr. ———, is he the brother-in-law of a Lord Chief Justice?—Yes."

That accounts for seven out of nine.

How a Job was Secured.

A majority of the Clerks of Assize, most of whom get £800 a year, are also sons of Judges. A first-class clerk in the Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature (£700 a year) describes how he heard of a vacancy and got the job:—

"There was a gentleman in the office at the time, who was connected with a friend of my father's and my father asked him to dinner and talked to him after dinner; he heard about the old Court of Exchequer Master's Office, and made inquiries and found that Sir Frederick Pollock had got a nomination."

Again, once the appointments are secured, says the "New Statesman," some of them appear to be very secure. A Clerk in the Probate Registry said that it would be "an act of grace" for a member of his class to retire at the age of 90, if he felt it difficult to get down to the office. As regards some light into the character of the work done in several of the Departments, the following remarks, which passed between Mr. Coward and Sir Samuel Evans cannot be surpassed.

"We have had one or two of the clerks here, and the evidence of one I have before me. I asked him to give an account of what his day was, and you would be surprised to know how difficult he found it to give an account of what he did in the day?—You mean it would not necessarily produce brain-fag.

"With the result that in the end I asked him whether any intelligent person of twenty-five could not learn all that he told us he did in twenty-four hours, and he said: "Yes, he could"; he quite agreed,—and you know these people get very substantial salaries?—They do but that is not peculiar to Somerset House. You will find it in lots of the Government offices, I should imagine.

"One of these people was asked what they did, and he said, "Well, we help one another"?—That is a very nice feeling, but you think it too costly?"

A Progressive Ruler.

The Thakore Saheb of Gondal whose munificent donation of Rs. 5,000 for the relief of the famine-stricken people of Bankura was recently appreciatively noticed in the papers, is one of the most progressive rulers in India. He "has proved a pioneer of educational progress and of general advancement in the country." The Thakore Saheb himself studied at Edinburgh and obtained the degrees of M.D., and LL.D. He is also an F.R.C.P., and F.R.S., a D.C.L., (Oxon) and a Fellow of the Bombay University. Himself a scholar, he takes a great interest in education and has built a large college, on the hostel system, for the education of the sons of landholders. He established the only Girl's School in Kathiawar and was the first to start a Travelling Dispensary and an Asylum for the maintenance of the poor who are unable to earn their own living. The prosperity of the State can be judged from the singular fact that it is the only State free from taxation, customs, octroi duties, some 40 taxes having been abolished during the regime of the present Chief.

Hindrance instead of Help.

Bombay men who require coal for running their industrial concerns find it cheaper to obtain it from South Africa than from Bengal. If the people had a controlling voice in the affairs of the country obstructive railway freights could have been adequately reduced without any loss of time. In every direction one finds reasons why India should have Self-rule.

Our Sympathy with "Uneducated Indians."

In the course of the address which he delivered on the occasion of the distribution of prizes to the meritorious students of Dacca College, Lord Carmichael is reported to have said:—

> I do think that educated Indians, the proportion of whom is I fancy, bigger in Bengal than it is elsewhere, might do more than they have ever yet done, if they would but try more obviously to convince Englishmen as a whole that educated Indians, though they are in a minority, really have a living sympathy with uneducated Indians, who form a vast majority in this country.

We cannot say that we have no sympathy with "uneducated Indians," as they are our kith and kin, and that not merely in a figurative sense. There are not very many educated Indians who have no uneducated relatives. While many educated Indians are actively sympathetic, as is shown by their carrying on philanthropic work of various descriptions or by making pecuniary contributions to such work, it is probably true that a large number of our

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educated countrymen, perhaps a majority, must be said to be rather indifferent to the lot of their poor and illiterate countrymen. As those who are comparatively prosperous are indebted, in no figurative sense, to the indigent for their prosperity, they ought to try their best to repay the debt by a more brotherly conduct.

It is a good maxim which says, "Despise not even the meanest," and Englishmen are not among the meanest. It is not, therefore, beneath our contempt to try to obtain the good opinion of Englishmen. But to sympathize with our uneducated countrymen in order that Englishmen may approve of our mental attitude is not a very worthy motive, nor one sufficiently strong to remove the apathy of the indifferent.

Among Westerners Englishmen are, for obvious reasons, among the slowest to recognize any worth in us which does not pamper their pride or promote their interest. Those of them who owe to India their careers and their wealth have sympathy of a certain kind with our illiterate countrymen. But that is because our unlettered folk have not learned to clamour for political privileges, and the profession of sympathy with them serves as an excuse and palliative for not sympathizing with educated Indians. The typical Anglo-Indian's sympathy is also sometimes of the anthropological variety.

There is no doubt that we deserve to be lectured upon our apathy; but the exhortation ought to come from those who by their *practical* sympathy with the mass of India's population have earned the right to find fault with us. Considering that India is the poorest, the most illiterate and the most unhealthy country in the world under enlightened rule, we do not see how any Englishman, occupying a high or a low official position, can with good grace lecture to us on the lesson of human sympathy. Nevertheless, we shall lay to heart Lord Carmichael's words of criticism and exhortation, but not for the reason indirectly implied in the passage we have quoted.

The Constitution of Cyprus.

In an article in the January number of *United Empire* on "Cyprus To-day" contributed by Mr. Roland L. N. Michell, C.M.G., it is said that "a Legislative Council, as created in 1883, consists of the High Commissioner and eighteen members—twelve elected and six official." Legislative councils in India do not contain such a large proportion of elected members,—probably because India is India, not Cyprus.

Dreaming Bengal.

A railway, about 21 miles long, is proposed to be constructed from Khulna to Bagerhat in Bengal. For this purpose a company has been floated in—not Calcutta or any other town in Bengal, but in far off Ahmedabad. And the capital is only nine lakhs. While commending the enterprise of the wealthy citizens of Ahmedabad, one feels inclined to ask why nine lakhs could not be raised in Bengal. Was the undertaking too gigantic for Bengali brains, Bengali enterprise and Bengali capital?

Exploters Exploited.

Not content with exploiting backward China and sleeping India, the Japanese are carrying the industrial war into the continent of the exploiters par excellence. *Commerce* says:

> The Japanese "Ashahi" states that Messrs. Davis, Summers and Co., Kobe, have exported matches manufactured by the Takikawa Factory, of Kobe, and by the Fujita Factory, of Akashi," to Europe, shipping 1,700 cases to Marseilles by the "Shinko-maru," which left Kobe on the 17th inst., and 1,300 cases to Port Said by the same steamer. The "Takata-maru," which sailed on the 7th inst., also carried 155 cases of Fujita matches to London. This is stated to be the first time that Japanese matches have ever been exported to that part of the world in any large quantities. The Nihon Kamijiku Match Co. and the Morita Match Factory are also in receipt of considerable inquiries from London, Paris, Holland, Egypt, etc., but are unable to conclude satisfactory business on account of the insufficiency of hold space available. Match manufacturers have been in communication with the Nippon Yusen Kaisha regarding the provision of adequate tonnage for the export of matches to Europe, and the steamship company has now decided to place at their disposal as much hold space as possible on extra steamers. It is, therefore, expected that exports of matches to Europe will increase hereafter. The "Ashahi" adds that the prices of the matches exported to England and France were about 22 yen for second-class safety matches, thick sticks, and 20 yen for third-class. And pray, what is India doing in this matter? Surely India is not going to stand patiently aside and watch this new trade between England and Japan without making some effort to secure her share of the industry.

But this is crying in the wilderness. Neither the people nor the rulers of India are doing their duty. The listening to and telling of stories of the Carmichael handkerchief variety is supposed to be a good substitute for popular enterprise and practical State aid to industries.

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An Exhibition of Periodicals.

It is said that an exhibition of European, American and Japanese periodicals is to be held in Baroda, to serve as a stimulant to those responsible for the production of periodicals in India. Speaking for ourselves,—and many others responsible for the production of Indian periodicals will be able to say the same thing, we may say that we have seen many of the best periodicals written in English, and the feeling we have had is that it would not be very difficult to produce reviews and magazines like those in the West if we had sufficient public support. We have, both in the case of this review and of the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, often spent on a single issue more than the total price of the number of copies printed, but we do not remember to have sold even fifty copies more of these special numbers than of ordinary numbers. In one issue of *Prabasi* we printed the whole of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's brilliant and deeply significant play of "Achalayatan" in addition to the usual contents, but we could not feel that the public had become even curious as to what Rabindranath had written. That was some five years ago. In the *Modern Review*, too, we have published and are still publishing many stories and other productions of Rabindranath which when published in the West in book form are sure to sell by the hundred thousand. We have been doing all this in addition to publishing articles and paintings by some of the best writers and artists in India. What is the result? We began the publication of this review in 1907, and we printed 1,500 copies of the first number. Now after nine years of incessant toil and anxiety and worry, we print only 3,500 copies a month. We should like to ask those who are promoting the exhibition of periodicals in Baroda whether any publisher in England, America or Japan, having a circulation of 3,500 copies a month is able to give the public a better monthly than our humble review. If he can, let us please have a specimen copy of that monthly publication, and if we cannot bring out every month as good a thing as that, we shall not murmur if we are called upon immediately to stop publication. It is far easier to make bricks without straw than for an Indian periodical to emulate the get-up and contents of the Western periodicals having hundred times the circulation of their Indian fellows. It may be observed here incidentally that the contents of many of the well got-up Western periodicals are for the most part worthless and promote only mental dissipation.

It is not that no magazine-publisher in India has ideas or brains or even business capacity. What is wanting is sufficient public support. We have more critics and counsellors than customers. Sometimes a man who never bought a single copy of our review would patronize us with superior advice and criticism. If the man had given us cash for a copy instead of criticism, we should have been better pleased; for being in the line we can say without vanity that we have more ideas than amateurs of that ilk, though we always thankfully receive and consider advice and suggestions.

It is notorious that in India a good magazine purchased by a single person is read by ten or twenty others equally competent to pay but having the *gratis* instinct abnormally developed. Yet we have not heard that when one buys a pair of shoes ten of his solvent neighbors also use the pair. It is perhaps forgotten that both shoes and magazines require money to produce, and that both shoemakers and magazine-makers depend upon paying customers for their livelihood.

Periodicals have two sources of income, subscriptions and cash sales, and advertisements. In India, Government is a dispenser of considerable patronage even in the case of newspapers and periodicals. Some provincial Governments issue lists of newspapers and periodicals which are allowed to be purchased for school and college libraries; and from one or two such lists that we have seen, it is fair to conclude that it is not the excellence of a publication which leads to its being patronized but rather the degree of fervour with which it adores the bureaucracy: for it is the belief of not a few officials, as it is that of the *Pioneer*, that the difference between the bomb-thrower and the constitutional agitator is one of degree rather than of kind. Periodicals have another and that an insidious and cowardly kind of enemy. The kind we refer to would be evident from the fact that a late Lieutenant-Governor of a certain province thought it worth his while to tell a certain public-spirited landholder in a large Hindu city to discontinue sub-

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scribing for a periodical for which the poor man confessed to have some liking. The practice of the police of seizing during house-searches copies of some newspapers and periodicals, though these may not contain seditious matter nor may have been ever prosecuted for any offence, checks the growth of business. It is also said that the police have another method of indirectly punishing publications which are not in the good books of official,—the method, namely, of frightening away subscribers by preparing a list of them.

Some of the Indian States seem to have a sort of index expurgatorius. A State in Rajputana, for instance, does not allow some dailies and monthlies to be taken, though a certain Christian missionary, being an Englishman, could not be prevented from having his copy of the publication he liked. Though certain British officials consider liberty-loving newspapers to be their personal enemies, the Rulers of Indian States need not have any such pejudice; for even the anarchists do not generally seem to cherish the idea of dethroning these potentates.

The Gaekwar of Baroda is a progressive prince, and a friend of learning. There is no harm in an exhibition of good periodicals being held in Baroda; but an ideal periodical published from Baroda, setting the example to other Indian reviews and magazines would be far better. At present the periodicals published in that State are not better than other Indian monthlies published elsewhere. It is easy to do something sensational, something that would be talked of and furnish topics for paragraphs in newspapers; but an excellent periodical is a more solid achievement, requiring more brains and perseverance.

We have said, Baroda publications are not better than those of other places in India. It is possible, however, that the Baroda State patronizes the magazines of Europe, America and Japan more than other Indian States and British India do. We do not, however, know to what extent it encourages Indian periodicals by its support. Our review is said to be one of the passable monthlies in India. On a cursory glance at our subscribers' list, our despatcher tells us that only two libraries and three school and college reading rooms in Baroda take a copy each of our review. Perhaps Indian periodicals which are better than ours have more customers among the libraries and reading-rooms in Baroda, but their number cannot be very much more, though there is a distinct possibility of their being more. For the Baroda administration report tells us that there are in that State 363 libraries and 62 reading rooms. Even Baroda, therefore, can do more for Indian periodicals than simply holding an exhibition of European, American and Japanese periodicals.

Most of the large businesses in India are in the hands of foreigners. They do not generally advertise in our journals. They do not like our politics. British publishers do not generally advertise in our periodicals, though some of them send us books for review, some have sent us publishers' puffs for free publication, and one has more than once requested us to buy his books at half price and review them in our columns. It is forgotten that British newspapers and periodicals are able promptly to review books because they are enabled to pay for reviews partly from the money which they get by printing the advertisements of publishers. We and our reviewers are expected to do the work with nothing to live upon. It is true the circulation of our periodicals is not as large as those of British ones. But we know some English-owned and English-edited periodicals, not having half our circulation, have very many more British advertisements than we ever had or can expect to have. British publishers do not send us books for review as a matter of charity; they are men of business and do it as a part of their business expecting an indirect return. If they expect that our readers would buy the books we review, why cannot they also expect that our readers would buy the books advertised in our periodicals? As for those of our countrymen who have flourishing concerns, many of them do not advertise at all, and those who do, often prefer British-owned and British-edited journals. That is, for one thing, more "respectable" you know, and possibly more "loyal" too. Many depend for their success on the good grace of the *Burra Sahebs*, including those of purchasing departments, and do not, therefore, like to be included among the "suspects" by advertising in nationalist publications.

We may seem to have written at inordinate length on a not very important topic. But as most people unconnected with the press do not know the conditions which

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circumscribe our capacity and, for that reason, ignorantly compare our productions with those of other countries, we have thought it proper to tell the public a little of what we know. *All* that we know it is neither expedient nor possible to print. The gentle reader will not, we hope, take this Note as a sort of begging circular. We have not in the past been famous for begging for anybody's favour or patronage, nor do we now feel like doing so directly or indirectly. If we have referred to our small circulation (and no other Indian-owned English monthly, as far as we are aware, has a larger), it is not to excite anybody's pity, but simply to show that the educated Indian public are not good appreciators and customers of things made in India. Producers of Indian periodicals are, for the most part, not beggars, they are men of business. If our periodicals are worth their price for the knowledge, stimulus and pleasure they give, men and women who want such knowledge, stimulus and pleasure are welcome to buy them. Others need not. But if they need not buy, they should also not borrow them for a free reading and freer advice and criticism. It is customers that magazine-producers need, more than critics, counsellors and exhibitors of goods not made in India.

Mr. Tilak on Excise Policy.

A public gathering was recently held at Poona under the presidency of Mr. B. G. Tilak, under the auspices of the local Temperance Association. Mr. Lavate quoted from Elphinstone an observation that Poona before 1818 was the abode of *all vices except drinking*.

Drinking was practically unknown in the district—that was the testimony of a European authority who knew what he wrote about and who was by no means prejudiced in favour of the Peshwas or the people of the district. But since the advent of the British Government, the sale of liquor showed a continuously rising curve. From zero in 1818 it rose to 70,000 gallons in 1878 and is now well-nigh 2 lakhs of gallons a year.

According to a summary of his presidential speech published in the *Mahratta*, Mr. Tilak said :—

The question had ceased to be one of logic or of argumentation, and people had come to a situation where they were at a loss to decide what to do. How was it that the sale of liquor increased from zero to thousands of gallons ? The people were abstemious by instinct and habit, their religion was against it, public opinion also was so. If the Government thought that they could not uproot the vice, thereby they were declaring their unfitness to manage the business. Let them hand over the management of the department to the leaders of the people and he would guarantee that they would see to it that before long the Drink enemy was expelled, without causing any commotion among the people. If the Government wanted the revenue, he would assure them that the people would readily consent to be taxed in any other way with a view to compensating the Government for the loss of the present revenue. If it was not love of money, what was it that prevented Government from taking successful measures against drunkenness ? The Government had long tried but failed to appreciably check its growth. The situation then was this. The Government themselves could not successfully tackle the problem and would not let others do it. Themselves proved unfit for the management of the department, they would not let the Municipalities or other bodies take the matter into their own hands. If they wanted the money, the people were willing to pay the amount they wanted, by taxing themselves in other and better ways. What was to be done in such a situation ? The answer was one which would take him directly into politics and he would therefore content himself on the occasion with only saying this that unless the people made efforts to have the management of the department into their own hands, and divest the revenue authorities of that function, there would be no end to the trouble.

Education the Chief Need of India.

In writing in the *Social Reform Advocate* that "the chief need of India at the present time is a wider diffusion of education," Professor Homersham Cox says what we have thought all along and not only thought but acted upon; as, for a non-educational journal, we have always given great prominence to educational topics. Mr. Cox continues :

To remove the general ignorance of the masses is the fundamental reform without which no other reforms are possible. Some would put sanitation first. It is indeed deplorable that every year in India thousands of lives are lost by preventible diseases. But sanitation to be sufficient requires the intelligent co-operation of the people. In an army it may be possible to impose the orders of the medical officers on the soldiers. But military discipline cannot be enforced on a whole nation. Sanitary regulations, as experience shows, will always be evaded when the need for them is not recognised. The people in general cannot of course have the technical knowledge of the expert, but they must understand in some degree the reasons for the regulations they are required to obey. That is to say, they must be educated.

Many Hindus are now actively engaged in the endeavour to raise the depressed classes. When these classes are educated they will rise in the social scale, and at the same time, acquire a higher standard of manners and conduct. The best means to raise them is to educate them.

So too, if we consider any other reforms such as social reform or political reform, we shall see that the chief reason why they make such slow progress is the want of education. It is well that reformers should exert themselves in the direct advocacy of the reforms in which they are interested, but after all the

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most efficient means of promoting them is the diffusion of education among the people.

Mr. Cox then asks what we can do to promote education. He asks this question as he thinks "the question is not what the government can or ought to do, but what we ourselves can do. To exert ourselves is less easy but more effective than making speeches about the duties of other people." He then says what we can do.

Every educated adult can give something for education, either from his time or his money. A lawyer in large practice may have no time to spare, but he can give some money without injuring himself. On the other hand, a young lawyer who is just beginning at the bar, may have very little money, but his time will not be so fully occupied that he cannot afford to spend an hour, or at least half-an-hour a day in teaching. If all who can would do something, it would be possible to give elementary education to, at any rate, a large proportion of the people of India. But many very rich Indians subscribe little or nothing to colleges and schools and as yet only a few Indians do any gratuitous teaching.

As to the way things ought to be done his advice is—

Let us suppose an Indian either by himself or in conjunction with one or two friends can give about Rs. 30 a month to education and consider how he should begin. He must not attempt too much at first. Even if only a few poor children are taught to read their own language something useful has been done, for there is no one even in the humblest classes who does not sometimes need at least to write a letter. By "their own language" we mean the language the children actually speak among themselves, not some official vernacular which they do not understand. Only the simplest words of every day use should be employed in the first reading lessons of a child. It is difficult enough for him to learn to associate the sounds with the written symbols, without the added difficulty of strange words. The practice that prevails in Kulu, Kashmir and the Panjab of teaching a child how to read by means of Hindustani, a language he only imperfectly understands, is deplorable. So too is the introduction into his first reading books of learned words which do not form part of his natural vocabulary. These should only be introduced at a later stage when the difficulties of reading have been overcome. Further the first reading book should not attempt to teach anything new. It should contain nothing but what the child is already familiar with. The attention of the child should be concentrated on learning to *read*. In all teaching the great rule is not to try to teach too mnch at once, and to remember that what has become easy for us may be very difficult for a beginner.

Even if an educated Indian cannot afford to give money, he can at least collect a few poor children around him and spend half-an-hour a day in teaching them to read and write.

Mr. Cox declares in quite unequivocal language that "it is most important that education for the poor should be entirely gratuitous. That is to say, not merely should there be no fees, but books, slates, paper, pencils, pens, should all be supplied without charge. Even a small fee will keep away many "who would otherwise come."

When the child has learnt to read and write his mother-tongue and it is possible to teach him something else, the first thing to consider is what will be useful to him in earning his living when he is older, as for almost all men, and most of all for the poor, that is the chief question. The Professor goes on :

It may not seem much to turn out lads who earn ten or twelve rupees a month ; but if their fathers were only earning six it is really a great advance to advance to a higher standard of health and comfort. Now what is useful to the boy probably differs in different parts of India. In the towns, according to our own experience, the most useful thing is a little knowledge of English. A boy who can read and write some English, can almost aways earn more than his father was earning, and to enable the boy to do that should, we repeat, be our main object. In shops, railways, presses, a knowledge of English, though it be only slight, is useful, and often procures higher pay. The demand for English too is increasing, as more Indian commercial men deal with England directly, instead of through English firms in India.

Economy in Education.

British officials in India are accustomed to resist the demands of education by pleading the lack of funds even in ordinary times. Now that the British Empire is engaged in the greatest war in history the need of economy is felt in every direction, though that has not stood in the way of increasing the emoluments of covenanted civilians and certain other public servants drawing fat salaries. In England public-spirited persons demand that there should be no retrenchment in educational expenditure. Mr. Frederick Henderson writes in the *Christian Commonwealth*:

There is this broad and vital distinction between educational expenditure and almost every other form of public expenditure. In the bulk of public work it is, generally speaking, possible to postpone expenditure with no worse result than delay. You go without the desired thing for a year or two—whether it is a street improvement, or a new road, or a public park, or the building of baths—but when you get it ultimately you get it as you would have had it now but for the delay. You can pick up your project where you dropped it. But you cannot do that with education. The work of the schools has to do with but a few years of the life of our children ; but they are the formative years. It is work which cannot be postponed and picked up again later on. The child passes on into its life of adult responsibility, and the ignorance, the undeveloped outlooks, the narrowed powers due to any educational neglect during those few formative years will be a lasting handicap, affecting adversely the whole quality of the national life into which such a neglected and starved school generation grows up.

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The President of a conference of some 300 working-class organisations interested in education which was recently held in London said that

> very dangerous as he felt the action of the authorities in regard to educational economy to be, he was more concerned with it as a symptom than as an actual fact. It was undoubtedly true that those who cared for education were often seriously hampered by the fact that the country as a whole did not care much about the topic. Their primary object was to express so definite an opinion that public bodies would know they must put education in the forefront. They did not want the War used as a means for whittling away the small degree of education which had been secured by years of struggle. They felt bound at this crisis in our nation's history to reaffirm their faith that education was the primary public service, to which others must give way, if there was need for any to give way.

If in England people can speak of "the small degree of education which had been secured by years of struggle," what epithet shall we use to characterise the degree of education which the Indian people receive?

Curtailing Educational Expenditure in Bombay.

The Bombay Government's Resolution on the latest Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency contains the following passage:—

> The obligation imposed by the present financial situation to practise strict economy in every department of the administration is placing severe limitations on the extension of activities and the initiation of new enterprises in the field of education. But the resultant state of affairs is not without its compensatory advantages. The advance in educational work has been so rapid of recent years that a period of suspension, which will afford opportunities for the examination of methods and results and the consolidation of achievement, may prove generally beneficial.

The alleged rapid advance in educational work in Bombay cannot be fully realized without some comparison. There is a book called "Education in Japan" written by Mr. W. H. Sharp, now Director of Public Instruction in Bombay. We gather from that book that in Japan in 1873 the percentage of children receiving primary instruction was estimated at 28. It rose to 51 in 1880, and to 91 in 1902-03. For some of the succeeding years the percentages are: 1907-08, 97.38; 1908-09, 97.80; 1909-10, 98.10; 1910-11, 98.14; 1911-12, 98.29. In the Bombay Presidency after, say, a century of British rule only about 26 per cent of the children of school-going age are under instruction. It is clear, therefore, that the spread of education has been far more rapid in Japan than in Bombay. Yet what does Mr. W. H. Sharp say in his book on this rapid educational expansion in Japan? Here are his exact words:—

> But speedy as the growth has been, we need not, therefore, look upon it with doubt, or fear that Japan will go back upon her steps. "The bamboo lacks not strength because of the rapidity of its growth; it is inflexible as steel, though it may sway idly in the wind."*

Evidently the Japanese people and government did not think it necessary that there should be "a period of suspension which will afford opportunities for the examination of methods and results and the consolidatiou of achievement"; nor did Mr. W. H. Sharp feel any misgiving about Japanese education when he wrote his book. Has he now changed his opinion regarding the risks involved in educational expansion in general, and did the Government of Bombay write the passage we have quoted after consulting him? Or should that Government be given the monopoly of the credit for inditing such a wise passage?

What the Bombay Government has actually done.

In pursuance of the policy foreshadowed in their Resolution on the Director's Educational Report, the Bombay Government issued sometime ago a circular announcing that the strictest economy was to be observed as far as the educational activities of the Presidency were concerned. It is enjoined that the strictest economy is to be observed in public expenditure on education and a similar policy of retrenchment is to be pursued in regard to aided institutions, so far as the disbursement of Government grants to them is concerned. For the present and until further notice, no educational institution can be newly placed on the aided list, nor can any building or equipment grant be promised to an institution already on such list.

We cannot sufficiently condemn this policy of misguided economy, whether pursued in Bombay or elsewhere in India.

Lord Willingdon on Education.

Some of Lord Willingdon's pronouncements are pro-education, though no hope can or ought to be derived from them. Speaking at the prize distribution to the successful students of the Bombay Scottish

* A. M. Knapp.

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Education Society, and referring to the deficit anticipated in the building fund of the John Connon High School of some thousands, he said :

"Let me appeal to you to wipe off in a few days this deficit entirely. War or no war, it is needless to say that the education of young children must go on, and I am perfectly confident, knowing as I do the generosity of the citizens of Bombay, that people will come forward to wipe off this deficit."

In January last His Excellency, after formally opening the building built by the Marwari community of Bombay for the Hindi School known as Marwari Vidyalaya, congratulated them on the great step they had taken for the education of their young men.

One lesson, he said, which the present war had taught them was the need of education in this country, for it was owing to the want of education that there was an inclination among ignorant people to believe every false rumour and report that was circulated in regard to the war.

Local Self-Government and the Bengal Government.

The Bengal Government have done right in giving the municipalities greater freedom in framing their budgets. It is also better than no forward move at all that they are considering whether they ought to give all municipalities elected non-official chairmen instead of nominated official chairmen which some still have. In the Resolution on Local Self-Government issued in April last, the Government of India approved of the proposal for substituting elected non-official chairmen for nominated official ones, but left it to the discretion of provincial governments to act or not to act in accordance with this view. The reform has long been demanded by the press and public of India and is in consonance with the recommendation of the Decentralization Commission. In Bengal there are 85 non-official elected and 27 official nominated chairmen. All these facts leave no doubt as to what the people would like and what, therefore, Government ought to do. Still the Bengal Government have asked the municipalities concerned whether they would prefer elected non-official chairmen to nominated official ones. These local bodies should at once send a unanimous express telegram to the Bengal Government in favour of elected non-official chairmen.

Judicial Reforms in Hyderabad.

We learn with pleasure from the "Bombay Chronicle" that a rather important measure of judicial reform is just about to be carried into effect in the Nizam's Dominions. Our contemporary says that in Hyderabad, as in most of the bigger Indian States, there are a number of wealthy jagirdars, who, like feudal lords of medieval days, enjoy quite wide powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction over the population permanently residing within their "jagirs." As is to be expected, the administration of justice, as conducted by these territorial lords, who do not possess any judicial training, is not as good or uniform as it ought to be. With a view to remedy this defect and to bring the administration of civil justice in these "jagirs" into line with that obtaining in the territories directly under the control of his Highness's Judicial Department, the Nizam, on the advice of a Committee who went into the question in all its details, in consultation with the jagirdars, has issued orders in which is embodied a scheme for the proper administration of justice in the jagirs. Irrespective of the fact whether the ancestors of any Jagirdar enjoyed any judicial powers or not, a general scheme based on the area, population and revenue of the jagir, has now been drawn up for adoption in all the jagirs.

The main features of this scheme are as follows:—

No jagirdar or paigahdar will be allowed to exercise the powers of a High Court within his estate. Powers corresponding to those of a divisional judge in civil cases and of a sessions judge in criminal cases will be granted to those estates only which have an annual revenue of five lakhs or more. The salary of these divisional or sessions judges shall on no account be less than Rs. 600 a month. If any jagir or paigah cannot maintain a judge on the prescribed pay, the jagir or paigah concerned shall forfeit its claim to exercise such judicial powers. If the amount of work is not sufficient to engage the whole time of these judges, the High Court of the Nizam may allow him to attend to other work also. While the selection of the judge will rest with the jagirdar, the appointment shall be made subject to the sanction of Government after obtaining the opinion of the High Court. The appointment of district civil judges and district magistrates, on the same system as above, but on a lower scale of pay and with lesser authority, is sanctioned for minor jagirs. Appeals from these jagir courts shall lie to his Highness's High Court and sessions courts and district courts as the case may be. There are also other safeguards provided against mal-administration of justice in the jagirs.

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Our contemporary observes :—

On the whole the measure is bound to cleanse and vivify the slow moving administrative machinery of the State, and his Highness, as well as his able Secretary, Mr. Hyderi, deserve credit for initiating so bold a measure which is also a step in self-government in these jagirs.

An Unmeaning and Puerile Boast.

Speaking in the Imperial Council on the prevention of malaria Sir Edward Maclagan is reported to have said :

While accepting the resolution to encourage vigorous measures for the prevention of malaria, the Government of India do not wish it to be assumed that they assent in the view that their action hitherto has been remiss in this matter. It would not be possible in the first place, for the Government of India to say with any confidence that malaria is increasing in extent in the country generally. No doubt there are areas, in which there has been a marked increase of malaria, but there are others, in which there has been an equally marked decrease, and so far as the figures at our disposal go, they give us nothing upon which we can properly assume that there has been any marked increase in the disease during the last few years. This, however, is a matter into which it is unnecessary to go at present. Whether malaria has increased or not, it is notoriously a very prevalent and deadly disease, and it is our duty in any case to do the best we can to cope with its ravages. Here, I may say, that the Government has been in no way remiss.

I think it may be said without dispute that, as regards the measures for research and prevention in connection with malaria, more has been done by the Government in the last ten years in India than has been done by all the Governments of this country during all the centuries that had preceded it.

If the public cannot say that, *taking the whole of India*, malaria is increasing, Government, as represented by Sir Edward Maclagan, with all their powers of collecting information, could not also say that it was decreasing. It is to be presumed, therefore, that there has been no marked decrease. In Bengal, which may be characterized as the home of malaria, deaths from fever numbered 23·40 per mille in 1914 against 21·30 in 1913 and 20·54 as the average of the past five years from 1909 to 1913. In the Central Provinces and Berar deaths from fevers were 16·86 per mille in 1914 against 14·05 in 1913. In these two provinces, then, malaria is on the increase.

But the most amusing and puerile passage in Sir Edward's speech was where he said that, "as regards the measures for research and prevention in connection with malaria, more has been done by the Government in the last ten years in India than has been done by all the Governments of this country during all the centuries that had preceded it." Sir Edward Maclagan forgot when indulging in this boast that in the ages when Musalman and Hindu kings ruled India, there was no malaria research anywhere in the world; consequently there was no such research in India, too. If he could show that in other countries, the contemporaries of the Indian Musalman and Hindu Kings had adopted measures for research and prevention in connection with malaria, while that duty was neglected in India, his boast would have some meaning and relevancy. But the fact is, as the Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "the true nature of the disease remained in doubt until the closing years of the 19th century." "The first substantial link in the actual chain of discovery was contributed in 1880 by Laveran, a French army surgeon serving in Algeria." It may be said generally that the steps which have been taken in many countries to stamp out malaria are subsequent to that date, long before which India had ceased to have any indigenous independent rulers.

If an Englishman were to boast that his countrymen had laid down more miles of railway in India than any pre-British Indian government, that they had performed more surgical operations under anesthetics, diagnosed more diseases by taking x-ray photographs, sent more wired or wireless messages, or had given more bioscope performances than any Hindu or Musalman kings of India, these boastful words would be about as worthy of an adult statesman as the claim made by Sir Edward Maclagan in the Imperial Legislative Council of India in the year 1916 of Christ.

Filipino Independence.

Regular readers of this Review know that the Americans have promised to make the Filipinos independent within a measurable distance of time, that they have been preparing them for it, and that they have already given them self-rule to a far greater extent than India enjoys. Their hope of independence has come much nearer realization by the decision arrived at last month by the Senate of the United States of America to withdraw American sovereignty from the Philippines within not less than two and not more than four years. This decision will become final and have

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effect only when it has gone before and been accepted by the House of Representatives, of which there is a great probability.

The Philippines were conquered and occupied by the Americans in August 1898, when a purely military government was established. In May 1899 the military authorities began the re-establishment of civil courts, and in July of the same year they began the organization of civil municipal government. To continue the work of organizing and establishing civil government the president of the United States appointed in February 1900 a Philippine Commission of five members. In July 1902 the Congress of the United States approved an act which contained a bill of rights, provided for the establishment of a popular assembly two years after the completion of a census of the Philippines, and more definitely provided for the organization of the judiciary. The first popular assembly, of 80 members, was opened at Manila on the 16th of October 1907, only nine years and 2 months after the conquest.

Since then the legislature has been composed of two branches, the upper house called the Philippine Commission, now consisting of three American and five Filipino Commissioners, and the lower house called the Philippine Assembly. All the members of the Assembly are elected by the Filipinos. The islands are subdivided into 36 provinces, besides the recently created Department of Mindanao and Sulu. Each province has a governor, who is elected by popular vote, except in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, four other provinces inhabited largely by non-Christian tribes and the Province of Batanes; in these the governor is appointed by the Governor-General of the islands, with the advice and consent of the Philippine Commission. The municipal government of the towns is practically autonomous, the officials, consisting of a president, a vice-president and a municipal council, being all elected by the qualified voters of the municipality. The supreme court consists of 4 American and three Filipino judges. In the classified civil service of the islands the proportion of the Americans is gradually falling and that of the Filipinos rising. In 1911 sixty-seven per cent. of the Civil Servants were sons of the soil. Since then their proportion has still further increased.

Filipino Civilization.

What is the history and state of civilization of the Filipinos which has permitted of this rapid evolution of self-government?

Large numbers of these islanders are still in a state of complete barbarism, of which we shall give some idea later on, the majority perhaps, semi-civilized, and a small minority may be said to be fairly educated.

The Filipinos were not wholly illiterate before the arrival of their Spanish conquerors. The influence of the civilization of India had extended to Malaysia and modified the culture of the primitive forest-dwelling and seagoing Malays. Syllabic systems of writing were in use in the Philippines. Chirino (*Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604) states, "so given are these islanders to reading and writing that there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, that does not read and write in letters peculiar to the island of Manila." "They write upon canes or the leaves of a palm, using for a pen a point of iron." These syllabaries passed quickly out of use among the peoples Christianised by the Spanish, and no actual examples have come down to us, though the form of the syllabaries has been preserved as used by Bisaya, Tagalog, Pampango, Pangasinan, and Ilokano.....

Mohamedanism had also entered the southern islands of the archipelago and sent colonists to Manila Bay. The entrance of this faith meant a new source of civilization, with writing in the Arabic characters, and books of laws, genealogies, and devotion. The Moro peoples of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago still maintain teachers and *imams*, while the proportion who can write their Moro languages in Arabic character is surprisingly large.—*Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. IV, p. 674.

Though the people who were converted to Christianity forgot the kind of writing for which they were indebted to India, the *Cyclopedia of Education* goes on to say:

But the dominant influence in the civilization of the islands was destined to be European and Christian. The permanent occupation by Spain began with Legazpi's expedition in 1565.

As to the civilizing effect of Spanish rule the same Cyclopedia tells us:

The motives which led the Spaniards to establish secondary and high schools in the Philippines were the education of their own sons and training for the priesthood.....

Up to and past the middle of the nineteenth century, education remained wholly in the hands of the Church, and while the mass of Filipinos received instruction in the parishes in doctrine and catechism, *there were practically no educated Filipinos outside of the clergy.* In spite of repeated decrees of the king enjoining the use and teaching of Spanish, this language had made no progress among the natives. Travellers in the islands up to 1870 are unanimous that the Filipinos able to speak the Spanish tongue were rarely met.

Three facts, then, are clear: the Filipino tribes had no indigenous civilization of

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BAGOBO WARRIORS

Though not essentially a warrior tribe, the Bagobos have curious religious beliefs which incite them to certain bloodthirsty and repulsive deeds. In warfare they take not only the head of their slain enemy but the hands and heart as well. Even within recent years they have been guilty of human sacrifice and their custom was *to eat* the sacrificial victim, all of them owned slaves obtained either by purchase or capture, and it was a slave who was usually offered at the annual festival of their god DIWATA. The people generally are clean and sober, but all classes are addicted to the betel nut, which they chew with tobacco or *buyo* leaves. Those who have killed men wear spotted red and yellow costume, and the red and yellow skirt belongs only to the wife of a man killer. A Man killer of the Bukidnon tribe wears a most remarkable head ornament fashioned from cloth of gold, with elaborate scarlet, blue or white tassels. (See portrait on the reverse page).

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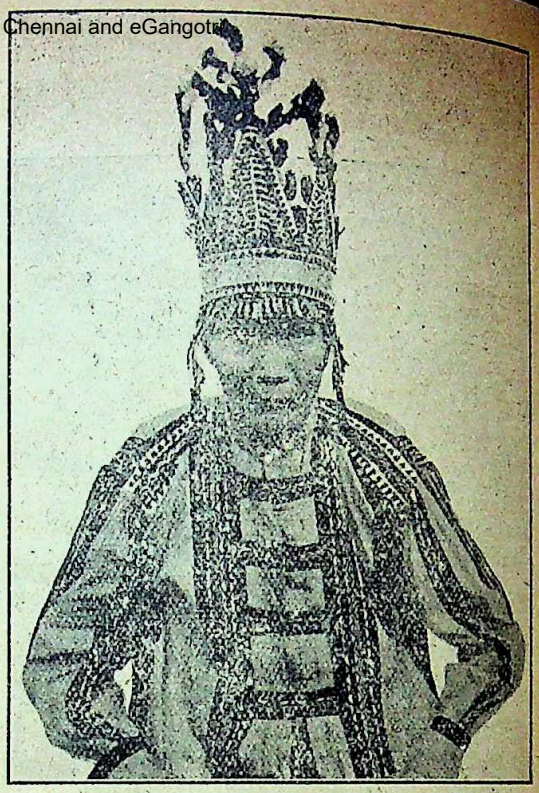
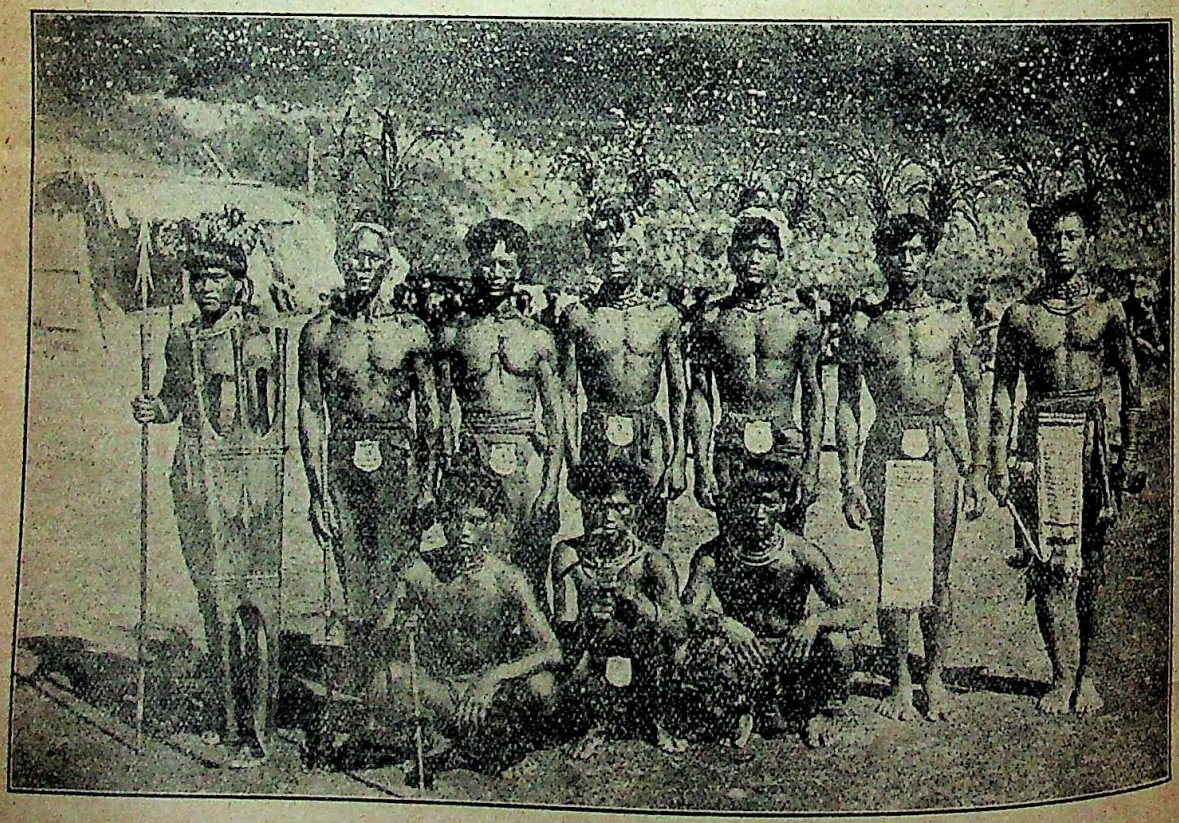
An Ifugao Warrior,
Note the prehensile toes.

A Bontoc Igorot Woman,
Philippines.



Old Bukidnon Chief, Philippines.



Kalinga Police : Wild men recruited as police wear their ordinary but scanty costume, merely attaching a police badge to their gee-strings.

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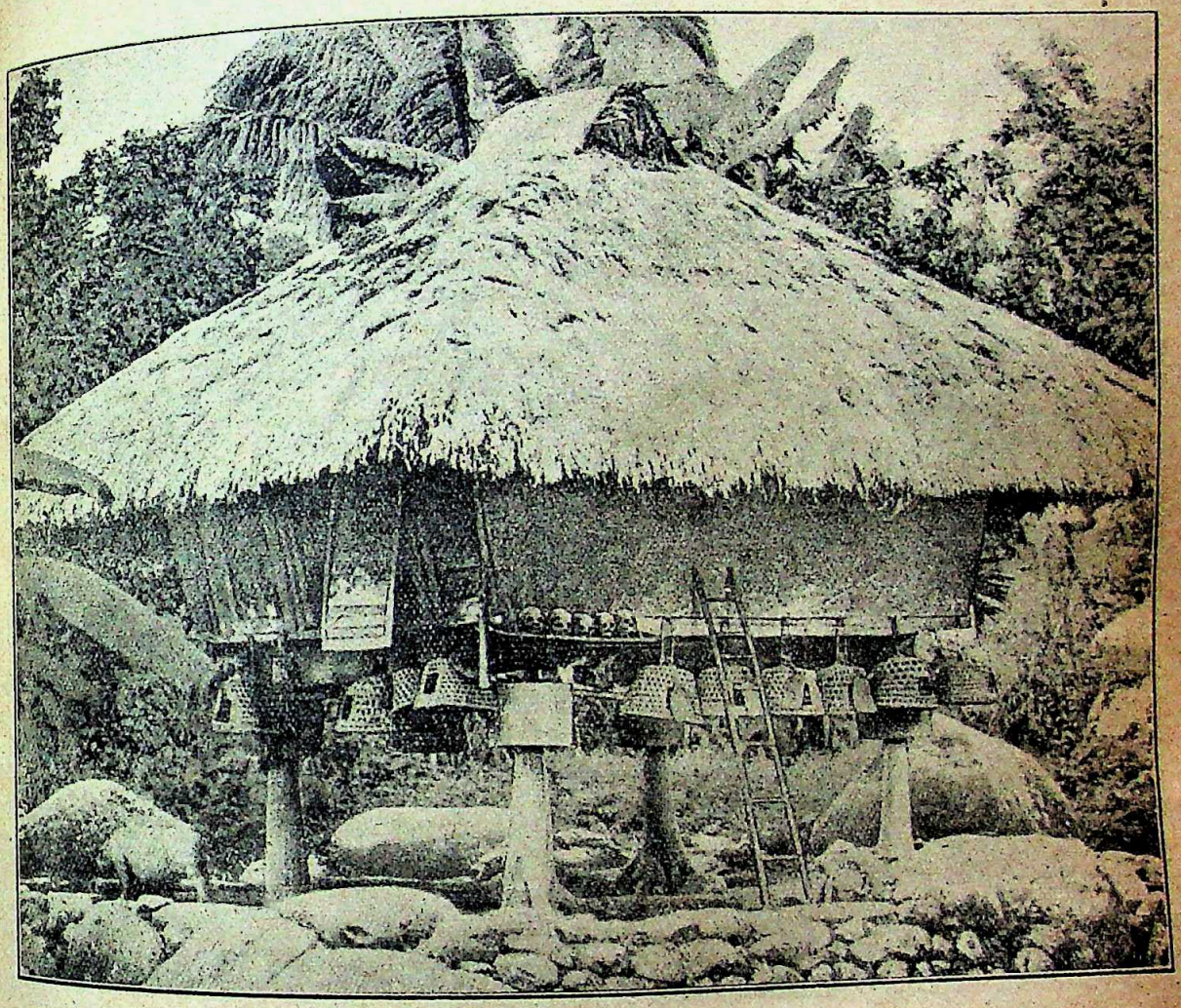

AN IFUGAO HOUSE.

The Ifugao houses are raised from the ground by posts having projecting shoulders designed to prevent rats and other small animals from gaining entrance. Till a few years ago the Ifugao were persistent head hunters and the skulls thus obtained form, to this day, a prominent feature of house decoration; sometimes they are used to form a frieze and at others they are enclosed in open-work baskets dependent from the eaves. Each house has two rooms, a living room and a store-room, the latter situated in the roof.

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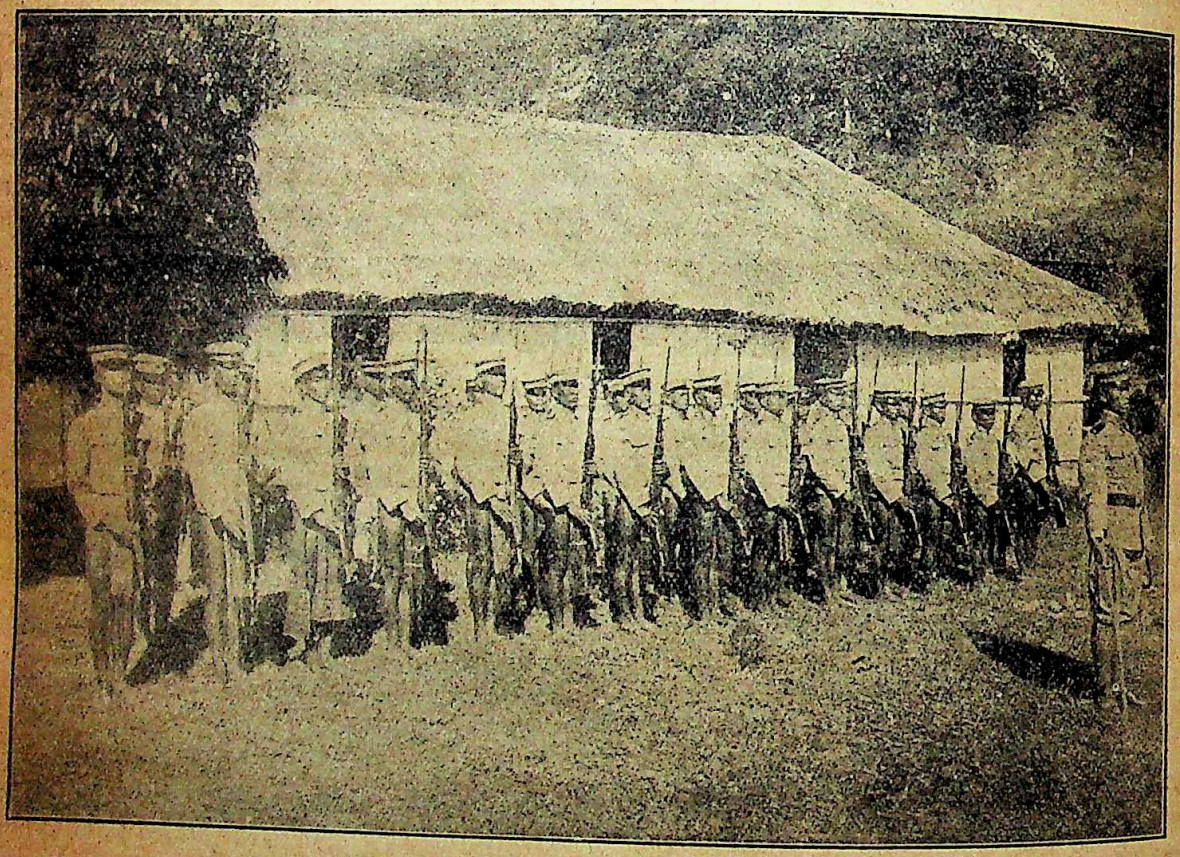

BONTOC IGORAT CONSTABULARY SOLDIERS.
A few years ago these men were head-hunting savages; to-day they form as smart and up-to-date a body of troops as can be found anywhere. They are not hampered with trousers.

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literature; Hindu and Musalman influence had some civilizing influence on them, much of which was lost on their conquest and conversion by the Spaniards; and, the Spanish occupation did not do much to educate and civilize them.

As a result of the American government of the islands for twelve years, in 1911-12 five per cent. of the total population were at school. In British India 3 per cent. of the total population are under instruction.

The state of a nation's arts, industries, finance, etc., is also an index to its civilization. From ancient times India has been famous for her arts (applied and fine) and crafts; from time immemorial she has been a manufacturing and agricultural country. Such is not the case with the Philippines. As regards arts and industries, her ancient history is a blank; there are no monuments to testify to their existence. At present agriculture is the principal industry, but it is still generally in a primitive condition, implements and methods being for the most part antiquated, farm animals scarce, labour insufficient, and capital wanting for the proper development of the soil. Little has, as yet, been done towards the development of the mineral resources of the islands, except gold. The manufacturing industry consists mainly in preparing agricultural products for market, and in the production by the Filipinos of wearing apparel, furniture, household utensils, and other articles required to supply their primitive wants.

Filipinos not a Homogeneous People.

There is an Anglo-Indian and British Tory theory that a people cannot be a nation and a self-ruling one, unless it is one in race, habitat, language, religion, and degree of civilization. The Filipinos do not satisfy the requirements of this theory.

The total number of the islands enumerated within the Philippine archipelago is 3141. The archipelago cannot, therefore, be spoken of as a geographical unit in the Anglo-Indian and British Tory sense.

In 1914 the total population was estimated at 8,937,587. Of these approximately one-eighth are non-Christians and more primitive than the Christianised peoples. The dominant religion of the islands is the Roman Catholic, there being also followers of other Christian Churches of Western name and origin. An independent Filipino Church has also come into existence. The Moros are Mohammedans. There are pagan tribes in some of the more remote regions. As they number about 800,000, they are not at all a negligible minority.

As regards race, the vast majority are of the Malayan or brown race; the remainder being of the yellow, black, white and mixed races.

Of the black race 97·8 per cent are Negritos, who are believed to be the aborigines of the Philippines. Nearly all of them live in a primitive state in the interior of Luzon, Panay, Mindanao and Negros. Their toes are so prehensile that they can use them nearly as well as their fingers. They tatoo themselves and wear very little clothing, usually only a gee-string. They have no fixed abodes but roam about in groups of a few families.

The brown race, which came from the south in successive waves of immigration beginning in prehistoric times, *is composed of twenty-three distinct tribes varying widely in culture, language and appearance;* their languages however belong to one common stock and there is a general resemblance in physical features and in quality of mind.

Seven Christian tribes form the bulk of the population.

The Moros were the last of the Malays to migrate to the islands; they came after their conversion to the Mahommedan religion, and their migration continued until the Spanish conquest. Slavery is common among them. They are generally miserably poor, cruel and haughty.

The Igorots are the chief representatives of the early Malay immigration to the Archipelago. Among the wildest of them head-hunting is still a common practice; but the majority are industrious farmers laying out their fields on artificial terraces and constructing irrigation canals with remarkable skill.

Some tribes indulge in human sacrifice and eat the flesh of the victims.

The Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines, 1901-1913, contributed an article on "The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippine Islands" to *The National Geographic Magazine* for November, 1913. Our illustrations and the descriptive matter printed beneath them are taken from this article, which contains 49 illustrations in eight colours and numerous other illustrations in half-tone.

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Mr. Worcester says that at the present time approximately half of the territory of the Philippine Islands is inhabited by the uncivilized non-Christian peoples, who constitute nearly an eighth of the entire population. He adds that there are probably no regions in the world where within similar areas there dwell so large a number of distinct peoples as are to be found in northern Luzon and in the interior of Mindanao. The pictures and their descriptions taken from Mr. Worcester's article will give the reader some idea of the primitive state of barbarism in which not an inconsiderable proportion of the Filipino population still live.

Presidency College Affairs.

It is not proper or possible for a monthly reviewer to write of current affairs of which the closing scene may come any day and regarding which there are or may be fresh developments everyday. So we shall not deal with any of the details of the affairs of the Presidency College, of which the outstanding events were the students' strike, Mr. Oaten's "hellenism", the general fine of Rs. 5 per head inflicted on them, the assault on Prof. Oaten, the appointment of the committee of enquiry, the expulsion of some students by the governing body and the suspension and removal from the principalship of Mr. James.

We may be allowed to indulge in a few general reflections.

Order or Discipline Nature's First Law.

The heavenly bodies are kept in their places by discipline or obedience to law. With the growth of scientific knowledge the conviction becomes firmer that everywhere there is the reign of law. Students, like others, must obey laws or rules. But this obedience should be made to proceed from a conviction and feeling in them, that it is for their good that the rules exist, it must not be merely imposed from without in an arbitrary manner. And their teachers also must observe the rules of gentlemanliness and human sympathy. He who cannot respect the budding manhood of even an infant pupil has still too much of the animal and savage in him to be worthy of the position of a teacher.

Parents, teachers, kings, are all entitled to respect and obedience, but not under all circumstances. Among the wildest savages parents believe that they have the right even to kill their children; and in civilized communities, too, there are still found men and women whose treatment of their children is inhuman without being reformatory. Such was and in some places still is the character of the punishments inflicted by some teachers. In civilized countries kings have ceased to oppress. "The divine right" of kings to plunder and oppress their subjects has long been exploded. But "the divine right" of parents and instructors to insult and cruelly punish their children and students is still superstitiously believed in by many. We think insulting rebukes and severe corporal punishments are a remnant of savagery. Boy nature, girl nature, and the nature of youth, require considerate, sympathetic, humane, nay, respectful, treatment under all circumstances and at the hands of parents, teachers and others alike.

It should be remembered that these are times when from childhood onwards and upwards human beings exercise the critical faculty, and it is good that it should be so. In addition, therefore, to the artificial position or natural relationship of a superior, people should see that they have the claim to respect and obedience which is based upon character and conduct.

Strikes and the Mob-impulse.

Several Indian papers have reminded Anglo-Indian journalists that students' strikes, howsoever to be regretted, are not peculiar to this country or province. They happen occasionally in schools and colleges in Western countries, and other provinces of India, too. They should not be looked upon as peculiarly ominous or portentous and should be dealt with just as they are in other civilized countries. It should not be concluded from them that we are a peculiarly unworthy lot.

We are not going to say that the Presidency College incident has covered its students and staff or our people with glory. But we may be allowed to say something to counteract the excessive condemnation of our nation by Anglo-Indians and prevent the excessive self-abasement of some of our countrymen, both based on the same regrettable occurrence. This self-abasement has the peculiarity of finding expression only when a European happens to suffer; most disgrace-

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ful episodes between Indian and Indian never calls it forth. In reality, a shameful deed is shameful whoever may be the sufferer. The guilt of any man of any race ought to make all of us ashamed of human nature, the shame of one being the shame of all.

It is not proper to draw conclusions regarding the character of a whole class or community from isolated incidents. In Western countries when school boys or college students mob their teachers or professors, they too, generally do it in an unsportsmanlike manner, they, too, do not give notice beforehand, do not punctiliously observe the rules of boxing, duelling or wrestling, do not count their own number and that of the person or persons to be attacked, they too lie in ambush, they too attack sometimes in front and sometimes from behind. This is not heroic, but this is mob-nature all over the world, not peculiar to Bengal. When individuals advocating unpopular causes are attacked in Western countries by mobs, and cuffed and kicked by them, is their conduct heroic? When not long before the beginning of the present war, some women, who were suffragettes, were roughly handled by a London mob of adults, when, as Reuter cabled out, their skirts were raised and a rude shock was otherwise given to their modesty in an unmentionable manner, was that heroic? When in America, a Negro man or woman is lynched by a white mob, is that heroic? Mobs, big or small, composed of students or of other persons, do behave in an unsportsmanlike or even cowardly, and sometimes in an inhuman manner, not because they belong to this country or race or that, but because they are mobs and are driven by a wild mob-impulse. And retaliation either by individuals or bands or mobs becomes more proportionate, more open, more sportsmanlike and more self-confessed as laws and the administration of laws become less discriminating for or against classes, punishments become more proportionate, and there is an increasing approximation in the political status and means of defence of the different parties.

Of Attacks Provoked and Unprovoked.

Men who attack others without being themselves in the first place insulted, injured or attacked should be considered as having an excessive proportion of the brute in them. The man who, when insulted or assailed, can, like a Buddha, strongly forgive, because he is master of himself in every sense and strong enough to forgive, has our entire and unreserved homage and reverence. Whether we can exercise the right of forgiveness or not, we ought all to have the conviction that forgiveness is the privilege of the strong. We ought therefore to acquire strength. It is doubtful whether the weak are ever able really to forgive.

The other pole is occupied by him who when insulted or assailed is too unnerved by fear to think of any kind of lawful redress or personal retaliation. He is wholly pitiable. Those who dwell in civilized countries and when injured take the law into their own hands openly or secretly, are all alike law-breakers, though some may be more sportsmanlike and more indifferent to consequences than others.

When aggrieved, a normal individual living in normal times under normal conditions, if he does not feel strong enough to forgive, seeks redress at the hands of some constituted authority. If rules or laws be unequal or are not impartially administered there is a temptation under such abnormal conditions to take the law into one's own hands. It is the duty of statesmen to produce and maintain normal conditions.

Second Edition of February Number.

The February number of the MODERN REVIEW having been exhausted, a second edition is in the press. Those subscribers who have not yet received it, will receive their copies in the course of a week.

To Students of Prof. J. C. Bose.

On account of its importance we print here a notice which we have received from Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri, D. Sc. (Edin). We hope all students of Prof. Bose, young and old will promptly comply with Dr. Chaudhuri's request.

TO PAST STUDENTS OF PROF. J. C. BOSE.

At the close of Dr. J. C. Bose's 31 years of professorship in the Presidency College it has been thought desirable that his past and present students should combine to take steps to commemorate his past services

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and perpetuate his life-long work. The undersigned will, therefore, feel highly grateful if his past students would kindly send their names with addresses to 120 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

B. L. Chaudhuri,
Jt. Secy., Provisional Committee,
120 Lower Circular Road.

"The Express" Souvenir number.

To commemorate His Excellency the Viceroy's last visit to Bankipore, the *Express* has published an interesting souvenir number. It contains several valuable historical and other articles, and a number of illustrations. Beharis and Bengalis have co-operated to produce it. May that be an augury and a happy augury for the future of Behar.

The Famine in Bankura.

It has been officially stated in the *Calcutta Gazette* that owing to the absence of timely rain, the winter harvest in Bankura will be poor. The hope of a temporary and slight relief which might have been received by the people from a satisfactory outturn of cold weather crops, has therefore vanished. We learn, both from the *Bankura Darpan*, the vernacular organ of the district, and from relief-workers in the field that the condition of the people is daily growing worse. The number of seekers of relief are fast increasing, and more relief centres have also been opened. The doles of rice have also been increased in quantity. It is now estimated that relief will have to be given till at least the end of September next.

There is a threefold scarcity; scarcity of food for men, scarcity of food for cattle, and scarcity of water for both men and cattle. If money be forthcoming, enough rice can be had in the local markets. Fodder may also be had, but not perhaps in sufficient quantities. It requires to be imported from other districts. As for water, there is nothing for it but to dig new tanks and wells and repair old ones. This will also provide remunerative work for able-bodied men and women of the labouring class; but, for this, large sums of money are required.

Forty tanks are now being excavated, but a far larger number is required. Men and women are also at work on new and old roads.

Unwholesome and insufficient food and impure water have produced cholera and other diseases in several places. Large number of persons who had left home in search of work, have now come back, some disappointed and others ill of malaria or Kalazar.

The Bankura Sammilani Relief Committee, of which the editor of this Review is vice-president and treasurer, spends at present about Rs. 300 a week. In the course of a week or two, a much larger amount will be needed every week. It is also in contemplation to try to do something in a few centres to supply good drinking water. Friends are therefore requested to kindly continue the help which they have been generously giving. Contributions received are thankfully acknowledged elsewhere in this issue.

Free meals for School Children.

Free meals are given to children in elementary schools in most civilized countries. Compulsory and free universal education makes it necessary that children should have such meals, as many parents are too poor and some too negligent to feed their children properly. To tax the brain without properly nourishing the body is like burning the candle at both ends.

Last year we were glad to read in the papers that the State of Travancore had, with the help of some villagers, begun to supply free meals at noon to the pupils of some schools. The practice has been adopted at Baroda too. A committee appointed by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda to inquire into and suggest changes, if necessary, in the system of education prevalent in Baroda pointed out that marked physical degeneration that was setting in among the rising generation and suggested that a probable cause was that school children had to go without food for many long hours. The result was the experiment of supplying free meals during the midday recess. The experiment has been quite successful. There has been an average gain in the weight of the students, and there is better discipline and more alertness in learning.

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The Hindu University.

The foundation of the Hindu University is a great event. This institution is not meant simply to feed Hindu young men and women on western or eastern knowledge merely, though knowledge from no quarters will be neglected. The university is meant to conserve the best in Hindu culture and civilization, and to enable the Hindu mind to realise and express itself in literature, science and art, and give to the world by this means what it is capable of creating and giving.

Opinions will differ as to what is Hindu and what not. There will be greater differences still as to what is the best and most essential element in Hindu culture and civilization. It is therefore good that no definition of Hindu has been given in the university act. Whatever is most vital will no doubt survive.

Hindus of all classes and ranks, holding various shades of religious and social opinion, and others, too, assembled in Benares on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone by the Viceroy. The bejewelled and bedecked rulers of states were there. Commoners whose claim to distinction rests on intellectual achievement were also there. All must have reflected what makes for power in these days and may be expected to act accordingly.

Executive and Police arrangements.

The executive and police arrangements made on the occasion have annoyed a good many persons, including students, mostly Bengali. This should not make anybody dissatisfied with the University authorities, as the aforementioned arrangements were beyond their control. Nor should any innocent man feel insulted or aggrieved by what certain public servants do. For it is only those who betray signs of life that receive their attentions, which are, therefore, a kind of indirect compliment.

An Indian Body for the Hindu University.

As suggested in the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, by Mr. O. C. Ganguly, the Hindu University buildings should be of some Indian style of architecture. An Indian body should enclose an Indian spirit.

Hindu University Addresses.

Many striking addresses were delivered on the occasion. Prof. J. C. Bose in his masterly address went to the root of the matter and pointed out in an inspiring manner what should be done to make the Hindu university worthy of its name. He deprecated a repetition of the Universities of the West. He said :—

In tracing the characteristic phenomenon of life from simple beginnings in that vast region which may be called unvoiced, as exemplified in the world of plants, to its highest expression in the animal kingdom, one is repeatedly struck by the one dominant fact that in order to maintain an organism at the height of its efficiency something more than a mechanical perfection of its structure is necessary. Every living organism, in order to maintain its life and growth, must be in free comunion with all the forces of the universe about it.

Stimulus within and without

Further, it must not only constantly receive stimulus from without, but must also give out something from within, and the healthy life of the organism will depend on these two-fold activities of inflow and outflow. When there is any interference with these activities, then morbid symptoms appear, which ultimately must end in disaster and death. This is equally true of the intellectual life of a Nation. When through narrow conceit a Nation regards itself self-sufficient and cuts itself from the stimulus of the outside world, then intellectual decay must inevitably follow.

Special Function of A Nation

So far as regards the receptive function. Then there is another function in the intellectual life of a Nation, that of spontaneous outflow, that giving out of its life by which the world is enriched. When the Nation has lost this power, when it merely receives, but cannot give out, then its healthy life is over, and it sinks into a degenerate existence which is purely parasitic.

How India can Teach

How can our Nation give out of the fulness of the life that is in it, and how can a new Indian University help in the realisation of this object? It is clear that its power of directing and inspiring will depend on its world status. This can be secured to it by no artificial means, nor by any strength in the past; and what is the weakness that has been paralysing her activities for the accomplishment of any great scientific work? There must be two different elements, and these must be evenly balanced. Any excess of either will injure it.

How to Secure This Status

This world status can only be won by the intrinsic value of the great contributions to be made by its own Indian scholars for the advancement of the world's knowledge. To be organic and vital our new University must stand primarily for self-expression, and for winning for India a place she has lost. Knowledge is never the exclusive possession of any particular race, nor does it recognise geographical limitations. The whole world is interdependent, and a constant stream of thought had been carried out throughout the ages enriching the common heritage of mankind. Although science was neither of the East nor of the West but international, certain aspects of it gained richness by reason of their place of origin.

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Professor Bose thought:

In any case if India had to make any contribution to the world it should be as great as the hope they cherished for her. Let them not talk of the glories of the past till they have secured for her her true place among the intellectual nations of the world. Let them find out how she had fallen from her high estate and ruthlessly put an end to all that self-satisfied and little-minded vanity which had been the cause of their fatal weakness. What was it that stood in her way? Was her mind paralysed by weak superstitious fears? That was not so; for her great thinkers, the Rishis, always stood for freedom of intellect, and while Galileo was imprisoned and Bruno burnt for their opinions, they boldly declared that even the Vedas were to be rejected if they did not conform to truth. They urged in favour of persistent efforts for the discovery of physical causes yet unknown, since to them nothing was extra-physical but merely mysterious because of a hitherto unascertained cause. Were they afraid that the march of knowledge was dangerous to true faith? Not so. For them knowledge and religion were one.

He concluded with a note of undying hope.

"These are the hopes that animate us. For there is something in the Hindu culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength by which it has resisted the ravages of time and the destructive changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations must be innate in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile Valley, of Assyria and of Babylon wax and wane and disappear and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invicible faith with which it met the past."

It is remarkable that an orthodox Sanskrit scholar like Pandit Srikrishna Joshi of Allahabad also dwelt on the freedom of thought of the ancient Hindus on which Prof. Bose laid stress. In his paper on Indian culture and its claims which the Pandit read in Benares occurs the following passage:

No other religion can claim to allow liberty of conscience and freedom of thought and speech to the extent enjoyed by the followers of the Vedic religion. Europe has known martyrs of free thought from the time of Socrates down to the days of the Inquisition. In India even downright atheists like the Charvakas were allowed to disseminate their views unmolested. Kapila never suffered any persecution for declaring that the existence of God could not be proved. On the contrary, he has been given the unique distinction of being included among the seven fathers of Sankya philosophy called *Sanakadi Sapta manushyah*, who are offered libations known as *tarpana* by all who offer them to their ancestors. This honour is not paid to the founder of any of the most orthodox systems of philosophy or to any one else, except Bhishma, the renowned hero of the Mahabharat, who is so honoured for his surpassing wisdom, virtue and valour. Gautama Buddha, who broke away from the Vedic religion, and made converts of the followers of that religion, was never persecuted. On the other hand his renunciation of a kingdom, his lofty character and his humane teachings were rewarded by his deification as an *avatar* of Vishnu. His followers were allowed to live in peace among the followers of the Vedic religion.

Another point in favour of the Vedic religion is that it does not come in conflict with science.

The Pandit's paper was a reasoned and impassioned plea for the study of Sanskrit literature.

Similar was the object of the scholarly and informing paper on "The Educative Influence of Sanskrit" read by Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Haraprasad Sastri. He dwelt on its wonderful continuity and magnificent volume, and said that Sanskrit literature contains the religious literature not only of the Hindus, but also of the Buddhists and Jainas, not to speak of other religions which have perished after doing their mission of good in India.

But we are not here to speak only of religious influence, because that is very well-known and need not be expatiated upon. Therefore, I will confine myself to the beneficial secular influence, which Sanskrit may exert on its votaries; and for that purpose I shall have to enumerate the vast number of branches into which that secular literature divides itself.

He spoke particularly of Economics, the various experimental and other Sciences, the Mechanical Arts, Arts, History and kindred subjects, Philosophy, Poetry and the Drama, and many miscellaneous branches.

A literature to be effective and complete, must reflect the entire life and action of a race. If there is any truth in this maxim, that truth has been completely realized in Sanskrit literature. Never, in the ancient world and even in the mediaeval world, before the manufacture of paper, and the invention of printing, was a literature so thoroughly representative of the race as the Sanskrit literature in India. Even the art of thieving has a literature. It has two different traditions or successions of teachers, one given by Bhasa in his Avimaraka and another though different but more lengthy, by Sudraka in his Mricchakatika. When we read of them, we thought that it was a mere fancy. Would anyone care to put the art of stealing into writing? We were, however, agreeably surprised when an actual work on Chaurasastra was discovered. It was a thief's pocket-book on palm leaf, six inches long and about an inch and a half broad,—giving many secret chemical preparations, many incantations and many hints to avoid difficulties. Another curiosity is a work on the art of hawking which gives the life-history of the various kinds of hawks, the method of taming them and using them in sport. There are works on the game of chess and many other indoor and outdoor games, but I will not take up the time of the audience by an enumeration of these curiosities in literature,—they are not fit for occasions like this.

Prof. P. C. Ray spoke of the past glorious traditions of Benares in connection

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with the sciences of medicine, surgery, chemistry and astronomy, and reminded his audience how

Alberuni, the cultured Muhammadan traveller of the 11th century, quoted the famous passage of Varahamihira which, interpreted, means, "the Greeks are 'unclean,' but the science of astronomy is their *forte*; we have to learn at their feet, and these teachers are to be adored like our own Rishis."

His peroration was an exhortation to his countrymen to give up patriotic bias and imbibe the catholic spirit of Varahamihira.

What Herbert Spencer calls the "bias of patriotism" has often been the means of leading people astray into dark paths and false moves. We must look about. The whole of Asia is astir and instinct with new aspirations, and pulsating with new life. It will not do for us tenaciously to hug the past and live like the proverbial frog in the well. We should invoke the liberal and catholic spirit of Varahamihira and learn at the feet of western teachers.

Every devout Hindu pilgrim to Benares makes it a point to drink of the "Jnana Vapi" or "Well of Knowledge." I trust the new University will be a veritable "Jnana Vapi" to the students who will flock here from the distant parts of India. To me it has been a source of sincere gratification that ample provision has been made for teaching the different branches of science and of furthering the promotion of original research. I hope, the starting of this University will inaugurate a new era and I trust it will be a sacred confluence of ideals of the East and the West and will play a prominent part in the building of the India of the future.

This is my brief and humble message.

Speaking on Agriculture in Modern Universities Dr. Harold Mann pleaded for the inclusion of practical sciences like agriculture in the University courses of study.

Nearly all modern universities, at any rate in the newer countries, and very largely in the old ones also, have realized the necessity of connecting up the best intellect and the noblest minds of a country with agriculture. Even conservative institutions like Oxford and Cambridge, steeped as they are in mediæval traditions, have created special agricultural sections. They do not, as yet, give these sections the full recognition which the older recognised branches of study enjoy, but they have been admitted to the republic of letters, and will win their way, I have no doubt, to an equal seat in the circle. Other universities, not bound by the ties of the past, have done more. In England, still more in Scotland, in the Britain beyond the seas, in the United States, already fullest recognition is given, and all I plead for in the present address is already given.

In India here we are conservatives among the conservatives. We modelled most of our universities in the middle of the nineteenth century when the older spirit was dominant. In Bombay, slowly and with very great hesitation, the recognition of agricultural studies, as being possibly a form of liberal culture, has been granted. Even there, however, the recognition has been grudging and is still incomplete. Elsewhere there has been nothing.

But as we stand today at the opening of a new university I feel we may be at the dawn of a new era where all that men can do is seen to be worthy of study and when the intellect will not merely aspire to soar in the clouds but will feel also that it can be as usefully and as nobly employed in studying the life and the occupation of the meanest of the population of the country. Trust me, this is a worthy outlook. Accepted, and the new university puts behind it the darkness of the older period of esoteric learning, and even the half lights of the waking days of the wider culture of more recent times,—and leads us, in India at any rate, into a nobler day when intellect shall be proud to serve mankind.

Mr. H. Sharp, Education Commissioner with the Government of India, the maker of the wise observation that an agricultural population does not require much education, will please make a note of the above passage.

Lieutenant-colonel K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S. (retired), said in the course of his address :—

Professional efficiency of Indian Medical practitioners being admitted on all hands, it is desirable to ameliorate their condition and improve their status. They have proved bold operators, for many Indian medical men have performed difficult surgical operations with great success; skilled physicians, subtle chemical analysers and perfect accoucheurs. What then, stands in the way to place them in higher or more responsible posts? Give them an opportunity to display the forces which lie latent and hidden in them at present. What inducement have they to work, when all avenues of distinction are more or less shut against them? The present system in vogue, the system which denies the alumni of Indian Medical Colleges the higher appointments—is not the one to foster a spirit of original research, in the domain of medicine or science among the medical graduates of the Indian Universities. This policy of exclusion has thrown a damper upon Indian medical talent.

There were many other notable addresses delivered, but the limits of space, it is to be regretted, prevent us from noticing or mentioning them.

Russia and Japan.

Just now Japan is evincing a great fondness for Russia, her erstwhile enemy. We all know that Japan is supplying Russia ammunitions; she has even sent Japanese artillerymen to teach her friend to shoot effectively. She has raised a loan for Russia and now we learn, on reading a few issues of the *Kobe Herald*, of the magnificent reception accorded to Grand Duke George Michailovitch, the Czar's representative. We learn from the same paper that the Japanese Emperor went to the railway station of Tokio in person, to welcome the Grand Duke, a thing which could never have been credible in the days of the departed Emperor Mutsuhito. The *Kobe Herald*

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further informs us that Russian coins are going to be struck at Osaka.

Gold and silver bullion, representing a value of £20,000,000 arrived at Osaka from Tsuruga on Saturday evening. Six gendarmes and several detectives were in the train which carried the bullion. Immediately after arrival, this bullion, was transported to the Osaka Mint. It is reported that with this bullion, Russian coins representing a value of 15,000,000 roubles will be made at the Mint. Two officials of the Russian Mint have arrived in this country with the necessary dies and matrices.

Russian ambitions of territorial expansion in Asia and especially in China are well-known. Japan, too, holds similar ambitions; and that, in fact, was accountable for the Russo-Japanese War. These ambitions will not be any the whit less on the part of both countries after the conclusion of the present war. It would be to the mutual advantage of both countries if they could work out their ambitions, side by side, as friends and not as rivals. Hence the eagerness of Japan to cultivate the friendship of Russia. Russia and Japan combined would be able to place in the field the most numerous land-army in Asia. And, if China's resources in men could be secured, by treaty or force, the aggregate would be unrivalled, in our old continent at any rate. England can, no doubt, utilize the military resources of India; but it would take time for her to repose confidence in the people of India and follow a steady policy.

The Monarchical movement in China: What Japan thinks of it.

We are indebted to the *Kobe Herald* for the following interesting Japanese views regarding the efforts of Yuan-Shi-kai to establish a monarchy in China and himself as the Emperor.

The Asahi asks who has led China to the present state—a state in which it is neither an Empire nor a Republic—and who has thrown the people into a state of uneasiness? The present condition of things is the outcome of the highhanded action of the Yuan-Shih-kai Government in pushing forward the movement for a Monarchy! The Yuan Government still refuses to realise its failure and will not compose the public mind by stopping the movement for a Monarchy. Further, the Peking authorities assured the Powers that the Monarchy would not be adopted in a hurry. Now disturbances have already broken out, and it is doubtful whether the Chinese Government can subdue them. It may be pointed out, says the Osaka journal, that there are signs that some of the expeditionary troops will join the Rebels. The Peking Government has now prohibited foreigners from travelling in the provinces of South China, and has asked the foreign missionaries to leave Szechuan. It still intends to establish a Monarchy and to carry out the plan without delay. It is hardly necessary to repeat that Japan, in co-operation with four other Powers, had addressed a warning to China, fearing the outbreak of a disturbance. The Yuan-Shi-kai Government has entirely disregarded the good will and friendship of the Powers and trampled upon their views. However, proceeds the *Asahi*, the adoption of such an insolent attitude by the Yuan-Shih-kai Government is due to the weak and yielding policy pursued by the Japanese Authorities.

The *Osaka Mainichi* says:

The Chinese Authorities seem to intend to hold the Coronation as soon as possible on the pretext that even a day's unnecessary delay is calculated to unsettle the public mind. In reality, however, this is quite false reasoning, as a day's delay should serve to compose the public mind one day longer. The Japanese Government addressed a warning to China, because it had discovered this fact. In reply to the warning, China stated that there was no fear of the outbreak of disturbances and that even if a disturbance should break out, the Government was able to subdue it. While China's tongue was still wet, Yunnan and Kweichou declared independence and Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Szechuan seem likely to follow their example. Moreover, there are indications of unrest in Hunan. And the Yuan Government is powerless to subdue the revolted provinces. Surely China must feel ashamed to meet the Quintuple Powers, especially Japan. Mr. Yuan-Shih-kai cannot ascend the throne, in view of the actual situation. In the event of Yuan-Shih-kai daring to ascend the throne, without regard to the Quintuple Powers and especially Japan, thereby fanning the flames of disturbance, Japan should interfere in China. So long as the present situation continues, Yuan-Shih-kai cannot ascend the throne, and China, cannot announce the alteration of her national constitution abroad.

Yuan seemes to be very anxious to get the proposed monarchy in China recognised by Japan. To attain this end he is said to be even ready to bribe Japan. For we read in the *Kobe Herald*:

A message from Shanghai to the *Osaka Mainichi* reports that according to a Chinese newspaper, China has presented the following conditions in return for the recognition of the Monarchy:—

1.—That China will recognise Japanese jurisdiction in Kirin and Mukden Provinces and cede the Ching-Pu Railway and the coast line between Pe uan and Shangtung.

2.—That China will engage Japanese as financial advisers and entrust the training of troops to Japanese officers.

3.—That China will agree to co-operate with Japan in establishing and carrying on Arsenals.

A leader of the Chinese Revolutionists in Tokio is quoted by the Mainichi as saying that the mission of Mr. Chou, China's Envoy, is said to be to obtain Japan's recognition of the adoption of a Monarchy by offering the Han Weih-ping mine and two railways, but it is doubtful whether the Japanese Government will accept the offer. He said he hoped that Japan would not be misled by the prospect of minor advantages, losing sight of the greater interests of the two countries.

All that has hitherto appeared in the

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papers makes Yuan-Shih-kai responsible for the movement for a monarchy. But in diplomacy very often it is found that "things are not what they seem." Some six months ago information was available in our country that Japan would press Yuan-Shih-kai to ascend the Chinese throne as emperor, promising that if trouble arose in consequence she would help him to quell the disturbances; but if Yuan did not listen to the advice of Japan she would help the revolutionary party of Sun Yat Sen. Whether this information was derived in the last resort from trustworthy sources or not cannot be ascertained; but the actual event, the movement for monarchy, has, as anticipated, taken place; though it is beyond our power to discover whether Japan was at the bottom of it or not. The British Government have undoubtedly better sources of information;—at least, ought to have. For Japanese ascendancy in China is not without its bearing on Indo-Britannic politics and policy, and whatever is calculated to give Japan opportunity to interpose in Chinese affairs requires close watching.

Progressive Travancore.

To the patriotic Indian, the recent address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly is a hope-inspiring document. It gives us very welcome information regarding the progress of that State in various directions. Take education, for example.

Including unrecognised schools, the total number of educational institutions in the State during 1090 was 3,243 and their strength 3,96,753. The percentage of pupils in all denominations of schools to the total population was 8·9 and to the number of children of school-going age 50·6. There was on an average one recognised school for every 3·5 square miles of the area and for every 1,684 persons of the population of the State. 73·2 per cent of the boys and 29 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were under instruction in recognised schools. Devicolam is the only taluk with less than 30 per cent of its children of school-going age attending school, while Tiruvalla, which takes the second rank among the taluks of the State in point of population, shows the greatest progress, with 99·8 percent of its children of school-going age attending recognised schools. In this connection, it will be of interest to you to know that the last Administration Report of Baroda states that "Travancore deservedly represents the highest watermark yet obtained in India by the voluntary principle in education."

This is a much better record than any that any British Indian province can show. Take Abkari.

In connection with reduction of country-liquor shops, the following figures will be interesting :—

Year.	*Number of Shops.*
1083 ...	... 7,050
1084 ...	... 5,103
1086 ...	... 4,634
1088 ...	... 2,462
1090 ...	... 2,273

It will be seen that, in the course of seven years, the number of these shops in the State has been reduced by 68 per cent.

Can any province or district in British India show such a record ?

An All-India Music Conference.

The wonderful musical talents of Moula Bux found recognition and encouragement in Baroda. The Gaekwars have been munificent patrons of music. It was in the fitness of things therefore that a meeting was held at Baroda on the 10th January last to consider the question of an All-India Music Conference at which it was resolved that the Conference should be held on such dates during the second week of March, as may be convenient to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb. His Excellency the Dewan Saheb on behalf of the State was pleased to indicate that the travelling and entertainment expenses of the guests, which were estimated at about Rs. 5,000, would be met by the Government of His Highness. This was only to be expected.

History of Aurangzib.

The third volume of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's original history of the reign of Aurangzib is in the press and will be out in April next. It covers the twenty-four years forming the first half of the reign (1658-1681) which the Emperor passed in Northern India, and deals with an immense variety of subjects and interests. Three chapters of it were published in this *Review* in 1915. The Mughal conquests of Assam and Chittagong, the Rajput Wars that followed the death of Jaswant Singh, the relations of India with the outer Muslim world and the Frontier Afghans in the 17th century, Aurangzib's repression of the Hindus and demolition of temples, and the risings of the Jats, Satnamis and Sikhs are fully dealt with in the volume and much curious and new information given.

Price of Milk in England.

When I was in England, more than two decades ago, I found milk was much cheap-

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er in London than it was in Bombay or Calcutta. I was unable to find an explanation. But not long ago, reading a book on Agricultural Economics, I came across the following passage which gave the true explanation of the fact, which had greatly puzzled me for many a long year. The author writes :—

"Since the fall in the price of cereals, about thirty years ago, the European field-system has been quite upset. Those articles which will not stand long shipment, such as milk, vegetables, etc., prove most profitable because foreign countries cannot compete so successfully upon the European markets. As a result grain land has, in many instances, been converted into pastures. A good example of this is found in eastern England where many old wheat fields have been converted into permanent pastures for dairy cows. The production of green fodders for cattle has proved relatively more profitable in recent years than formerly." (An Introduction to the Study of Agricultural Economics, by H. C. Taylor, p. 75). B.

Sven Hedin in Simla.

"How fascinating is this sight, but how much more imposing as a symbol of the power of the British Empire! Here the eagle has its eyry, and from its point of vantage casts its keen eyes over the plains of India. Here converge innumerable telegraph wires from all the corners and extremities of the British Empire, and from this centre numerous orders and instructions are daily despatched "On His Majesty's Service Only" ; here the administration is carried on and the army controlled....."

—*Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I. Chap. I.*

Sven Hedin on the Tashi Lama.

The Tashi Lama, the head of the monastery at Tasi-lunpo, whose temple roofs glitter with gold and where 3800 monks dwell, is the spiritual lord of Tibetan Lamaism, as the Dalai Lama is its political pontiff. He is elected by a college of cardinals partly by nomination and partly by lottery, and is regarded as the incarnation of the Amitabha. We should add that the celebrated explorer Sven Hedin does not suffer from an excess of humanity or of regard for the feelings and the civilisation of oriental nations, and might, from remarks made everywhere in his books, be easily mistaken for hidebound Anglo-Indian bureaucrat.

"Wonderful, never-to-be-forgotten Tashi Lama! Never has any man made so deep and ineffaceable an impression on me. Not as a divinity in human form, but as a man, who in goodness of heart, innocence, and purity approaches as near as possible to perfection. I shall never forget his expression : it displayed unbound kindness, humility, and philanthropy ; and I have never seen such a smile, a mouth so delicately formed, so noble a countenance. His smile never left him : he smiled like a sleeper dreaming of something beautiful and desirable, and whenever our eyes met, his smile grew broader, and he nodded kindly and amiably, as much as to say : "Trust in my friendship implicitly, for my intentions are good towards all men."

"The incarnation of Amitabha! The earthly shell in which the soul of Amitabha lives on through time! Therefore a deity full of supernatural wisdom and omniscience. The Tibetans believe that he knows not only what is and has been, but also all that is to come. Can he be Amitabha himself? This much is certain, that he is a very extraordinary man, a singular, unique, and incomparable man. I told him that I thought myself fortunate to have seen him, and that I should never forget the hours I had spent in his company.....For my part I could hardly think of anything else but the Tashi Lama and the powerful impression he had made on me. I left the Labrang, his cloister palace, intoxicated and bewitched by his personality. This one day was worth many days in Tibet, and I felt that I had now beheld what was most remarkable in the country....."*Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I. Chap. XXV.*

Again Sven Hedin writes, after more than a month's acquaintance and intimate association,

"...he was one of those rare, refined, and noble personalities who make other people feel that their lives are fuller and more precious. Yes, the memory of the Tashi Lama will cleave to me as long as I live. His friendship is sincere, his shield is spotless and bright, he seeks for the truth honestly and humbly, and knows that by a virtuous and conscientious life he renders himself a worthy temple for the soul of the mighty Amitabha." Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I. chap. XXVIII.

The Tibetan Prayer Wheel.

"In one particularly small room stand two colossal cylindrical prayer-mills before which a crowd is always collected—monks, pilgrims, merchants, workmen, tramps, and beggars. Such a praying machine contains miles of thin paper strips with prayers printed on them, and wound round and round the axis of the cylinder. There is a handle attached, by which the axle can be turned. A single revolution, and millions of prayers ascend together to the ears of the gods."—Trans-Himalaya, Vol I. chap. XXVIII.

Spiritual Slavery of the Lamas.

"The people are kept by the Lamas in spiritual slavery, and the lamas themselves are docile slaves to the tomes of narrow-minded dogmas which have been stereotyped for centuries, which may not be interfered with or criticised, for they are canonical, proclaim the absolute truth, and stand in the way of all free and independent thought. The clergy form a very considerable percentage of the scanty population of this poor country. Without the Peter's pence Tibet could not make both ends meet. Tashi-lunpo is, then, a huge savings box, in which the rich man places his pile of gold, the poor man his mite. And with what object? to propitiate the monks, for they are the mediators between the Gods and the people. Scarcely any other land is so completely under the thumb of the priests as Tibet."—Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, chap. XXX.

The Civilisation of the Tibetans.

And yet, poor as the people may be, the glimpses that we get of life in Tibet from

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the author's book show that the people are not so badly off after all as may be imagined. The solid white houses of stone, the vast and imposing monasteries many stories high and with massive towers and golden roofs, the terraced gardens, the solemn religious processions and soul-stirring hymns, the brilliant New Year's festival, where the dignified movements of the monks, amidst the vast concourse of people impressed Dr. Sven Hedin who writes: "their gestures are noble; when they converse, bending slowly towards one another, an air of genuine, striking nobility pervades the whole picture without the slightest touch of anything vulgar," their horse races and shooting competitions and other manly amusements, their religious disputations and solemn convocations for the conferring of degrees—each monk must take a vow of chastity and abstinence and study the Kanjur and other sacred books for a number of years—all these betoken a state of civilisation which, both in its material and spiritual aspects, is not altogether despicable. Dr. Sven Hedin himself says at one place:

"It is astonishing to find in Tibet so much cultivable land, and such a number of inhabited villages with solid stone houses and gardens."

We read of 'pictured galleries', 'towns of white sanctuaries,' 'numerous pictures of the Buddha painted in fresco on the walls,' 'suits of armour with shirts of mail,...iron rings, maces, spears, tridents, and lances', pillared halls, statues of monks and images of Buddha, handsome banners on Chinese silk, 'extremely finely executed frescoes which cover the walls' of monasteries, and again and again, of the "grand, lovable, divine Tashi Lama."

The Monasteries of Tibet.

"The whole broad valley at Ye is begirt by a circle of monasteries" [and, as the context shows, of nunneries also]. There is the "wonderful monastery of Tashi-gembe, which, after Tashi-lunpo, is the richest and finest I have seen in Tibet. As to cleanliness and good taste, it surpasses all." "The Monastery of Lingayompa is placed on the uppermost ledge of a steep flight of terraces, and is as fantastic, fascinating and attractive as a fairy castle." Of the sanctuary of Tarting-gompa ['Gompa' is a monastic cave, *cf.* the 'Hasti-Gompa' or Elephant Cave at Udaygiri in Orissa] Sven Hedin writes:

"I started with surprise in the portal, for we had seen many halls of the gods in Tashi-lunpo, but never yet one so large, ancient, and so wonderfully fascinating in its mysterious light.

"What rich and subdued coloring! The Sego-Chummo-thakang, as it is called, is like a crypt, a fairy grotto, recalling to mind the rock temples of Elephanta, but here all is of redpainted wood, and 48 pillars support the roof. The capitals are green and gold, carved in intricate and tasteful designs, and carved lions, arabesques, and tendrils adorn the projecting beams of the ceiling. The floor consists of stone flags, their cracks filled up with the dust of centuries, so that it is smooth and even as asphalt. The daylight falls into the hall through a square implupium, spanned by a network of chains. . ."—Vol I, chap XXXII.

The Cavedwelling Monks.

The lifelong immurement of some monks in cave dwellings in entire seclusion from day-light and the world and human association, leads Sven Hedin to indulge in the following reflections:

".....his tremendous fortitude, compared with which everything I can conceive, even dangers infallibly leading to death, seems to me insignificant. For, as far as I can judge, less fortitude is required when a hero, like Hirose, blockades the entrance of Port Arthur, knowing that the batteries above will annihilate him, than to allow oneself to be buried alive in the darkness for forty or sixty years. In the former case the suffering is short, the glory eternal; in the latter the victim is as unknown after death as in his lifetime, and the torture is endless, and can only be borne by a patience of which we can have no conception.....Waddell, who has a thorough knowledge of Lamaism, believes that the custom of eclusion for life is only an imitation of the practice of pure Indian Buddhism, which enjoins periodical retreats from the world for the purpose of self-examination and of acquiring greater clearness in abstruse questions. In his opinion the Tibetans have made an end of the means."—Vol II., Chap. XXXV.

"Such a life seems hopelessly sad and gloomy. And yet a man who will venture to shut himself day and night within the walls of a dim convent must possess faith, conviction, and patience, for it is a prison which he in the tumult of his mind has chosen of his own free will. He has renounced the world when he allows himself to be walled in alive in the dark courts of Tarting; and when the smoke of his pyre ascends, it must, if equal justice be meted out to all, be a pleasant savour before the eternal throne. Vol I., Chap. XXXII.

Indian Explorers.

Important geographical explorations and discoveries in Central Tibet were made by Indian Pandits, of whose exploits passing mention is to be found everywhere in Sven Hedin's book, of one of them specially, Nain Sing by name, who discovered the great lakes in Central Tibet in 1874, Sven Hedin speaks in rapturous terms. He is 'the immortal

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Pundit,' 'the incomparable and wonderful Nain Sing.' Colonel Sir Henry Trotter has described the famous journey from Leh to Lassa performed by Nain Sing in 1873.

"The great Pundit A. K., or Krishna, who contends with Nain Sing for the foremost place, crossed the most easterly parts of the Trans-Himalaya on his journey in 1881" "A pundit also went between Manasarowar and Tok-jabung—past the [lake of] Ruldap-tso. . . . It seems likely that he crossed the Trans-Himalaya by a pass called Sar-bung."

Dr. Sven Hedin concludes that two Frenchmen, two Englishmen and half a dozen Pandits had crossed the trans-Himalayan range of mountains before him, but he claims that not only had he crossed eight passes while none of the others had crossed more than seven, but seven out of the eight passes crossed by him were unknown before. Sven Hedin does not mention Babu Sarat Chandra Das, whose geographical expeditions into Tibet are so well-known.

Maharashtra Women's University.

The Maharashtra Women's University inaugurated by Prof. Karve deserves success, as it cannot but be productive of great good. Similar schemes, with changes made according to local conditions, ought to be elaborated for all the other provinces of India and carried out with steady zeal. The scheme of university extension lectures in the vernacular advocated by Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar in his presidential address at the last Theistic Conference is based on a similar idea. The Committee appointed by the Bengal Government for suggesting methods, means, and courses for the education of Hindu girls and women in Bengal, finished their labors towards the close of last year. They are of opinion that Bengali should be the medium of instruction at all stages, English being taught only as a second language. The highest courses of study outlined by them are equivalent to the B. A. courses of Indian Universities. Their scheme of a model school includes (1) a general department, (2) a technical department, and (3) a training department. Great stress is laid on the teaching of domestic science.

Exhibition of Indian Paintings in Madras.

Art is one of the important elements by which the civilization of a country is known. Utterly neglected by our educated men at first, Art is gradually obtaining their recognition. The works of Bengali painters have been exhibited in Calcutta, Paris, London, and Lahore. They are now on exhibition in Madras. Everywhere they have received both praise and adverse criticism. Both are welcome. At Madras they are calling forth both. In the course of an address on "Modern Indian Painters and their message to young India" Mr. J. H. Cousins said:—

The first quality of the modern Indian painters to which he would call their attention was their *Indianness*. He knew that some good judges had seen Europe and Japan reflected in the exhibition, but this was a matter of technique. He, the speaker, with a fresh eye for Indian life and scenery, and a long and loving study of Indian thought, was not bothered by the experiments that every artist would make: he found the paintings to be full of India, and that was as it should be. India had risen far beyond the stage of the "sedulous ape." The Indian artists only found themselves when they gave up imitating poor Western copies. India could also be herself by clinging to her own ideal of spiritual realisation, and by seeing, as the modern painters saw, one life in multitudinous forms.

Mr. W. S. Hadawây, Superintendent of the Madras School of Arts is very critical in *New India*. But he admits that

"The best work in painting and drawing which India has produced in modern times is undoubtedly the work of this group of Bengali artists."

Mr. Johan van Manen also contributes a critical article to *The Commonweal* which concludes:—

The joyous message proclaimed by these pictures tells us that there exists around us, at the present day in India, a group of artists, dissatisfied on the one hand with dead national traditions, on the other hand with mere mechanical copying of unassimilated foreign models, a group which is striving and groping for new formulæ for the expression of beauty and truth in pictorial form and whose productions—quite apart from the question as to what has been reached and what has not been reached as yet—shows that healthy and continuous ferment which is the token of life and the promise of growth. Not yet a school itself, this group may prepare the arising of a school of modern Indian pictorial art.

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MY REMINISCENCES

By Rabindranath Tagore.

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(8) My First Outing.

ONCE, when the dengue fever was raging in Calcutta, some portion of our extensive family had to take shelter in Chhatu Babu's river-side villa. We were among them.

This was my first outing. The bank of the Ganges welcomed me into its lap like a friend of a former birth. There, in front of the servants' quarters, was a grove of guava trees; and, sitting in the verandah under the shade of these, gazing at the flowing current through the gaps between their trunks, my days would pass. Every morning, as I awoke, I somehow felt the day coming to me like a new gilt-edged letter, with some unheard-of news awaiting me on the opening of the envelope. And, lest I should lose any fragment of it, I would hurry through my toilet to my chair outside. Everyday there was the ebb and flow of the tide on the Ganges; the various gait of so many different boats; the shifting of the shadows of the trees from west to east; and, over the fringe of shade-patches of the woods on the opposite bank, the gush of golden life-blood through the pierced breast of the evening sky. Some days would be cloudy from early morning; the opposite woods black; black shadows moving over the river. Then with a rush would come the vociferous rain, blotting out the horizon; the dim line of the other bank taking its leave in tears: the river swelling with suppressed heavings; and the moist wind making free with the foliage of the trees overhead.

I felt that out of the bowels of wall, beam and rafter, I had a new birth into the outside. In making fresh acquaintance with things, the dingy covering of petty habits seemed to drop off the world. I am sure that the sugar-cane molasses, which I had with cold *luchis* for my breakfast, could not have tasted different from the ambrosia which *Indra** quaffs in his heaven; for, the immortality is not in the nectar but in the taster, and thus is missed by those who seek it.

Behind the house was a walled-in enclosure with a tank and a flight of steps leading into the water from a bathing platform. On one side of the platform was an immense Jambolan tree, and all round were various fruit trees, growing in thick clusters, in the shade of which the tank nestled in its privacy. The veiled beauty of this retired little inner garden had a wonderful charm for me, so different from the broad expanse of the river-bank in front. It was like the bride of the house, in the seclusion of her midday siesta, resting on a many-colored quilt of her own embroidering, murmuring low the secrets of her heart. Many a midday hour did I spend alone under that Jambolan tree dreaming of the fearsome kingdom of the Yakshas* within the depths of the tank.

I had a great curiosity to see a Bengal village. Its clusters of cottages, its thatched pavilions, its lanes and bathing places, its games and gatherings, its fields and markets, its life as a whole as I saw it in imagination, greatly attracted me. Just such a village was right on the other side of our garden wall, but it was forbidden to us. We had come out, but not into freedom. We had been in a cage, and were now on a perch, but the chain was still there.

One morning two of our elders went out for a stroll into the village. I could not restrain my eagerness any longer, and, slipping out unperceived, followed them for some distance. As I went along the deeply shaded lane, with its close thorny *seora* hedges, by the side of the tank covered with green water weeds, I rapturously took in picture after picture. I still remember the man with bare body, engaged in a belated toilet on the edge of the tank, cleaning his

* The Jupiter Pluvius of Hindu Mythology.

* The King of the Yakshas is the Pluto of Hindu Mythology.

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teeth with the chewed end of a twig. Suddenly my elders became aware of my presence behind them. "Get away, get away, go back at once!" they scolded. They were scandalised. My feet were bare, I had no scarf or upper-robe over my tunic, I was not dressed fit to come out; as if it was my fault! I never owned any socks or superfluous apparel, so not only went back disappointed for that morning, but had no chance of repairing my shortcomings and being allowed to come out any other day. However though the Beyond was thus shut out from behind, in front the Ganges freed me from all bondage, and my mind, whenever it listed, could embark on the boats gaily sailing along, and hie away to lands not named in any geography.

This was forty years ago. Since then I have never set foot again in that *champak*-shaded villa garden. The same old house and the same old trees must still be there, but I know it cannot any longer be the same—for where am I now to get that fresh feeling of wonder which made it what it was?

We returned to our Jorasanko house in town. And my days were as so many mouthfuls offered up to be gulped down into the yawning interior of the Normal School.

(9) Practising Poetry.

That blue manuscript book was soon filled, like the hive of some insect, with a network of variously slanting lines and the thick and thin strokes of letters. The eager pressure of the boy writer soon crumpled its leaves; and then the edges got frayed, and twisted up claw-like as if to hold fast the writing within; till at last, down what river *Baitarani* * I know not, its pages were swept away by merciful oblivion. Anyhow they escaped the pangs of a passage through the printing press and need fear no birth into this vale of woe.

I cannot claim to have been a passive witness of the spread of my reputation as a poet. Though Satkari Babu was not a teacher of our class he was very fond of me. He had written a book on Natural History—wherein I hope no unkind humorist will try to find a reason for such fondness. He sent for me one day and asked: "So you write poetry, do you?" I did not conceal the fact. Since then he would now and then ask me to complete a quatrain by adding a couplet of my own to one given by him.

Gobinda Babu of our school was very dark, and short and fat. He was the Superintendent. He sat, in his black suit, with his account books, in an office room on the second storey. We were all afraid of him, for he was the rod-bearing judge. One day I had escaped from the attentions of some bullies into his room. The persecutors were five or six older boys. I had no one to bear witness on my side—except my tears. I won my case and since then Govinda Babu had a soft corner in his heart for me.

One day he called me into his room during the recess. I went in fear and trembling but had no sooner stepped before him than he also accosted me with the question: "So you write poetry?" I did not hesitate to make the admission. He commissioned me to write a poem on some high moral precept which I do not remember. The amount of condescension and affability which such a request coming from him implied can only be appreciated by those who were his pupils. When I finished and handed him the verses next day, he took me to the highest class and made me stand before the boys. "Recite," he commanded. And I recited loudly.

The only praiseworthy thing about this moral poem was that it soon got lost. Its moral effect on that class was far from encouraging—the sentiment it aroused being not one of regard for its author. Most of them were certain that it was not my own composition. One said he could produce the book from which it was copied, but was not pressed to do so; the process of proving is such a nuisance to those who want to believe. Finally the number of seekers after poetic fame began to increase alarmingly; moreover their methods were not those which are recognised as roads to moral improvement.

Nowadays there is nothing strange in a youngster writing verses. The glamour of poesy is gone. I remember how the few women who wrote poetry in those days were looked upon as miraculous creations of the Deity. If one hears to-day that some young lady does not write poems one feels sceptical. Poetry now sprouts long before the highest Bengali class is reached; so that no modern Gobinda Babu would have taken any notice of the poetic exploit I have recounted.

* Corresponding to Lethe.

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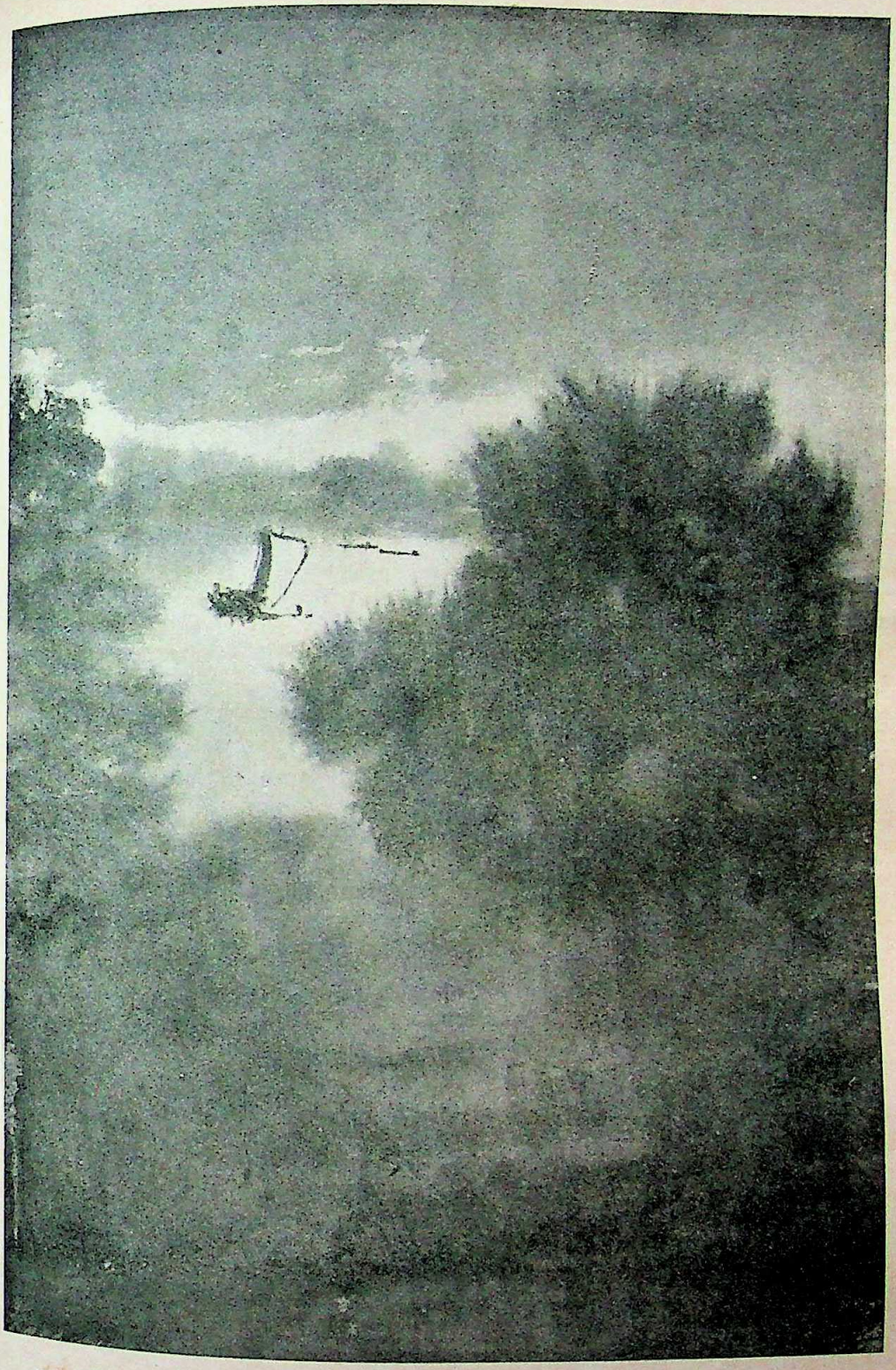

"THOUGH THE BEYOND WAS THUS SHUT OUT FROM BEHIND,
IN FRONT THE GANGES FREE ME FROM ALL BONDAGE."
(From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.)

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Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

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"THE OLDMAN (SRIKANTHA BABU) WAS LIKE A PERFECTLY RIPE ALFONSO MANGO."

(From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.)

By the courtesy of Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

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(10) Srikantha Babu.

At this time I was blessed with a hearer the like of whom I shall never get again. He had so inordinate a capacity for being pleased as to have utterly disqualified him for the post of critic in any of our monthly Reviews. The old man was like a perfectly ripe Alfonso mango—not a trace of acid or coarse fibre in his composition. His tender clean-shaven face was rounded off by an all-pervading baldness; there was not the vestige of a tooth to worry the inside of his mouth; and his big smiling eyes gleamed with a constant delight. When he spoke in his soft deep voice, his mouth and eyes and hands all spoke likewise. He was of the old school of Persian culture and knew not a word of English. His inseparable companions were a hubble-bubble at his left, and a *sitar* on his lap; and from his throat flowed song unceasing.

Srikantha Babu had no need to wait for a formal introduction, for none could resist the natural claims of his genial heart. Once he took us to be photographed with him in some big English photographic studio. There he so captivated the proprietor with his artless story, in a jumble of Hindusthani and Bengali, of how he was a poor man, but badly wanted this particular photograph taken, that the man smilingly allowed him a reduced rate. Nor did such bargaining sound at all incongruous in that unbending English establishment, so naive was Srikantha Babu, so unconscious of any possibility of giving offence. He would sometimes take me along to a European missionary's house. There, also, with his playing and singing, his caresses of the missionary's little girl and his unstinted admiration of the little booted feet of the missionary's lady, he would enliven the gathering as no one else could have done. Another behaving so absurdly would have been deemed a bore, but his transparent simplicity pleased all and drew them to join in his gaiety.

Srikantha Babu was impervious to rudeness or insolence. There was at the time a singer of some repute retained in our establishment. When the latter was the worse for liquor he would rail at poor Srikantha Babu's singing in no very choice terms. This he would bear unflinchingly, with no attempt at retort. When at last the man's incorrigible rudeness brought about his dismissal Srikantha Babu anxiously interceded for him. "It was not he, it was the liquor," he insisted.

He could not bear to see anyone sorrowing or even to hear of it. So when any one of the boys wanted to torment him they had only to read out passages from Vidyasagar's "Banishment of Sita"; whereat he would be greatly exercised, thrusting out his hands in protest and begging and praying of them to stop.

This old man was the friend alike of my father, my elder brothers and ourselves. He was of an age with each and everyone of us. As any piece of stone is good enough for the freshet to dance round and gambol with, so the least provocation would suffice to make him beside himself with joy. On one occasion I had composed a hymn, and had not failed to make due allusion to the trials and tribulations of this world. Srikantha Babu was convinced that my father would be overjoyed at such a perfect gem of a devotional poem. With unbounded enthusiasm he volunteered to personally acquaint him with it. By a piece of good fortune I was not there at the time but heard afterwards that my father was hugely amused that the sorrows of the world should have so early moved his youngest son to the point of versification. I am sure Gobinda Babu, the superintendent, would have shown more respect for my effort on so serious a subject.

In singing I was Srikantha Babu's favorite pupil. He had taught me a song: "No more of Vraja* for me," and would drag me about to everyone's rooms and get me to sing it to them. I would sing and he would thrum an accompaniment on his *sitar* and when we came to the chorus he would join in, and repeat it over and over again, smiling and nodding his head at each one in turn, as if nudging them on to a more enthusiastic appreciation.

He was a devoted admirer of my father. A hymn had been set to one of his tunes, "For He is the heart of our hearts." When he sang this to my father Srikantha Babu got so excited that he jumped up from his seat and alternately violently twanged his *sitar* as he sang: "For He is the heart of our hearts" and then waved his hand about my father's face as he changed the words to "For *you* are the heart of our hearts."

When the old man paid his last visit to

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* Krishna's playground.

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my father, the latter, himself bed-ridden, was at a river-side villa in Chinsurah. Srikantha Babu, stricken with his last illness, could not rise unaided and had to push open his eyelids to see. In this state, tended by his daughter, he journeyed to Chinsurah from his place in Birbhoom. With a great effort he managed to take the dust of my father's feet and then return to his lodgings in Chinsurah where he breathed his last a few days later. I heard afterwards from his daughter that he went to his eternal youth with the song "How sweet is thy mercy, Lord!" on his lips.

(11) Our Bengali Course Ends.

At School we were then in the class below the highest one. At home we had advanced in Bengali much further than the subjects taught in the class. We had been through Akshay Datta's book on Popular Physics, and had also finished the epic of Meghnadvadha. We read our physics without any reference to physical objects and so our knowledge of the subject was correspondingly bookish. In fact the time spent on it had been thoroughly wasted; much more so to my mind than if it had been wasted in doing nothing. The Meghnadvadha, also, was not a thing of joy to us. The tastiest tit-bit may not be relished when thrown at one's head. To employ an epic to teach language is like using a sword to shave with—sad for the sword, bad for the chin. A poem should be taught from the emotional standpoint; inveigling it into service as grammar-cum-dictionary is not calculated to propitiate the divine Saraswati.

All of a sudden our Normal School career came to an end; and thereby hangs a tale. One of our school teachers wanted to borrow a copy of my grandfather's life by Mitra from our library. My nephew and classmate Satya managed to screw up courage enough to volunteer to mention this to my father. He came to the conclusion that every-day Bengali would hardly do to approach him with. So he concocted and delivered himself of an archaic phrase with such meticulous precision that my father must have felt our study of the Bengali language had gone a bit too far and was in danger of over-reaching itself. So the next morning, when according to our wont our table had been placed in the south verandah, the blackboard hung up on a nail in the wall, and everything was in readiness for our lessons with Nilkamal Babu, we three were sent for by my father to his room upstairs. "You need not do any more Bengali lessons," he said. Our minds danced for very joy.

Nilkamal Babu was waiting downstairs, our books were lying open on the table, and the idea of getting us to once more go through the Meghnadvadha doubtless still occupied his mind. But as on one's death-bed the various routine of daily life seems unreal, so, in a moment, did everything, from the Pandit down to the nail on which the blackboard was hung, become for us as empty as a mirage. Our sole trouble was how to give this news to Nilkamal Babu with due decorum. We did it at last with considerable restraint, while the geometrical figures on the blackboard stared at us in wonder and the blank verse of the Meghnadvadha looked blankly on.

Our Pandit's parting words were: "At the call of duty I may have been sometimes harsh with you—do not keep that in remembrance. You will learn the value of what I have taught you later on."

Indeed I have learnt that value. It was because we were taught in our own language that our minds quickened. Learning should as far as possible follow the process of eating. When the taste begins from the first bite, the stomach is awakened to its function before it is loaded, so that its digestive juices get full play. Nothing like this happens, however, when the Bengali boy is taught in English. The first bite bids fair to wrench loose both rows of teeth—like a veritable earthquake in the mouth! And by the time he discovers that the morsel is not of the genus stone, but a digestible bon bon, half his allotted span of life is over. While one is choking and spluttering over the spelling and grammar, the inside remains starved, and when at length the taste is felt, the appetite has vanished. If the whole mind does not work from the beginning its full powers remain undeveloped to the end. While all around was the cry for English teaching, my third brother was brave enough to keep us to our Bengali course. To him in heaven my grateful reverence.

(12) The Professor.

On leaving the Normal School we were in the Bengal Academy, a Eurasian

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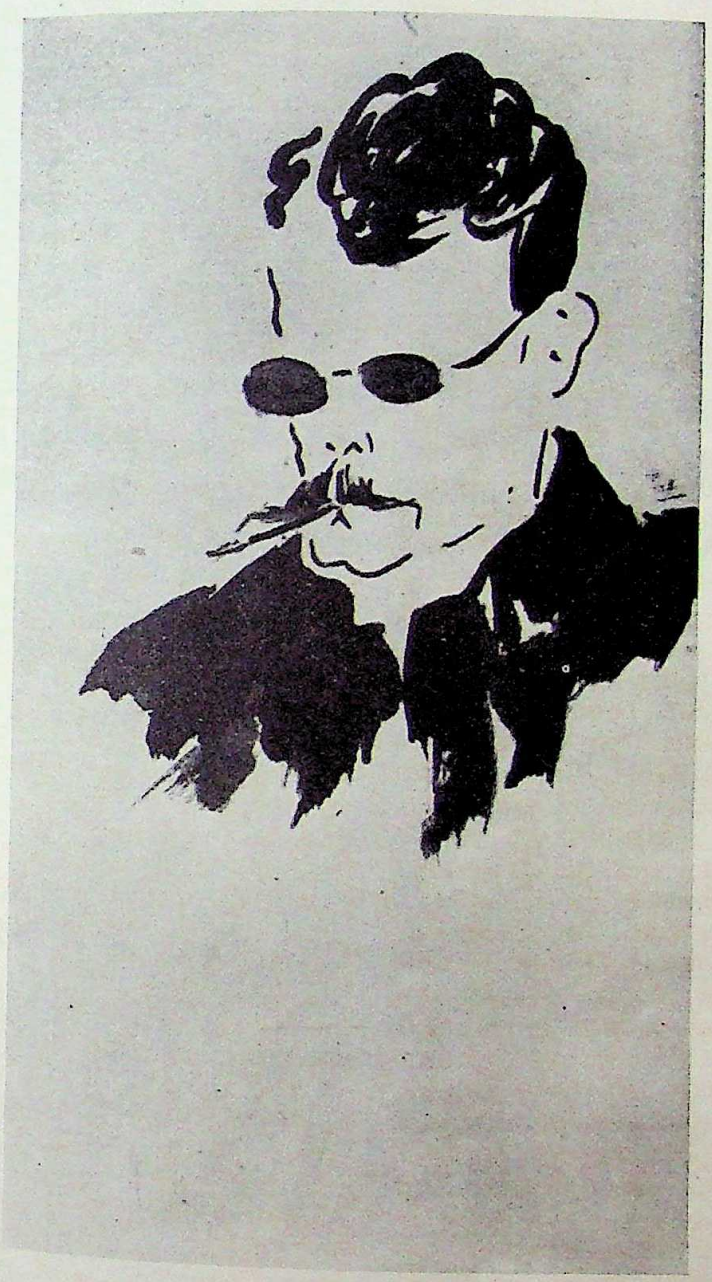

SATYA PRASAD

From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

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institution. We felt we had gained an access of dignity, that we had grown up—at least into the first storey of freedom. In point of fact the only progress we made in that academy was towards freedom. What we were taught there we never understood, nor did we make any attempt to learn, nor did it seem to make any difference to anybody that we did not. The boys here were annoying but not disgusting—which was a great comfort. They wrote ASS on their palms and slapped it on to our backs with a cordial "hello!" They gave us a dig in the ribs from behind and looked innocently another way. They dabbed banana pulp on our heads and made away unperceived. Nevertheless it was like coming out of slime on to rock—we were worried but not soiled.

This school had one great advantage for me. No one there cherished the forlorn hope that boys of our sort could make any advance in learning. It was a petty institution with an insufficient income, so that we had one supreme merit in the eyes of its authorities—we paid our fees regularly. This prevented even the Latin Grammar from proving a stumbling block, and the most egregious of blunders left our backs unscathed. Pity for us had nothing to do with it—the school authorities had spoken to the teachers!

Still, harmless though it was, after all it was a school. The rooms were cruelly dismal with their walls on guard like policemen. The house was more like a pigeon-holed box than a human habitation. No decoration, no pictures, not a touch of colour, not an attempt to attract the boyish heart. The fact that likes and dislikes form a large part of the child mind was completely ignored. Naturally our whole being was depressed as we stepped through its doorway into the narrow quadrangle—and playing truant became chronic with us.

In this we found an accomplice. My elder brothers had a Persian tutor. We used to call him Munshi. He was of middle age and all skin and bone, as though dark parchment had been stretched over his skeleton without any filling of flesh and blood. He probably knew Persian well, his knowledge of English was quite fair, but in neither of these directions lay his ambition. His belief was that his proficiency in single-stick was matched only by his skill in song. He would stand in the sun in the middle of our courtyard and go through a wonderful series of antics with a staff—his own shadow being his antagonist. I need hardly add that his shadow never got the better of him and when at the end he gave a great big shout and whacked it on the head with a victorious smile, it lay submissively prone at his feet. His singing, nasal and out of tune, sounded like a gruesome mixture of groaning and moaning coming from some ghost-world. Our singing master Vishnu would sometimes chaff him: "Look here, Munshi, you'll be taking the bread out of our mouths at this rate!" To which his only reply would be a disdainful smile.

This shows that the Munshi was amenable to soft words; and in fact, whenever we wanted we could persuade him to write to the school authorities to excuse us from attendance. The school authorities took no pains to scrutinise these letters, they knew it would be all the same whether we attended or not, so far as educational results were concerned.

I have now a school of my own in which the boys are up to all kinds of mischief, for boys will be mischievous—and schoolmasters unforgiving. When any of us are beset with undue uneasiness at their conduct and are stirred into a resolution to deal out condign punishment, the misdeeds of my own schooldays confront me in a row and smile at me.

I now clearly see that the mistake is to judge boys by the standard of the grown-ups, to forget that a child is quick and mobile like a running stream; and that, in the case of such, any touch of imperfection need cause no great alarm, for the speed of the flow is itself the best corrective. When stagnation sets in then comes the danger. So it is for the teacher, more than the pupil, to beware of wrong doing.

There was a separate refreshment room for Bengali boys for meeting their caste requirements. This was where we struck up a friendship with some of the others. They were all older than we. One of these will bear to be dilated upon.

His speciality was the art of Magic, so much so that he had actually written and published a little booklet on it, the front page of which bore his name with the title of Professor. I had never before come across a school-boy whose name had appeared in print, so that my reverence for him—as a professor of magic I mean—was

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profound. How could I have brought myself to believe that anything questionable could possibly find place in the straight and upright ranks of printed letters? To be able to record one's own words in indelible ink—was that a slight thing? To stand unscreened and unabashed, self-confessed before the world,—how could one withhold belief in the face of such supreme self-confidence? I remember how once I got the types for the letters of my name from some printing press, and what a memorable thing it seemed when I inked and pressed them on paper and found my name imprinted.

We used to give a lift in our carriage to this schoolfellow and author-friend of ours. This led to visiting terms. He was also great at theatricals. With his help we erected a stage on our wrestling ground with painted paper stretched over a split bamboo framework. But a peremptory negative from upstairs prevented any play from being acted thereon.

A comedy of errors was however played later on without any stage at all. The author of this has already been introduced to the reader in these pages. He was none other than my nephew Satya. Those who behold his present calm and sedate demeanour would be shocked to learn of the tricks of which he was the originator.

The event of which I am writing happened sometime afterwards when I was twelve or thirteen. Our magician friend had told of so many strange properties of things that I was consumed with curiosity to see them for myself. But the materials of which he spoke were invariably so rare or distant that one could hardly hope to get hold of them without the help of Sinbad the sailor. Once, as it happened, the Professor forgot himself so far as to mention accessible things. Who could ever believe that a seed dipped and dried twenty-one times in the juice of a species of cactus would sprout and flower and fruit all in the space of an hour? I was determined to test this, not daring withal to doubt the assurance of a Professor whose name appeared in a printed book.

I got our gardener to furnish me with a plentiful supply of the milky juice, and betook myself on a Sunday afternoon, to our mystic nook in a corner of the terraced roof, to experiment with the stone of a mango. I was wrapt in my task of dipping and drying—but the grown-up reader will probably not wait to ask me the result. In the meantime, I little knew that Satya, in another corner, had, in the space of an hour, caused to root and sprout a mystical plant of his own creation. This was to bear curious fruit later on.

After the day of this experiment the Professor rather avoided me, as I gradually came to perceive. He would not sit on the same side in the carriage, and altogether seemed to fight shy of me.

One day, all of a sudden, he proposed that each one in turn should jump off the bench in our schoolroom. He wanted to observe the differences in style, he said. Such scientific curiosity did not appear queer in a professor of magic. Every one jumped, so did I. He shook his head with a subdued "h'm." No amount of persuasion could draw anything further out of him.

Another day he informed us that some good friends of his wanted to make our acquaintance and asked us to accompany him to their house. Our guardians had no objection, so off we went. The crowd in the room seemed full of curiosity. They expressed their eagerness to hear me sing. I sang a song or two. Mere child as I was I could hardly have bellowed like a bull. "Quite a sweet voice," they all agreed.

When refreshments were put before us they sat round and watched us eat. I was bashful by nature and not used to strange company; moreover the habit I acquired during the attendance of our servant Iswar left me a poor eater for good. They all seemed impressed with the delicacy of my appetite.

In the fifth act I got some curiously warm letters from our Professor which revealed the whole situation. And here let the curtain fall.

I subsequently learnt from Satya that while I had been practising magic on the mango seed, he had successfully convinced the Professor that I was dressed as a boy by our guardians merely for getting me a better schooling, but that really this was only a disguise. To those who are curious in regard to imaginary science I should explain that a girl is supposed to jump with her left foot forward, and this is what I had done on the occasion of the Professor's trial. I little realised at the time what a tremendously false step mine had been!

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

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KALIDASA, THE SPIRIT OF ASIA

By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.

It was a New India, the India of the Guptas—a new stage, new actors, and what is more, a new outlook. Extensive diplomatic relations with foreign powers, military renown of "digvijaya" [conquest of the four quarters] at home, overthrow of the 'barbarians' on the western borderland, international trade, maritime activity, expansion of the motherland, missionising abroad, the blending of races by which the flesh and blood of the population was almost renewed, and social transformation as epoch-making as the first Aryanisation itself—all these ushered in in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era a thorough rejuvenation and a complete overhauling of the old order of things in Hindusthan. The Indians of the Vikramadityan era started their life afresh—with young eyes and renovated mentality. Hindu tradition has ever known this to be the age of "Navaratna" (or Nine Gems, *i. e*, celebrities). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar of Bombay, calls it the age of Hindu Renaissance. Mr. Vincent Smith says :

"The Gupta period, taken in a wide sense as extending from about A. D. 300 to 650, and meaning more particularly the fourth and fifth centuries, was a time of exceptional intellectual activity in many fields—a time not unworthy of comparison with the Elizabethan and Stuart period in England. In India all the lesser lights are outshone by the brilliancy of Kalidasa, as in England all the smaller authors are overshadowed by Shakespeare. But, as the Elizabethan literature would still be rich, even if Shakespeare had not written, so in India, if Kalidasa's works had not survived, enough of other men's writings would remain to distinguish his age as extraordinarily fertile in literary achievement."

If it is at all necessary to single out one name as a synonym for India and Hindu culture, it is not that of Manu, Yajnavalkya, Sakyasimha, Asoka, Samudragupta, Sankaracharyya, Tulsidasa, Sivaji or Chaitanya, but of Kalidasa, the poet of the 4th-5th century A.D. If it is at all possible to regard any one work as the embodiment of Indianism, it is not the *Rig Veda*, the *Arthasastra*, the *Tripitaka*, *Gita*, *Vedanta*, *Kural* (Tamil work—3rd century A. D.) *Sakuntala*, *Dasa-bodha* (Marathi work—17th century), or *Kavikankana Chandi* (Bengali work—17th century), but the *Raghu-vamsam* of Kalidasa. And if it is required to point to single passages in this epic which may be regarded as the most convenient *Sutra* or mnemonic formula for *Indono Damashii* (the spirit of Hindusthan), these are :—

A-samudra-kshitishanam
A-naka-ratha-vartmanam *
Vardhakye muni-vrittinam
Yogenante tanutyajam.

i e., Lords of the lithosphere from sea to sea,
Commanding the atmosphere by chariots of air;
Adopters of the life of the silent sage when old,
And passing away at last through *Yoga's* aid.

These four phrases occur in the very prelude to *Raghu-vamsam* where the poet invokes the deities to help him in describing the achievements of the House of Raghu. The following English translation is by Griffith :

"Yes, I will sing, although the hope be vain
To tell their glories in a worthy strain,
Whose holy flame in earliest life was won,
Who toiled unresting till the task was done.
Far as the distant seas allowed their sway ;
High as the heaven none checked their lofty way,
Constant in worship, prompt in duty's call,
Swift to reward the good, the bad appall,
They gathered wealth, but gathered to bestow,
And ruled their words that all their truth might know.
In glory's quest they risked their noble lives ;
For love and children, married gentle wives,
On holy lore in childhood's days intent,
In love and joy their youthful prime they spent,
As hermits, mused, in life's declining day,
Then in Devotion dreamed their souls away."

Here is a Hegelian synthesis of opposites —the Machiavellian Kautilya shaking hands with the *Nirvanist* Sakyasimha. Here are secularism and other-worldlyism welded together into one artistic whole, a full harmony of comprehensive life. This is Indianism ; and if 'the East is East,' this is that East.

European travellers in ancient and mediæval times were impressed by the "wealth of Ormus and of Ind" and the "barbaric pearls and gold" of "the gorgeous East." They had no philosopher like Matthew Arnold going out of his way to poetise about 'the legion,' nor a stylist like Kipling to write pseudo-anthropological stories about foreign races and to start fascinating theories of race-psychology. They, therefore, did not notice any abnormal mentalities in the Orient, but found activity and the joy of life scattered

* Literally, whose chariot-tracks went up to the skies. Pseudo-scientists may read in this and similar other passages in Sanskrit an anticipation of aeroplanes.

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everywhere. The globe-trotters of the steam-age, however, begin their first lessons in Oriental lore with the dictum that "the East is East, and the West is West." They, therefore, make it a point to find evidences of 'Oriental Sun,' 'Oriental atmosphere,' 'Oriental lethargy,' 'Oriental intrigue,' 'Oriental superstition,' 'Oriental corruption,' and 'Oriental immorality.' To make "confusion worse confounded," historians and philosophers who ought to be able to dive beneath the surface have been misled by the theory of Schopenhauer about Hindu pessimism. Though Schopenhauer's ideas do not count for much in the present day life and philosophy of the western world, the cue supplied by him regarding the Orient bids fair to be a permanent superstition with those who should understand better.

That Hindu culture could have expressed itself in an objective philosophy of energism and positivism would, therefore, appear paradoxical to those who have been taught to know India only in her subjective metaphysics of Nirvanism and mysticism. Strictly speaking, each represents 'the truth, and nothing but the truth,' but not 'the whole truth'; for, as the poet has said, "we are but parts and can see only but parts." As for the travellers of ancient and mediæval times, or the tourists and scholars of the modern world, they have certainly seen only parts, because they came to see only parts. They were *specialists* commissioned to study definite interests. Thus there have been political ambassadors like Megasthenes, commercial agents like Marco Polo and Tavernier, sightseers, curio-hunters, and sensation-mongers, newspaper-reporters who are deputed to get the 'inside view' of things, Christian missionaries who must force their gospel, archæologists whose interests, if really honest, must only be the unearthing of 'fossils' from the dead past, and others, who like all these have been born into the faith that the Oriental human beings belong to a fundamentally inferior race.

The whole India is an organic synthesis of the two philosophies. That synthesis cannot be interpreted fully by bringing about a mechanical adjustment of the conflicting reports of tourists and scholars. To unbiassed students of the philosophy of history, however, that is the only frame work through which the signs of life have to be read. Besides, the synthetic race-ideal can be studied only in the representative creations of constructive national imagination. Hindu Culture found its best expression in the mind and art of Kalidasa. For the complete view of Indian life and thought, therefore, one should turn to Kalidasan literature. And to do justice to it one must apply the same method of literary criticism as is used in the interpretation of Dante, Shakespeare, Vondel and Goethe as exponents of their times. A part of my remarks on the *Raghu-vamsam* of Kalidasa made elsewhere * may be reproduced in this connexion.

"It is impossible to study it from cover to cover without noticing how profoundly the greatest poet of Hindusthan has sought to depict this Hindu ideal of synthesis and harmony between the positive and the transcendental, the *bhoga* (enjoyment) and *tyaga* (renunciation). *Raghu-vamsam* is the embodiment of Hindu India in the same sense that *Paradise Lost* is the embodiment of Puritan England. The grand ambitions of the Vikramadityan era, its colossal energies, its thorough mastery over the things of the world, its all-round economic prosperity and brilliant political position, its Alexandrian sweep, its proud and stately outlook, its vigorous and robust taste are all graphically painted in this national epic, together with the 'devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow,' the 'light that never was on sea or land,' the *sanyasa*, *vairagya*, *ahimsa*, *yoga*, the preparation for the other world, the idea of nothingness of this world, and the desire for *mukti* or the perpetual freedom from bondage.

This antithesis, polarity or duality has not, however, been revealed to us as a hotchpotch of hurly-burly and pellmell conflicts and struggles but presented in a serene, sober and well-adjusted system of harmony and synthesis—which gives 'the World, the Flesh, and the Devil' their due, which recognises the importance and dignity of the secular, the worldly, and the positive, and which establishes the transcendental, *not to the exclusion* of, but only *above*, as well as *in* and *through*, the civic, social and economic achievements."

It was when this synthetic idea of the One in the Many, the Infinite in the Finite, and the Transcendental in the Positive, was uttering itself in literature, sculpture, mythology and philosophy, that Hindusthan first became what may truly be called the school of Asia. Kalidasa as the embodiment of Hindu nationalism is thus the spirit of Asia. Nobody understands Asia who does not understand Kalidasa. He is the "God-gifted organ-voice" of the Orient.

* Foreword to *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Panini Office, Allahabad, India).

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INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN HINDU CASTES AND SUB-CASTES

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HINDU society, from times immemorial, has been divided into the four main castes or Varnas, *viz.*, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra. These castes were in their origin elastic, but in the course of time, they became rigid and were themselves sub-divided into a number of sub-castes. Castes of mixed origin grew up, and the system became crystallised into the present multiple caste-system. Under the older Smritis like that of Manu, the marriage of a male of a higher caste with a female of a lower caste was allowed, while the marriage of a female of a higher caste with a male of a lower caste was discountenanced. The former type of marriages was called Anuloma, while the latter type was known as Pratiloma. Although Anuloma marriages were permitted by Hindu law in the days of the Smritis, they became obsolete in the course of centuries, and during the confusion created by successive Mahomadan invasions, every group tried to protect itself against any admixture of blood by strictly restricting the field for marriage. The result has been that not only intermarriage has become obsolete between interdining sub-castes, but in some parts of India and especially in Gujarat, persons of the same sub-caste belonging to some limited number of towns and villages have formed themselves into "rings" for purposes of marriage, beyond which no person can give girls in marriage, even to persons of the same sub-caste as themselves without incurring the penalty of a fine and in some cases excommunication. The "rings" many times defend this restriction on the ground that it ensures a sufficient supply of marriageable girls for their boys. The result is that girls have sometimes to be married to illiterate persons, who may not be able even to support a family, owing to the paucity of suitable husbands in the "ring." Very few people have the moral courage to kick at these intolerable fetters, and educated Hindu India suffers the evils in silence.

The Social Reform Conferences piously pass a resolution about intermarriage between interdining sub-castes every year but no practical results have yet been achieved. This is a reform in which both the orthodox and reformers can co-operate, since there is no text of Hindu law or religion that prohibits intermarriage between interdining subcastes. I will go further and say that there is no reason why we should not have intermarriages between sub-divisions of the same main Varna whether they interdine or not. We may also restore the practice of Anuloma-marriages which was prevalent in ancient India. But before we deal with the steps that may be taken in these directions, it will be well to examine the legal aspects of the question.

Later authorities have laid down that the twice-born shall marry girls of equal caste (सवर्ण) in the Kali age. Some writers only admit the existence of the Brahmin and Sudra castes at present and say that the Vaishya and Kshatriya castes do not exist. But this question has been set at rest by the Privy Council in 7 M. I. A. P. 18 (Chuoturya Run Murdan Syn *v.* Sahab Purhulad Syn) where it judicially recognises the existence of the Kshatriya caste and says "the courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain."

But the practical question now in such cases is "what constitutes a difference of caste sufficient to prevent intermarriage." And this is a very difficult point to decide. Whether some of the castes such as the Kayasthas and others are really Sudras or not, whether the Vaidyas are a mixed caste or are genuine Vaishyas are questions which are sometimes keenly contested in the courts in India.

In Bengal, in 9 Suth. W. R. 552, Melaram *v.* Thanooram, where a Dome Brahmin had married a girl of the Haree caste, the High Court held that local custom is the only authority by which such marriage can be sanctioned, the general Hindu law being against it. In another case (Narain-

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Dhara v. Rakhal Gain I.L.R. 1. Cal; 23 W.R. 334) where the legality of a marriage between a man of the Kaivarta caste and a woman of the Tantee caste was one of the points for decision, Mr. Justice Romesh Chunder Mitter said:

"Marriage between parties in different subdivisions of the Sudra caste is prohibited unless sanctioned by any special custom, and no presumption in favour of the validity of such marriage can be made, although long co-habitation has existed between the parties."

And although Justice Markby expressed a doubt on the point, he concurred in remanding the case to the first court to try whether by any usage or custom there could be any valid marriage between the parties in question. The first of these cases was decided, before the Privy Council took the contrary view in two Madras cases, while the latter case seems to have been decided after the Privy Council decisions. The first of the Madras cases was that of Pandaiya Telavar v. Puli Telavar (1 M.H.C. 478) where Sir Colley Scotland C. J. said:—

"It is not, however, to be understood that supposing the late Zamindar and the second plaintiff had been of different castes, the marriage would, in my opinion, have been invalid. The general law applicable to all the classes or tribes does not seem opposed to marriage between individuals of different sects or divisions of the same class or tribe, and even as regards the marriage between individuals or a different class or tribe, the law appears to be no more than directory. Although it recommends and inculcates a marriage with a woman of equal class as a preferable description, yet the marriage of a man with a woman of a lower class or tribe than himself appears not to be an invalid marriage, rendering the issue illegitimate (Manu Ch. III. Cl. 12, et seq: Mitakshara, Ch. I. Sec. 11 Clause 2 and note; 1 Strange's Hindu Law, p. 40). According to this view of the law, there being no proof of special custom or usage, the marriage would be valid, even though the parties had been of different sects or caste divisions of the fourth or Sudra caste."

And Justice Holloway in his judgment in the same case observed:

"Moreover, it is not invalid if it took place because of the difference of class. The opinion of the Pandits is, as usual, vague and unsatisfactory. As the twice-born is instructed to marry a wife of the same class with himself, the reasonable inference is that upon one who is not twice-born the precept is not binding."

"Further I am of opinion that the classes spoken of are the four classes recognized by Manu and not the infinite subdivisions of these classes introduced in the progress of time. I think, therefore, that being a Sudra, the woman was of the same class in the sense of the authority quoted."

On appeal to the Privy Council (13 M.I.A. p. 141, 12.W.R.P.C. 41) their Lordships of the Privy Council observed:—

"Then if there was a marriage in fact, was there a marriage in law? When once you get to this, viz., that there was a marriage in fact, there would be a presumption in favour of their being a marriage in law. The opinions are matter of reasoning, and where they refer to authority which applies to persons of two different but higher castes, not to the Sudra caste at all, and still less to what may be called different classes or divisions of one and the same Sudra caste."

"It would be a most unlikely thing for a person of his (Zamindar's) caste to go through the ceremony of marriage which was invalid in law; ... and on the whole, seeing that these parties are both of the Sudra caste and that the utmost that has been alleged really is that the Zamindar was one part of the Sudra caste, and the lady to whom he was married was of another part, or of a sub-caste, their Lordships hold the marriage to have been valid; to hold the contrary would in fact be introducing a new rule and a rule which ought not to be countenanced."

In 14 M. I. A. 346, the Privy Council held that a marriage between a Zamindar of the Malavar class, a sub-division of the Sudra caste, with a woman of the Vellala (superior) class of Sudras was valid by Hindu Law.

The above Privy Council decisions seem to take a view contrary to that of Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter in the two Bengal cases quoted above, and in (I. L. R. 15 Cal. 708, Upoma Kuchain v. Bholaram Dhubi), where the marriage of the plaintiff, a Dhubi or washerman, with the defendant, a fisherwoman, was held valid, the Calcutta High Court observed:

"We think that these decisions (13. M. I. A. 141, 14 M. I. A. 346) are conclusive as to there being no rule of law regarding such marriages being invalid. It is true that the cases referred to were cases from the Madras Presidency; but it has not been shown to us that in this respect any principle of Hindu Law followed in that Presidency is inapplicable to the Presidency of Bengal; nor has any case or any authority from ancient writers been cited to show that such marriages are invalid. Mr. Mayne in his work on Hindu Law treats such marriages as obsolete; and most probably they are so in the more advanced parts of Bengal in which castes have been sub-divided in such a way that the sub-divisions are regarded as distinct castes in themselves. But the fact that these marriages are not resorted to is no ground for holding that they are invalid according to law..... We hold, therefore, that there is nothing in the Hindu Law prohibiting a marriage between the parties to this suit."

On this, Dr. Gurudas Banerji, an eminent authority on Hindu Law, in his "Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan," observes:

"This may be true for the Madras Presidency, but in Bengal the state of things is very different, and Mr. Justice Mitter's opinion is quite in accordance with the prevailing practice of the people of that province. The case under notice came from Assam where the sub-divisions of the Sudra caste may not be so well marked as in Bengal proper. But it would

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create quite a revolution in Hindu Society in Bengal, if the rule laid down in this case were to be applied generally."

In 18 Cal. 264, *re* Ramkumari, it was held that where one or both parties to a marriage are illegitimate, it will be valid if they are in fact recognized by their caste-men as belonging to the same caste.

Turning to Bombay, we find that in I. L. R. 22 Bom. p. 277 (Fakir Ganda *v.* Gangi) the Bombay High Court held that according to the Hindu Law, marriages between members of different sects of Lingayats are not illegal, and where it is alleged that such a marriage is invalid, the onus lies upon the persons making such allegation of proving that such marriage is prohibited by immemorial custom. Hosking J. in that case said that the status of Lingayats as Sudras was determined by the judgment of the Bombay High Court in Gopal *v.* Hanumant, I.L.R. 3 Bom. p. 273. In another case (I. L. R. 33 Bom. P. 693), a marriage between a man of the Panchal (artificer) caste and a woman of the Kurbar (shepherd) caste was held to be valid. The Panchals and the Kurbars are sub-divisions of the Sudra caste. It was also held that the onus lies upon the party alleging the illegality by reason of immemorial custom to prove such prohibiting custom.

In the foregoing cases we have dealt with the intermarriage between different sub-divisions of the Sudra caste, and now we shall turn our attention to the law relating to the intermarriage between the upper classes. In Ramlal Shookool *v.* Akhoy Charan Mitter (7 Cal. W.N. p. 612) the question was as regards the marriage of Kayasthas and Vaidyas. The Sub-Judge had treated them as Sudras and hence held a marriage between them valid. On the case going up in appeal to the High Court, it said,

"It cannot be disputed that his (Chandrakant Sen's) mother a Kayastha and therefore a Sudra married his father a Vaishya. The ancient Hindu law did not regard such marriages with the condemnation expressed by later authorities which have been accepted by our courts so as to make children born from such unequal marriage illegal. But however that may be, there is ample evidence set out in the judgment of the Sub-Judge, on which it must be held that such marriages as in the present case are recognised by local custom in the District of Tippera and that there is no instance in which their validity has been questioned. We agree with the Sub-Judge in holding that such marriages are in accordance with local custom in Tippera and are valid."

On the other hand, in I. L. R. 28 All. p. 458, Padamkumari *v.* Surajkumari, the Allahabad High Court held that whatever may have been the case in ancient times, and whatever may be the law in other parts of India, at the present day the marriage between a Brahmin and a Chhettri is not a lawful marriage in these provinces and the issue of such marriage is not legitimate. While the Calcutta High Court holds the marriage of a Vaishya and Sudra valid by custom, the Allahabad High Court declares the marriage of a Brahmin and Chhettri illegal, apparently irrespective of custom.

In a Punjab case (Haria *v.* Kanhya, Punj. R. Vol. 43, p. 326) it was held that the marriage of a Rajput with a Khatrani woman was valid and that the onus of proving a custom to the contrary lay on the defendant.

In 130 C. 375, it was held that marriages between persons belonging to two of the four primary castes are invalid, but that this rule does not apply to marriages between persons of hybrid castes or between a person of hybrid caste and a person of one of the four principal castes.

The last case to be noted in this connection is that of Muthusami Mudaliar, *v.* Masalmani (I. L. R. 33 Mad. 342) in which the Madras High Court held that a marriage contracted according to Hindu rites with a Christian woman, who, before marriage, is converted to Hinduism, is valid when such marriages are common among and recognised as valid by the custom of the caste to which the man belongs, although such marriage may not be in strict accordance with the orthodox Hindu religion. It was also held that under the Hindu law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law. The court further held that apart from custom, such a marriage between parties who do not belong to the twice-born classes is valid under Hindu Law; it is only persons who belong to the twice-born classes that are enjoined to marry in their own class; all other persons must be treated as Sudras, and marriages between different classes of Sudras are valid. The court also held that where a caste accepts a marriage as valid and treats the parties thereto as members of the caste, the court will not declare such a marriage null and void.

We have already quoted Dr. Gurudas

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Banerji's observations on the leading Privy Council cases and shall now quote his final remarks on the subject in which he says :

"It may perhaps be laid down as a general rule, that so far as the prohibition of intermarriage between different castes is concerned, a marriage would be valid or void according as the parties to it are or are not in point of fact recognized as belonging to the same caste, irrespective of the propriety of such recognition."

Mr. J. C. Ghose in his "Hindu Law" says that sub-castes, formed by intermarriages in former times or otherwise and regarded as such should be considered distinct castes, and that English Judges have fallen into the error of considering these as sub-divisions of the same caste.

On a review of the whole law on the subject, we may safely lay down the following propositions as established at present:—

1. Intermarriage between persons belonging to different sub-divisions of the Sudra class is valid, the onus of proving invalidity by immemorial custom lying on the person who alleges such invalidity;

2. Intermarriage between persons belonging to different primary castes is invalid unless allowed by local custom as in the case of Kayasthas (Sudras) and Vaidyas (Vaishyas).

3. Intermarriage between different castes would be valid or void according as the parties to it are or are not in point of fact recognised as belonging to the same caste, irrespective of the propriety of such recognition.

4. The marriage of a Brahmin with a Chhettri is not lawful in the United Provinces.

To these, Mr. Trevelyan, in his "Hindu Family Law," adds a fifth proposition, viz.

5. That intermarriage between persons belonging to different sub-divisions of the same primary caste is valid.

As regards the first proposition, I have quoted the remarks of Dr. Gurudas Banerji at length, and in view of these observations and the opinion of Mr. J. C. Ghose, it cannot be said that the law on the subject has been finally settled. In an extreme case as that of an intermarriage between a Kayastha (Sudra) with a person belonging to one of the untouchable classes (such as a Pariah), it is very likely that the courts will hesitate to hold the marriage valid although it may be true that all Hindus who are not twice-born must be regarded as Sudras as held in 33 Madras 342. Even among the touchable Sudras in some of the advanced provinces of India like Bengal and Gujarat where the caste system prevails in all its rigidity, the different sub-divisions are regarded as distinct castes in themselves, some of whom do not even interdine with each other, it will be hazardous to say that the courts will not take a different view in future than the one taken by the Privy Council in the Madras cases, if the Privy Council chooses to over-rule their former rulings on the point taking into consideration the views of such eminent Hindu Jurists like Dr. Gurudas Banerji and Mr. J. C. Ghose.

As regards the second proposition, all intermarriages between persons belonging to different primary castes are invalid, unless allowed by local custom. It is very difficult to prove an immemorial custom so as to override the general provisions of Hindu Law, so that practically, such marriages are prohibited. Again it is only the Calcutta High Court that allows a a local custom in such cases, while in Allahabad the marriage of a Brahmin with a Chhettri has been expressly held to be invalid, apparently irrespective of custom.

According to the third proposition the validity of each intermarriage will have to be decided on the merits of each case and not under a general law. It will turn upon the evidence adduced, and very few people can be tempted to try the uncertainties of the law and the varying views of different courts.

The fifth proposition will turn upon the question what present day castes belong to a particular primary caste. This is the most difficult question to solve. There are many communities which are on the border-line and it may be impossible to say whether they belong to this or that primary caste. There are other communities who claim to belong to a particular primary caste but whose claims are denied by other sister communities which have been generally recognized as belonging to that particular primary caste.

The only safe way at present of intermarrying lies in taking advantage of the provisions of the Indian Civil Marriage Act of 1872. This law is explicit and while it legalises the marriage, it avoids bastardy for the children. But the Hindus are a pre-eminently spiritual people, and they would rather do without such intermar-

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riages than declare that they do not belong to any of the recognised religions of the world. Another difficulty is that the incidence of divorce attaches to all marriages under the Civil Marriage Act, which must prevent the vast majority of the twice-born classes from taking advantage of the Act inasmuch as they rightly or wrongly believe that marriage is a sacrament which can not be dissolved by divorce. These people may be very willing to intermarry, provided that all the incidents of a Hindu marriage under the Hindu Law do attach themselves to such a marriage. The present stage of the law can only allow a safe intermarriage between interdining sub-castes which recognise themselves as belonging to the same primary caste from times immemorial.

Apart from the legal aspect of the question which has been thoroughly dealt with above, there are difficulties of language, customs and manners, diet whether vegetarian or otherwise, and sometimes fundamental differences of religious faith which come in the way. A Bengal Brahmin worshipping Kali, for instance, will not be able to intermarry a strictly vegetarian Vaishnava Brahmin girl of Gujarat nor will such a marriage turn out a happy one. In such a case all the difficulties enumerated above will supervene, and it is quite necessary that these difficulties should be overcome.

Yet another difficulty is of the unwillingness of the Aryans of Northern India to intermarry with the Dravidian Hindus of Southern India where in addition to the aforesaid difficulties, the questions of race-pride and colour may prove sometimes insuperable.

I have dealt with the legal and social aspects of the question, and shown the practical difficulties that prevent intermarriage from becoming general. I shall now proceed to suggest what we should do to encourage such marriages.

The first step that suggests itself to me is the appointment of Commission by the Government of India enjoying the universal confidence of all Hindus whether orthodox or otherwise. Such a Commission should be composed of the most impartial persons, well-conversant with the sacred literature of the Hindus and the actual social conditons prevailing in India. It may very well include some of the most enlightened religious heads of the Hindus and an equal number of eminent educated Hindus like the Maharaja of Durbhanga, Dr. Gurudas Banerji, Lala Lajput Rai and Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya. It should also have a sprinkling of enlightened Pandits and Shastris. It may be presided over by an impartial European Savant saturated with the Hindu sacred lore, or an impartial progressive Shankarcharya of any of the four Maths. Such a Commission should be empowered to report after taking evidence on the question "which present day Hindu castes and sub-castes belong to which primary caste," dividing the Sudras into touchable Sudras and untouchable Sudras. The untouchable Sudras may be treated as belonging to a fifth primary caste. I doubt how far it will be practicable to secure such an impartial Commission, but if we are really able to secure such a Commission, it will settle many delicate and thorny questions that prevent intermarriages. On the findings of the Commission, legislation may be initiated expressly declaring that intermarriage between communities found by the Commission to belong to a particular primary caste is lawful and will have all the incidents of a Hindu marriage attached to it. This will be a first step in the building up of a homogeneous Hindu nation as it will reduce much of the narrow caste spirit, and in the course of time we shall only have to deal with the question of only four or five big primary castes instead of the present thousands of castes and sub-castes. At least, so far, both the orthodox and reformers can join hands and work harmoniously together for the common national end. *Steps will have to be taken to get similar enactments passed in all the Native States, in order to secure uniformity of law for the Hindus throughout India.*

As intermarriage between persons belonging to the same primary caste is not prohibited by any text of Hindu Law, an Act should be passed enacting that any present day Hindu caste, sub-caste, or sub-division of such a caste or sub-caste or any "ring" excommunicating or in any other way punishing any person for such intermarriage will be liable to be mulcted in damages in a civil suit by the injured party as if on a recurring cause of action and on a decree being passed, the person will have to be restored to his former status and in case of refusal, the injured

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party will have the right to sue for damages and restitution to his status as many times as the caste, sub-caste, sub-division or ring refuses to obey the successive decrees of the courts. Such a provision is quite essential in view of the terrors of caste-tyranny that prevail, in some parts of India and especially in Gujarat. I would even propose that members of a community taking part in excommunication or in any other way punishing a person for such intermarriage should be liable to prosecution and sentence in a criminal court on a complaint lodged by the injured party. But thinking that this may be considered too harsh, I do not press for it. Unless the law restricts the powers of the autonomous Hindu caste in some way, there is no chance of intermarriages becoming popular, and very few persons will have the moral courage to brave the terrible punishment of social ostracism passed by their caste-fellows.

Under the present circumstances, the legalising of Anuloma marriages under Hindu Law will rouse intense opposition from the orthodox classes and so it will be well to enact that local custom shall govern the validity or invalidity of such a marriage throughout India. Those however, who are desirous of contracting Anuloma or Pratiloma marriages, and wish to put them beyond doubt, should get an enactment on the lines of the celebrated Basu Bill passed for their benefit, so that they may not be compelled to declare that they are not Hindus. They will have, however, to decide whether they wish to have the provisions relating to divorce made compulsorily applicable to such marriages or not. The scope of such an enactment will have to be confined to Hindus only, since there is a large majority of educated Hindus who abhor the idea of intermarrying with non-Hindus except Jains, Sikhs, Aryasamajists and Brahmos, who are to all intents and purposes Hindus in their ways of living and thinking.

To remove the difficulty of language, Hindi should be made the lingua franca throughout the length and breadth of India. No efforts should be spared to achieve this end, as it will go a long way in building up the future nation. Education is bound to spread, and in the course of time all other difficulties of customs and manners, diet, religious faith, race and colour will disappear at the magic touch of education. We will become more tolerant in future in such matters, more catholic in our ways of living and thinking and a day will come when a happy Hindu India will have been evolved out of the present chaos. I fervently hope that the day may soon come, and I earnestly request my fellow-countrymen to take into consideration my suggestions, and, if found feasible, to try to work them out in any way they think practicable.

THE LONDON MONEY-MARKET AND THE WAR

By K. M. Panikkar.

THOSE of us who take any interest in the economic world will remember with great interest the situation that arose in the early days of the international crisis. The month of August, 1914, can without hesitation be called the most critical period in monetary history. How the crisis was met and what permanent results it will have are the things that I propose to consider in this paper.

The whole fabric of international commerce is based on the assumption that peace is the normal state of things. The primary and essential characteristic of the relations of hostility between nations, which we call war, is that it is a dislocation of the delicate mechanism of trade on which the prosperity, nay, the very existence, of the chief European States depends. War, therefore, even on a small scale, is bound to make itself felt in the economic world; and a European war in which all the leading Powers are engaged will, it is clear, automatically destroy the big edifice of international commerce.

Commerce, since it developed to its present dimentions, has unquestionably become international. Professional paci-

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fists, we know, built their 'great illusions' on the fact that the economic relations of the Powers had become so intricate that war between them was impossible. Mr. Norman Angel worked out this point with consummate skill and wonderful elaboratenesss, to show that the Powers in future would shrink from war, because a war between two economically developed nations—not to think of a European war—would be disastrous, not only to themselves but to the whole world. When questioned about the validity of his arguments, in the light of actualities at the beginning of last August, when the unthinkable had happened, Mr. Angel triumphantly pointed out the closing of the Stock Exchange, the extension of the Bank Holiday, the raising of the bank rate, and the proclamation of the Moratorium as conclusive evidence of the truth of the economic arguments he had advanced in favour of pacifism. Therefore we have to preface our study of the crisis in the monetary world by a few words on the international position of English Banking, and consequently that of London.

It need not be said that *gold* is the ultimate basis on which all the commercial life of the world is built. It is *the only* form of payment acceptable everywhere, and therefore all international transactions depend upon the ability to procure gold. As the metal itself cannot easily be had, the commercial genius of the English nation hit upon a wonderful system to which is due the enormous growth of the commercial life of the world. All important business is now done on credit, that is, a promise to pay gold on demand. Bills, drafts, cheques, notes, and other credit instruments depend for their value on their immediate convertibility into gold.

London is the only place in the world where these instruments can be turned into gold without either question or delay. Hence it is clear that London is the Centre and Capital of the monetary world, in the same sense as it is the political Capital of the British Empire. It gives gold to all the other countries and thus finances big enterprises all over the world. It is the world's banker, and never once has its position been questioned. How, then, is it that the Bank of England had to raise its rate from 3 per cent on July 29th to 10 per cent on August 1st? How is it that the London Stock Exchange had to close? And why is it that the unheard-of financial instrument, the moratorium, was brought down from the armoury?

Before attempting to deal with these points, it is necessary, for the sake of clearness, to point out one very important fact. We saw that the credit instruments in general use in the monetary world depend for their value on their convertibility into gold. It is clear, therefore, that London, being the world's market for gold, must keep in stock a very great amount of cash to meet the demands on it. But the English system, as is well known, is based on very small gold reserves. All the "cash" deposits of the big banks are with the Bank of England, which holds them, to a large extent, as its own notes. It must be remembered that Bank of England notes, though legal tender to any amount, are only credit instruments, and not bullion tickets, because of the "fiduciary" nature of their issue. They are issued against Government security, and not against gold, up to £18,450,000. Therefore, under certain conditions, Bank of England notes themselves would not do for international transactions.

In ordinary times those notes are, for all practical purposes, equal to bullion certificates. The inadequacy of cash reserves will not in the least matter, for London can at any time draw in any amount of gold, by simply raising its discount rates. The unquestioned predominance of London was in itself the reserve for all calls on her gold. It was hoped that if a crisis arose, London had only to beckon to other monetary centres to fill its vaults with coins. City editors optimistically prophesied London's ability to meet any situation.

The Austrian ultimatum to Servia, on July 25, came to the monetary world as a bolt from the blue. The people of all countries had been for a long time fearing a European rupture, but the quickness with which it overtook the world surprised even the cool-headed men who control "the City." It was pretty clear from the beginning that the small spark lighted at Serajevo was going to spread a conflagration and would possibly consume the whole world.

Banking is an economic experiment performed on the psychology of the crowd. The fear of war—the fear of a plunge into the future, to be settled by the God of

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Cannon and Ammunition—upsets the whole state of mind which the banker takes for granted. Every one rushes for gold and accepts nothing but gold; cheques become of no value, because no one will accept them; the position of the banks themselves becomes a matter of question, and depositors begin to withdraw their money and hoard it up in family chests. Such a change in the minds of the people is in itself sufficient to shake the soundest and best-managed money market.

Such an extraordinary run on the banks caused them to call in their money lent to bill-brokers and other Stock Exchange dealers, whose usual custom is to pay into one bank by borrowing from another. As the crisis was universal, they had to declare their inability to pay, for the money which they had borrowed was already in the shape of bills, which, as is clear, were of no use. From the time of the Austrian ultimatum the Stock Exchange had begun to suffer: sales from abroad poured in to London: all foreign stock fell tremendously; and the securities which London banks had held against them became unsaleable and hence of no value. The Stock Exchange had therefore to close.

Thus the "collateral securities" of the banks—which consist of stocks, and which in ordinary crises could be realised in gold—became useless. The only reserve on which they could depend was the cash deposited in the Bank of England. But, as we have seen, the Bank of England does not itself hold gold for its notes up to £18,450,000, and hence the matter became extremely critical. This raised the "run" into a wild panic, and extraordinary measures were found necessary to cope with the situation.

There is generally a very great demand for gold at the end of July, for holiday purposes, and this, together with the general state of mental confusion, caused an enormous run on the Bank of England. The refusal of some country banks to pay gold instead of paper increased it. The Bank of England found itself handicapped by the Bank Charter Act, which had laid down that for every note issued over £18,450,000 the bank must keep coin or bullion in its vaults. Recognising its inability to comply with these conditions, the Bank of England applied to the Treasury (then under Mr. Lloyd George) to suspend the operation of the Act. The Treasury pointed out that the Act had never been suspended when the bank rate stood below 10 per cent; and thus the Bank of England was forced to raise its rate from 3 per cent to 10 per cent in three days. It was a very clumsy operation—one that destroyed the prestige of the London money market before the world.

The Bank Act was then suspended, that is, the Bank of England was allowed to issue notes, on Government guarantee, over £18,450,000, without having gold in coin or bullion behind it. But after the suspension the Government took in hand the provision of new currency and began to issue Treasury notes, thus making the suspension of the Bank Act and the clumsy raising of rate that preceded it entirely meaningless.

On August 6th the Government extended the partial moratorium which it had already issued on August 3rd, and safeguarded the position of the banks till arrangements for a new currency were made. The moratorium, as everybody now knows, is an instrument by which all payment of debts contracted within a specified time is postponed till a specified date. We have seen how some such arrangement was forced on the City by a variety of causes which were on the whole unforeseen. Perhaps its declaration was in itself a confession of inability, and, coming as it did to support the strongest money-market, must have caused a good deal of surprise outside the circle of experts who knew the intricacies of the exchange machine.

Looking now from a distance, after the tornado in the market has to a certain extent passed away, we can without much difficulty see the causes that led to it. When London became aware of the demands made upon her, she naturally called upon her debtors (and all the world except Paris owed her money) to pay up their debts. The exchange was in favour of Paris, and New York found that she could pay London only by drafts on London—which was evidently a move in a vicious circle. Thus London was unable to realise the money she had advanced against securities; and the securities themselves, because of the defection of the exchange, were unsaleable and hence of no use in strengthening the position of the banks against demands on them. Thus London was thrown back on her own reserves—on

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the gold within her own vaults. Moreover London had to ship gold to Paris, because the exchange, as we have said before, was in favour of the latter. Thus we see that the edifice of the money market broke down completely under the weight of such an unthought-of pressure.

The situation was unexpected, and in the bewilderment caused by the shock of the crisis the banking community—a community characterised by extreme sanity and cool-headedness—lost their balance for the time. The result was the muddle-headed proceedings which we have noted before. In the meantime the gold that the Secretary of State for India holds at the Bank of England was transferred, and South Africa, Canada, and the United States sent all the gold they could collect. The fianancial expert of the "Times" calculated the amount imported to be 52½ millions.

The crisis, however, did not affect Berlin in such a serious way. It remains one of the many surprises of the war that German bankers avoided a moratorium and kept the exchange open. The wonder is greater when we consider that English financial experts used to assert that if Germany wanted to fight England, it could be done only if London furnished the money. This has proved to be more illusory than any other expectations connected with the war. Not only was Germany able to conduct the war, finance Turkey, and advance money to Bulgaria, but also to avoid all the confusion that "the City" experienced. The fact cannot now be explained in any satisfactory manner: we have to wait till the war is over to study the preparation that Germany made to stand the crisis. But we have to acknowledge this, that, with little or no help from outside, German bankers were able to preserve their fianancial system from breaking down.

London soon found her feet, and the City soon came back to conditions as normal as is possible during these abnormal times. It is perhaps profitable to consider what results it will have permanently on the position of London and the money market as a whole.

Before the crisis financial experts amused themselves by speculating on the possible conditions that would arise in case of a European war. When the crisis actually came they were surprised to find that all their calculations were as far as possible from the truth. It is still more difficult to say with any amount of certainty what permanent results this war will leave in "the City." Most of them, of course, depend for their seriousness chiefly on the length of the war. However, we will try to enumerate some of the possible results which the City will have to face when peace is again restored to the world.

There is, first of all, a great diminution of wealth. This is negative as well as positive. Negatively the nation will suffer from the loss of the wealth which might have been accumulated. This may seem an unimportant consideration, but remember that a great majority of the English bourgeoisie depend for their incomes on some sort of investment in foreign lands, we shall have to recognise a great loss of wealth in that way.

Positively, finance will suffer in two very important ways:

(1) There will be a great amount of foreign indebtedness, due either to monetary help derived from other Powers (such as the subscription of the British War Loan in New York, etc.), and indebtedness incurred by placing big contracts with foreign firms. On the latter point we have to bear in mind the great amount of ammunition and other things for war supplied by the United States to the British Government. It is said that Great Britain and the Allies have placed an order of £300,000,000 for munitions in America. After the war, therefore, London will have to pay all this debt back, which means that for a long time after the war the exchange will be moving against London, in favour of New York.

(2) Then, again, we must remember that England and France are less self-supporting than the Central Empires. England has to import all her food from foreign countries. This will show itself in an emormous amount of foreign indebtedness after the war. England, for example, has to import wheat from the Argentine and U.S.A.; cotton from Egypt and America; and various other things from various parts of the world. In ordinary times these things are paid back by goods and services, and as this is impossible during war-time, it is clear that there will be great outstanding liabilities after the war.

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Add to this, the chances that New York is standing to take the place of London in the international money market. We have seen that when the banking world settles down after the conclusion of peace, New York will be in a position of vantage in every respect. It will undoubtedly be a great credit market, and if the Federal Government removes the difficulties under which New York banking is now labouring, we have to face seriously the problem of New York taking the position of London.

After this was written comes the news of the fall in the sterling exchange in New York. The news has caused considerable alarm in the monetary world on both sides of the Atlantic.

PAPER-PULP FROM THE BAMBOO

D. Strictus Bamboo of the Dangs.

By Dhruva Sumanas, *Paper Pulp Expert.*

To put the industry of paper-making in India on a proper footing, the Government of India has been investigating for the fibrous materials suitable for production of paper-pulp for the last 50 years and over. Complimentary to *Ischœmum Angustifolium* and *Saccharum Munja*, the chief paper-making materials which are not obtainable in large quantities on a remunerative scale, *Bambusa* has been found out to be the proper material for the manufacture of paper-pulp and no fibre available in quantity at the present moment can be superior to bamboo. It received special attention since 1905, when the Government of Burma invited Mr. R. W. Sindall F.C.S. (London), a paper-pulp expert, to make an inquiry into the possibility of manufacturing paper-pulp from bamboo growing in Burma. In 1906, his report was published, followed by a booklet printed on paper made from bamboo, in 1909. Interesting experiments on the subject were made by Mr. W. Raitt, F.C.S., the cellulose expert attached to the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, and the results of his labours are chiefly embodied in his valuable Report on the Investigation of Bamboo as Material for Production of Paper-pulp, in the Indian Forest Records Vol. 3, pt. 3; followed by Vol IV. pt. V., containing information about the bamboo-forest areas and the results of several tests carried on in the Titaghur Mills.

In January 1914, the Government of Bansda State requested me to visit Bansda for the purpose of investigating into the possibility of utilizing bamboos growing in their forests, as a suitable raw material for making paper-pulp and to determine if the industry could be established there successfully.

The Dangs forests are situated in the Northern circle of the Bombay Presidency and are surrounded principally by the boundaries of Baroda, Bansda, Dharampore and Sulgana States and Nasik and Khandesh collectorates.

The principal variety of bamboo growing in is *Dendrocalamus Strictus*. This is the most common, most widespread and most universally used of all Indian bamboos. It is deciduous, densely tufted, gregarious, and has strong often solid culms which average from 20 to 40 feet high and 4.5 to 5.5 inches in girth, weighing nearly 6 to 10 lbs. It flowers about every 30 years and is reproduced by seed. A forest of surprising splendour is transformed into one of desolation and death, soon followed by fire, until the charred stems, dust and ashes are all that remain. The seeds which somewhat resemble wheat are edible and have a high food value after the removal of the husk. The leaves are very largely employed as food for buffaloes and elephants.

Here it is not necessary to enter at any length into the question of suitability of bamboo-fibre for the manufacture of paper. This has been fully demonstrated by previous experimentists. Every one who has

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handled the material has agreed that it is admirably adapted for the purpose of and especially so for high class printing and illustration work requiring a close even texture and surface, and a minimum of stretch and shrinkage under the damping operation. Again it makes into any kind of paper by itself and does not require blending with other fibres. The one serious objection hitherto advanced against it was the cost of bleaching. With the soda process, this difficulty is almost removed. The quantity of bleach required now is not 9 to 40 per cent., but is nearly 5 to 10 per cent., only. Esparto boiled with 15 to 18 per cent. soda requires 5 to 10 per cent. bleach according to the standard of whiteness of the paper required. Now it can be said that bamboo is treated quite similarly as is esparto, except that bamboo requires a higher temperature though lower than what is needed in boiling wood. Thus it can be seen that the bleaching expenditure has been considerably brought down to a figure which compares very favourably with esparto or any of the raw materials now in use.

The serious and special difficulties hitherto experienced with bamboo, viz., irreducible nodes, irregular yields, irregular digestion of mixed ages and high cost of bleaching can all be overcome by splitting, crushing and shredding and further by treating the substance by the alkali process under varying conditions of time, temperature and liquor.

Wood Pulp is a comparatively modern product called into existence as a paper maker's raw material. Of the four great groups of modern botanical classification the spermatophytes are the most conspicuous and widely distributed. Again, the trees which furnish wood pulp are of two sub-groups.

Spermatophytes
(seed bearing plants)

Gymnosperms (naked seeds) — Angiosperms (enclosed seeds)

(Coniferæ) Pine Spruce — Monocotyledons: Bamboo, Sugar cane — Dicotyledons: Poplar

The ordinary flowering plant as a complex structure is an assemblage of units known as cells and its work as a plant is to grow, to build up tissue. Variations and differentiations of the typical forms of cells correspond with infinite diversity of functions and conditions. More extreme variations in the form of cellular tissues lead to the structural forms classed as fibres and vessels. Fibres are the strengthening elements of plant substance and are of relatively simple form. Vessels are the seat of complex vital functions and operations involved in nutrition, and are much more diversified in form. The monocotyledonous stem is composed essentially of a ground tissue known as parenchyma made up of thin naked cells showing equality in their dimensions, though occasionally elongated and scattered but closed fibro-vascular bundles, i.e., with no connecting combium. This arrangement implies an absence of provision for large increase of diameter, and the stem of a perennial of this type is columnar or cylindrical. The vascular bundles generally develop seterome tissue, *i.e.*, sclerenchymatous thick-walled fibres which in association with the vessels, contribute the fibres and vascular bundles. In bamboos and canes they run parallel to each other up the internodes.

In structure, bamboo presents several features which markedly differentiate it from any of the raw materials now in use. It is porous, thereby differing from coneferous woods; its pores run vertically in close, straight and regular series throughout their whole length, which in the green culm are filled with sap, and in the dry with air. Dry bamboo is therefore largely impregnated with air in a state of capillarity, a condition rendering its expulsion difficult. Drying and seasoning does not cause a collapse or flattening of these pores by shrinkage as is the case to a considerable extent in the rice straw. In bamboo they retain their shape and size and therefore their air-holding capacity, and no other material in common use carries so large a quantity of imprisoned air. Therefore in addition to the mass and colloidal resistance common to all materials, we have in bamboo a resisting force peculiar to itself, since complete penetration of the tissues by the chemical solvent cannot take place until the whole of this capillary air has been ejected. When means are not adopted to force the whole contents of the digesters by screens in

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stationary ones, the last chips to sink have been found badly digested, not only because they get two hours' less treatment than the bulk of the contents but because they fall into a liquor already weakened by two hours' previous work,—and even when the whole contents are brought under liquor from the start there is found some irregularity in result between the outer and inner tissues of the chips unless the liquor of greater strength is used than would be necessary if rapid penetration were secured, so as to ensure it still being of sufficient strength when the interior of the chip is ultimately reached. This irregularity in digestion is removed by using rotary digesters instead of stationary ones.

Bamboo has little mass resistance to the action of solvents in comparison with other impervious hard woods in spite of its high specific gravity. Bamboo is a hard and heavy material but is strongly resistant to mechanical force in the transverse direction only. To a splitting or crushing force acting longitudinally, it has scarcely any resistance whatever and it is possible by careful dissection to isolate individual fibre-bundles, and to follow them up along the nodes and through the internodes for the whole length of the culm.

The monocotyledonous fibre-aggregates, whether fibro-vascular bundles (Aloe fibres, Musa, &c.) or entire plants (Esparto, Bamboo, Sugarcane, Straw,) are largely made up of pectocelluloses. The general characteristics of the pecto-celluloses are that they are resolved by boiling with dilute alkaline solution into cellulose (insoluble) and soluble derivatives of the non-cellulose (pectin, pectic acid, and metapectic acid): they are gelatinised under the alkaline treatment; they are "saturated compounds" not reacting with the halogens, nor containing any groups immediately allied to the aromatic series; and are colloidal forms of the carbohydrates, or closely allied derivatives of lower molecular weight, and belonging to the series of 'pectic' compounds or hexoses, &c. Pectose is of a gelatinous nature, lignin being more like resin, and like glue and resin, the first effect of solvent action is with both to produce a partially dissolved waterproof colloidal film which protects the tissues it encloses from the further action of the solvent. The influences which overcome this resistance are strong liquors, high temperatures, and prolonged duration, of digestion each being within certain limits complimentary to the others and capable of being substituted for each other. Ligno-celluloses, such as spruce, contain much lignin but no pectose, while pecto-celluloses such as the smaller fibrous grasses have a large quantity of pectose and little or no lignin. Bamboo contains both in considerable amount, and its resistance from this cause alone is equal to that of spruce, while its total resistance from mass, colloids, and capillary air is greater than spruce. The pectose is readily soluble in boiling NaOH solutions, but gelatinises at the higher temperatures employed in digestion and is therefore liable to become mechanically bound to the cellulose and difficult to wash out in the case of material treated in chip form. When this occurs, the difficulty of the subsequent bleaching is considerably increased. The smaller the particle, the less will this mechanical binding occur in the interior, hence the advantage of crushed material is very marked upon this point. With pectose, fat and wax may conveniently be grouped, as the latter is insignificant in amount and is soluble under similar conditions. Together they neutralise or abstract from the digestion liquor 32 per cent. of NaOH on the raw material for each 1 per cent. found on analysis. Unlike pectose, lignin is not soluble in weak solutions nor at temperatures below 130° and with strong solutions and high temperatures the danger of serious hydrolysis and destruction of fibre comes into play. The weaker the solution and the lower the temperature, the higher the collulose yield, but the minimum limit with both is the point at which lignin is no longer soluble. Its resolution is essentially a process of saponification and it must be borne in mind that it has to be transformed into a soap which remains soluble in the cold, otherwise precipitation on the pulp would occur during the subsequent washing. Crushing entirely eliminates the two difficulties peculiar to bamboo, viz., its capillary air and also very largely reduces its colloidal resistance. With their colloidal and air resistance gone, their additional pectrics and ligneous contents sink into insignificance in relation to the whole mass. But the crushed material, by its large bulk, entails the use of a large volume of comparatively weak liquor, and this, to a considerable extent eliminates the hydrolysing tendency of strong liquor. In general the digestion

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liquor will not exceed 12°. In liquors of this strength, the lowest temperature at which the permanently soluble saponification of the lignin can be effected is 150° and the consumption of NaOH is equal to 66 per cent. on the raw material for each 1 per cent. found on analysis. The duration of digestion required is three hours. Estimating on the analysis Mr. Raitt has shown that 17·58 per cent. NaOH on air-dry bamboo is the irreducible minima with which bare but complete resolution can be accomplished under nearly perfect conditions of resistance. Anything in excess of these amounts which may be found necessary will be due to conditions of material or digestion other than the non-cellulose contents of the material.

The processes of pulping are of two kinds: (1) a simple disintegration by wet or hot grinding to a "mechanical" pulp. Such pulps are substantially the original wood substance, deprived incidentally of water soluble constituents; (2) chemical processes which attack the ligneous constituents and convert them into soluble derivatives, leaving the cellulose which preserves the form and dimensions of the original fibres constituting a "chemical" pulp composed of the fibrous structural elements of the wood in the fully resolved condition.

Out of these two processes of pulping, bamboo is subject only to the chemical process; and such methods employed are of two kinds, viz., acid, of which the so-called "sulphite" process is typical; and the alkaline, exemplified by the well-known "soda" process. Whichever system is used the preliminary operations for preparing the bamboo are the same. The stems of bamboo are crushed and flattened under rollers and these are afterwards cut into chips and shredded into fine shavings. The unsuitability of the acid treatment has been finally determined by previous experimentists, in spite of its possessing certain advantages along with the cheapness in cost. Sulphite process exercises a less destructive effect on the fibre, so its yield of cellulose is slightly higher and it does not degrade the solubles of the material to a brown colour which stains the pulp. The material therefore is of a fairly good yellowish white colour in the unbleached state and can be used for many purposes (such as the cheaper grades of newspaper) without further bleaching. But this advantage is largely lost where better grades are concerned which entail bleaching to a white shade, for it is frequently the case that the brown soda pulp is more easily bleachable than the pale yellow sulphite. So it is not suitable unless a market exists for the pulp in its yellow unbleached condition. But the bamboo pulp is so emphatically suitable for better uses that it would be misplacing it entirely to devote it to purposes for which an unbleached yellow cellulose is good enough, and the cost of bleaching bamboo sulphite pulp is so much greater than for bamboo soda that any economy of sulphite over soda is lost.

The alkaline treatment of bamboo for the manufacture of soda bamboo-pulp is similar to that used for the manufacture of esparto-pulp. The crushed bamboo in the form of fine shreddings is heated in large rotary digesters with a solution of caustic soda. The non-fibrous constituents of the wood are completely dissolved, and a brown coloured pulp is obtained. The spent liquors are preserved and the soda recovered to be used over again as required. All kinds of wood and other fibrous materials may be converted into pulp by this process. Caustic soda combines with the acid products derived from the non-fibrous constituents of the wood until the alkali is neutralised, so that the insoluble portion of the wood left is cellulose in a more or less pure condition, containing much less resin than the pulp obtained by the sulphite process.

It has been said before that for digestion of material which has had its mass, air and colloidal resistance almost entirely destroyed and from which the starchy contents have been extracted, a temperature of 150° is essential for at least 3 hours, with consumption of NaOH 17·58 per cent. on the crushed bamboo. The condition of treatment vary according to the nature of the material and the requirements of the manufacturer. For pulp that will bleach readily the process of digestion is carried out to a greater extent than for pulp which is required in the manufacture of wrapping papers. The yield of pulp and the quality are influenced by these conditions. The increase of pressure results in a diminution of yield, the quantity of pulp obtained being reduced considerably. The excess of Alkali causes rapid destruction of the fibres. With lower pressure the resulting pulp though

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higher in yield requires a greater quantity of B.P. Saving of time also is a most important factor in the economic conditions governing modern factory practice. The fixed charges increased by a factory for interest and depreciation of plant, salaries, wages, &c., bear so high a proportion to the total cost of pulp per ton that the quantity of output becomes a question of supreme importance. The greater the production the less the ton cost for these items, and it may easily be of so much importance that it may pay to sacrifice chemicals, or even yield, in order to save time and thus increase the output. The problem therefore is to arrive at those conditions which most economically balance the two.

Instead of giving all the details of the long series of my experiments which were made to obtain results to compare with the results obtained by Mr. Raitt, in connection with the other five species he treated, it would be desirable to give the final conclusion drawn from the series of my experiments with the *Dendrocalamus Strictus Bamboo*.

And that conclusion is that D. Strictus bamboo of the Dangs requires a treatment less severe than any of the other varieties of bamboo, bleaches more economically, and costs less. It is quite safe now to say that any kind of bamboo can be treated without difficulty to produce pulp of the highest quality and that no fibre available in quantity at the present moment can be superior to bamboo. It is suitable for the highest qualities of paper, and when properly treated, can also be converted into excellent kraft paper. As a matter of fact when properly handled, bamboo can be used for practically anything for which cellulose is suitable.

THE STRUGGLE

By J. J. Bell, Author of "Thou Fool," "A Kingdom of Dreams," &c.

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I.

"TALKING of conscription," the handsome, white-haired guest remarked, helping himself to a walnut, "just as I was leaving the club to-night I heard that General Farrar, one of its most strenuous advocates, had died suddenly this afternoon."

"General Farrar!" exclaimed the young host, and simultaneously a cry came from the hostess.

"Dear me! Pray forgive me." The guest looked apologetically from one to the other. "I was not aware that the general was a friend——"

"Oh, that's all right, Sir Philip," the host hastened to say reassuringly. "We know the general only by name, though we happen to have the acquaintance of some of his relations, the Stanfords. Do you know them?"

The question seemed to miss Sir Philip's ears; his attention was all for his hostess. "Mrs. Lennard, I fear I have upset you," he was murmuring self-reproachfully.

"Oh, no—not really, Sir Philip. I can't think why I should have been startled——"

"Why, Hilda," said her husband, "you look as if you had seen a ghost!"

"Nonsense, Frank!" She laughed almost easily. Her colour was already coming back.

"I'm afraid you are developing those nerves again," he said smiling, albeit anxiety lingered in his eyes. "Just as well, perhaps, that we no longer need to go out to-morrow." He turned to his guest, remarking: "Mrs. Stanford was to have given a dance in the Ritz to-morrow evening."

"Ah!" said Sir Philip, his eyes still on his hostess.

"And the truth is," said Hilda, with another uncertain laugh, "I'm frightfully

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disappointed. Am I not heartless person, Sir Philip?"

"I should not have a thought so," the old man replied, trifle drily. "You are fond of dancing, Mrs. Lennard?"

"Well, this was to have been a special affair," put in Lennard, who was obviously puzzled by his wife's manner. "Apart from the dance itself, Hilda and I were going to regard it as a sort of celebration of the anniversary of our wedding——"

"We shall have been married five whole years," Hilda interrupted as one who feels speech absolutely necessary. "What shall we do by way of celebration now, Frank?"

"What do you say to a quiet evening at home, Hilda?" It was a serious question lightly put.

"How horrid!" She pouted. "Of course, I didn't mean that, dear, but surely we ought to celebrate such an occasion in festive fashion. Don't you agree with me, Sir Philip?" Her smile was charming.

"I am afraid I must ask you to permit me to agree with your husband's suggestion," Sir Philip answered with gentle gravity. "A quiet evening together seems to me a real celebration after five gay and happy years." He raised his glass. "My dear Mr. and Mrs. Lennard, I drink to you both. May your future be as happy as your past, and—if possible—happier." Once more his gaze lingered on the young woman, and suddenly she flushed to her dark hair.

"Thanks, Sir Philip; thanks from us both." Lennard tried to speak brightly, but he was feeling dissatisfied, irritated; he could not have told why. Until five minutes ago he had been in the best of spirits, and the informal little dinner had gone merrily, as their little dinners had always gone with Sir Philip as a guest. Was the old man to blame? Nonsense! How should the announcement of an unknown person's death that involved no more than the cancellation of a dance upset his wife? Hilda had shown similar signs in the past; during the last two years she had suffered from brief attacks of nervousness, especially before and after big entertainments. She must really see a doctor this time.

Hilda broke the short but somewhat strained silence. "Shall we have coffee in the billiard room or in the library?" she asked, pressing the electric button beside her plate.

"Let's have it in the Library, Hilda. Percival is coming in for a game, but before he arrives I want to show Sir Philip your necklace."

"My necklace!"

"Why, yes, Hilda. I brought it from the bank to-day, because I thought you would want it for the Stanfords' dance." He paused to allow of her giving the order to the man who had entered and was standing attentive at the door.

"Yes, yes, of course. I—I expected you would bring it from the bank." She appeared to be unaware of the servant's presence: "I suppose you have left it in your safe in the library. Do you think Sir Philip would really care to see it, Frank?"

"My dear, Briggs is there."

"Oh! . . . . Briggs, we shall take coffee in the—the billiard-room."

"Yes, ma'am." The servant bowed and retired. Sir Philip, who had given him more than one casual glance, made a slight grimace.

"I thought it was to be the library." Lennard was looking at his wife. She was pale again; her fingers toyed restlessly with a wine-glass. His heart smote him. He had been allowing her to overdo it. "All right, dear," he said kindly; "the billiard-room will do excellently. We should have been going there in any case on Percival's arrival. Meanwhile I'll take Sir Philip to the library and show him the necklace. He is a judge of diamonds, and I want his opinion."

"Delighted!" said Sir Philip. It seemed almost as if he had turned his back on his hostess. "You are speaking, I presume, of the necklace you gave your wife just after you were married. You have more than once promised to show it me."

Mrs. Lennard rose. "Don't wait for me, she said, her hand on the back of her chair. "I'll follow you immediately."

"Hilda," said her husband, "you are feeling fit enough?"

She contrived a semblance of a smile. "Perfectly. A little tired, perhaps. Nothing serious, I assure you."

Lennard hesitated, then left the room with the guest.

Hilda's grip on the chair tightened; her body relaxed and drooped. "Oh, my God," she whispered, "help me to do something, quickly."

When she reached the library her husband was stooping behind the open door

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of the safe. Her ears informed her that he was fitting a key into a drawer. Sir Philip was standing by the hearth, and to him she went directly. She was now very pale.

Aloud she said: "I shall wait for you in the billiard-room, Frank." In scarce a whisper: "Read it now."

She turned and went, leaving in her guest's hand a narrow slip of paper.

There was the sound of a steel drawer sliding open. Sir Philip scanned the hurriedly penciled words:

"For God's sake, pretend you think the stones are real."

II.

About ten o'clock she excused herself to her guests on the plea of feeling the billiard-room too warm.

"I will write to Mrs. Stanford and then go to bed," she told her husband, who was "making" for the others.

"Go to bed, dear, and leave everything else till the morning," he said tenderly. "And perhaps we shall do something moderately festive to-morrow, after all. In the afternoon, we'll have a look at the jewellers' shops. You want a new ring."

"Oh, no, no!"

He laughed. "And then I've decided to have the necklace reset—Sir Philip thinks the stones don't get their proper chance; so——"

"Seven to go, old man," interrupted Percival.

"All right. . . . What! are you off, Hilda?"

"Yes. Good-night, all," she managed to say from the doorway, her hand pressed hard to her heart.

* * * * *

Ten minutes later Sir Philip found her in the library, cowering over the fire, though May was near its end.

"Frank is playing a hundred with Mr. Percival," he remarked, seating himself on the other side of the hearth. "Like you, I found the atmosphere of the billiard-room a little oppressive."

She did not respond, save with a glance, and the misery in her eyes shocked him.

"Mrs. Lennard," he said softly.

"Well?" she whispered at last.

He took a bit of paper—a narrow slip—from his waistcoat pocket and gave it deliberately to the fire. "My dear," he said gently, "to-night I have lied to your husband, whom I have known and loved since he was a little boy. His mother was the lady I would fain have married. I remember her when she was a girl like you—very like you. I think it was partly for her sake that I did what your note asked me to do."

Hilda put a hand to her head. "I thank you," she said: "I am very grateful . . . But, oh! why did you advise him to have a new setting? Now I am ruined—utterly ruined. To-morrow he will take it to the jeweller, and then—— Well, I suppose I ought not to have expected you to think of everything, Sir Philip."

"I tried to think of everything, Mrs. Lennard. Can't you guess why I suggested resetting the stones?"

She started. "Surely—surely you did not want to betray me?"

"No; to save you. My motive was simply to force your hand."

"To force my hand!"

"In other words, to compel you to tell your husband everything."

"Oh, never! How cruel!" She covered her face.

"My poor child," he said in a low voice, "there is no other hope for you. I'm an old man, and I know. You must tell him everything."

"He would detest me!"

"Ah, no! I beg you to believe me when I say that he would neither hate nor despise you. I would ask you to believe also that it would be easier for me to give you a blank cheque than this advice——"

"A blank cheque?"

"Yes. I'm surely an old enough friend to be permitted to do that. A cheque with which to redeem the real necklace—so that you might, in some sly and underhand fashion, substitute it for the false."

"Stop! Sir Philip, you don't understand—of course, you can't understand. I—I have the real necklace——" Involuntarily she raised her voice

" 'Sh!" Sir Philip, holding up a hand for silence, rose and tiptoed to the door, which he opened softly, suddenly. Closing it he nodded. "All right. But I don't like your man-servant, Mrs. Lennard. Has he been long in your service?"

"Only a month. Why?" She uncovered her face.

"I may be wrong. I'm an old man, and old men have fancies." He came back to the hearth and seated himself. "You have

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the real necklace—— Where?" he asked gently.

"In my room, upstairs."

There was a silence for some seconds. Then Sir Philip said: "Do you wish to tell me more?"

"I will tell you everything."

He sighed. "That is what you must tell Frank."

Her head drooped. "I am hoping that when you have heard everything you will no longer think it necessary for me to—to kill Frank's love."

He shook his handsome white head, smiling faintly. "Oh, thou of little faith! But tell me what you will, my dear."

Presently, with lowered gaze, she began to speak. "I suppose you have guessed that it started with cards—bridge. But it was bridge in the afternoons. Women's parties. I think women are worse than men. I was. At first I didn't like playing for money. I don't think I ever played for money until I had been married for two years. And then—I didn't know where to stop. At the end of one year I was deeply in debt and—terrified." She paused for a moment. "At that time I kept the necklace with my other jewels. I didn't know its value. I don't know it now. But——"

"Seven thousand pounds." Sir Philip remarked quietly.

"Oh! I had no idea it was worth nearly so much. Well, when the debts were driving me crazy I—I decided to pawn the necklace. I had heard of people getting paste copies made of their valuable jewels, and a woman—the one I owed the most money to—showed me the way. The day after I got home with the false necklace there was a burglary in the neighbourhood. Frank insisted on keeping the necklace in future at the bank. I—I had to give him the false one, for the real one was already pawned. I paid all my debts—and I wasn't a bit happy."

"Poor thing!"

"But since then," she went on, "I have never played bridge. Since then I have scrapt together every penny I could from my allowance—Frank is very generous—and all the interest on my own tiny little bit of money, and I have pretended to be awfully extravagant and frightfully charitable, when I've been really economical and mean. And yesterday I was able to get the real necklace back from pawn." Once more she covered her face. "You think that was nothing?"

"My dear!" Sir Philip rose and stood looking down on her with infinite pity. "And then?"

"And after the Stanford's dance I was going to give back Frank the real necklace."

"And then?"

She dropped her hands and turned up a pale, indignant face.

He gave her no time to speak. "You have done a great thing, Hilda," he said, "but it cannot take the place of confession. I am thinking of you. Tell Frank, and he will forgive you. Tell him everything to-night."

"Oh, you are hard—hard! You have made it so that I must either tell him I have been a wicked little fool or be discovered as a wretched cheat."

"We have all been wicked and foolish.... Tell him to-night."

Suddenly she slipped to her knees before him. She caught his hand. "It—it would be so simple a thing for you to—to ask to see the necklace again, and exchange it for the real one."

"Ah!"

"It would be my salvation, Sir Philip. Could you not—"

"You do not know what you are saying, my dear," he said firmly. "If you actually saw a person deliberately deceiving your husband, you would want to kill that person. Is it not so?"

She let go his hand and rose slowly to her feet. "Then I had better kill myself." She took a few steps away from him and threw herself on a couch.

Sir Philip wiped his brow. "Mrs. Lennard, do you love your husband?"

"Have I not been saying as much ever since I told you my secret?"

He sighed. "I have heard a woman speak like that in a play," he said. "I'm an old man and old-fashioned. If I did what you suggest, I could never face Frank again. As it is, his eyes can shame me now. Oh, Hilda, Frank's wife, let this old fellow go on being as proud of you as he has been since that happy wedding day! Be brave, be brave, my dear. For Frank's sake, as well as your own. Make his future happiness and your own secure against any ugly whisper out of the past. Remember your secret is known to at least one woman." He moved to where she sat and laid a hand

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on her shoulder, for now her head was bowed and her breath was coming sobbingly. "You will tell him to-night ?" he said very softly.

It seemed that he had won.

"I will, I will !" she murmured.

"That is grand of you," he whispered, and took her hand and kissed it, and went from her presence with wet old eyes.

III.

"I will tell him everything !"

Lying in bed, Hilda heard midnight strike, and soon thereafter voices and the clang of the hall door. Mr. Percival had taken his departure.

"I will tell him everything !"

Voices again, nearer at hand. Her husband was conducting Sir Philip to his room. Then a door closed softly, and there was a long silence. Evidently her husband had gone downstairs again.

"I will tell him everything!"

But when at last Frank entered the room her eyes were shut, and she was lying very still. She was conscious of his looking down at her, but not of the infinite tenderness in his eyes. Presently he bent over her ; she heard him sigh, felt the touch of his lips on her hair. As he moved away she nearly cried out. He passed into the adjoining room.

One o'clock. She thought she heard a sound on the stairs and listened ; but all was quiet.

"I will tell him everything !" she repeated feverishly, staring at the nightlight ; yet she lay still, and the seconds of another hour trod wearily past.

Suddenly the question smote her : What if she were to be taken ill—so ill that she could not tell him anything ? What if she were to die ?

She got up and slipped on her pretty dressing-gown. From its secret hiding-place—which an inquisitive infant would have discovered—she took the real necklace in its case. The door was not shut ; to her cautious pressure it yielded soundlessly. She stole into her husband's room.

He was fast asleep. But she would go down on her knees at his bedside and waken him gently, and—tell him everything.

A feeling of weakness assailed her, and she sought support. Her hand fell on a ledge of the dressing-table. Her fingers touched something cold. Her ears caught the faintest of faint metallic sounds. Her eyes dropped to the cause of it. A shiver passed through her body. In the dim light she stood staring downwards, as though fascinated.

A small bunch of keys.

* * * *

The tiny light that was wont to burn in the hall throughout the night may have served her as she descended the staircase and crossed to the library ; yet a spy would have deemed her progress to be that of a sleep-walker. The door of the library swung silently before her ; as silently it closed behind her. In the darkness her hand groped for the electric switches on the wall. A pause of hesitation ended in a click.

The bulbs on either side of the mantelpiece leapt into luminance. And the woman staggered.

"Sir Philip !" she gasped.

The old man was seated in an easy-chair in front of the dead fire.

"Ah," he remarked, rising, "it is you, Mrs. Lennard. I got it into my old head that your servant Briggs might come to-night and try the safe, which is not a particularly strong one. I warned your husband about Briggs, whom I am certain I have seen in less reputable service than the present, but I fear he did not take me seriously. However, I do not now think Briggs will attempt anything to-night. The lights will scare him off. Still, I would recommend you to part with him as soon as possible, unless you are satisfied that the whole thing is an old man's delusion. But"—he moved towards her—"permit me to retire, Mrs. Lennard. I fear I may be in the way."

She was leaning against the door, her eyes half closed. Possibly her mind did not grasp what he had been talking about.

"Do not be afraid," he said suavely. "Any attempt at burglary has been at least postponed. Will you allow me to pass, please ?" He stood waiting, watching.

All at once her eyes opened wide, like the eyes of a hunted creature. Her strength seemed to fail, and the leather case and bunch of keys she had been holding to her bosom fell at her feet.

He stooped, picked them up, and offered them to her, saying: "It won't take you two minutes to open that safe, make the exchange, and close it again—"

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"Oh, but you are killing me," she breathed. "I hate you!"

"—and those two minutes will poison all the hours of your life."

"How dare you meddle— "

"Perhaps because I am an old man who loves your husband—and you."

She moved aside from the door. "Oh, go!" she whispered. "I can bear no more. At first I thought you were right, but now —oh, I dare not risk losing Frank. Can't you understand that? And if I've got to suffer all my life——"

"My dear," he interrupted gently, "how much do you love your husband?"

She stared at him. "Can't you see that I love him above everything?" She spoke almost irritably.

"Then," he said calmly, "you cannot open that safe."

There was a silence while she took the keys from his hand, crossed the floor, and stooped before the steel door.

"I care nothing for honour or anything else so long as I keep his love," she muttered, choosing the key.

"Whose honour?" the old man softly asked. "Whose is the honour when you and he are one?"

"Oh!" It was as if he had struck her. She wavered and sank to her knees. Presently she began to sob. "Oh, God, I can't do it!"

"Poor child, poor child!" he sighed. "Of course you can't do it." But he waited for a little while ere he approached her.

She allowed him to lead her from the library, wherein he left the light burning, and upstairs, and to the door of her room.

"I am going to tell him now," she whispered.

"Wait till the morning," he murmured, in spite of himself, in spite of all that had passed, for he was torn with pity for her.

She shook her head and passed from his sight.

* * * *

Her husband had not stirred since her last glimpse of him. She knelt by the bedside, clutching the necklace and seeking to summon the courage she still required to utter his name. She was in torment.

She sought to waken him by gazing at his closed eyes until her brain seemed about to fail her, and her head drooped against the edge of the pillow.

Time passed, and despite her mental agony she became conscious of a slight physical discomfort; something hard was pressing against her cheek. Involuntarily her free hand made inquiry.

She lifted her head. Her whole body stiffened, for her fingers recognised the case that held the false necklace.

The safety she had sought through two dreadful years was literally within her grasp; it offered itself; it awaited her acceptance. And her husband would never know; he was sleeping so soundly—so soundly.

But even as she glanced stealthily at his face an awful horror of herself seized her.

"Save me, Frank," she cried, and gripping his shoulder she shook him frantically.

* * * * *

In the dawn Lennard watched over his wife in her slumber of utter exhaustion. At last her breath was beginning to come naturally, a faint colour was gaining upon the pallor of her face, the shadows of suffering were passing away.

"Thank God," he said softly, and bent to kiss her.

Which may suggest, among other things, that Sir Philip had not meddled altogether unwisely.

IDEALS OF DOMESTIC FELICITY

"Like the star
That shines afar,
Without haste
And without rest,
Let each man wheel with steady sway
Round the task that rules the day,
And do his best."—*Goethe.*

WHEN a man is in that period of his life when he seriously considers it necessary to enter upon matrimony, he has need to have his eyes wide open and to set his brains a-thinking, so that the great responsibilities and duties devolving on him as a family man may reveal themselves to him in their true colours and that the great moral obligations and responsibilities lying behind the outward glitter of married life may not be left unreckoned; for, the glory of manly character depends

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upon the honest performance of an individual's duties in life.

Great and solemn are the duties of a family man, and his responsibilities and obligations towards his wife and children are of such a serious nature that it should well nigh stagger even the stoutest heart if he carefully pre-surveys them. Nevertheless, many a young man, with hardly any knowledge of the troubles and anxieties of married life, rushes in for wedlock with an avidity and thoughtlessness that is most astonishing.

Almost the first thing that a young man, about to enter upon married life, should consider about, is whether he has the means to keep a home and maintain a family. It is only after he has this assurance that he should consider the question of his choice of a partner in life. Unfortunately, several of our young men *first* make their choice of a partner; the necessity for a home, the wherewithal for the maintenance of a family are made subjects for later consideration. Domestic life can not have any charms with the lovely looks alone of a wife. There must be grist in the mill. She might sing all day, but her songs will be strained and lifeless; she might, out of love for her husband, smile and ring the house with her laughter, but her smiles and laughter will lack the mirth of contentment and peace of mind; and the poor thoughtless husband who dragged her life to share his misery will feel, in his inmost heart, a pang at the strained songs and the forced smiles. Instead of one struggling soul, there would be two and, perhaps, more in future years; and where happiness was expected, misery would sit enthroned. The neglect on the part of a young man to consider this important aspect of married life is not only a crime to his family but an offence to society in general; as by his thoughtless action he drags a young woman from the care and protection of her parents to share his misery, and introduces, by and by, into this sad lot a number of young people—the fruits of his marriage—who, for want of proper education and sufficient means, contract evil habits,—the general concomitants of an impoverished and miserable life—and retard the course of civilization.

Another equally important, if not far more serious, question that should engage the attention of young men is the choice of a suitable partner in life. The success or failure of a married life hinges upon this all important question. This is the more-so in the case of those whose religion admits of no divorce, or, in other words, who have to take a wife "for life, for good, or for bad, until death do them part." The smallest want of prudence and forethought in the selection of a wife would land a young man in future years to untold miseries, troubles, and anxieties. Following the principle of Keats, that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," young men generally go in for good-looking damsels, forgetful, oftentimes, of the virtues in a woman, so necessary to make a home happy and peaceful. Beauty in a wife is, no doubt, a good thing; but it will be tarnished the next day after marriage, if it is not embellished by the good qualities necessary in a wife; for, "handsome is that handsome does" more than that handsome looks. Beauty would be an additional charm in a wife, if she has the necessary, or more important, good qualities. The lady, a young man selects, should be of an amiable nature. Amiability does not mean her tendency to flirt with you all day long, nor can it be gauged by her sweet words and winning ways. Amiability consists in obedience, honesty, and frankness, and a desire to please (morally) those with whom she comes in contact, whether it be her husband, her children or strangers. She must also be one who does not put a high premium on her own comforts and luxuries, but should be one who loves self-sacrifice and self-denial, not to speak of self-help. She must be pure and virtuous. Well has it been said that "purity of heart and mind elevates man"; how much more does this noble attribute do for a woman? It simply glorifies her. There can be no sight more consoling than that of a woman, pure in heart, presiding as the mistress of a home. Her purity of heart and mind would be the halo of grace that would shed its lustre on her husband, and cast its reflection on her sons and daughters. Her virtue would be to her husband, a crown richer than those on the heads of Kings. Her purity will be the firm rock on which the moral fabric of her offspring shall be raised. Her moral lustre will penetrate not alone the inmost recesses of her home, but even farther outside it, shedding a glory for several to profit by. What, if

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she is ill-clad and undecorated with jewels? What if powders, perfumes and pomades have not done her the work of beguiling? The ancient artists painted Madonna, that paragon of womanly purity, in plain clothes and undecked hair, and still was the Virgin Mother shining in all the splendour of her heart.

To know that a young lady has these attributes which alone can make home happy, it is essential for a young man to know her intimately. If a close personal knowledge, which must, as far as possible, be resorted to, is not feasible, the young man is morally bound, at least by patient and diligent enquiries, to ascertain the ways and manners of his intended partner-in-life. Young men, unfortunately, fall in love with young maidens at first sight and promise marriage—nay, some foolish thick-headed young men would even decide their choice through proxys or, perhaps, a look at the young lady's photograph, not knowing whether it is a counterfeit.

A young man once went into an institution to find a mate. The Lady Director in charge of the Institution arraigned before him a number of women belonging to the Institution, and when he had surveyed them and they had dispersed, he told the Director that he had chosen No. 3. After the young man left, the Director asked the women to re-arrange themselves as they did in the presence of the young man, and she selected No. 3, but, unfortunately for our young man, from the *wrong* end. No words are needed to portray the young man's consternation when, after the marriage service was over, he lifted up the bridal veil for the bridal kiss, and discovered the serious blunder that was made in substituting a very elderly matron for a young blooming maiden whom he had hit upon.

Worse still would be the fate of a man or woman who, in the "wanted" columns of a newspaper advertises his or her virtues in order to secure a partner in life. If brides are selected without even the care usually bestowed in the purchase of commodities, without even, I may add, either the guide of an illustrated or descriptive catalogue, is there any wonder in the serious blunders of married life, and the never-ending troubles and vexations that result therefrom?

Educational attainments are certainly an accomplishment requisite in a young lady about to enter upon married life. Education would enable her to rightly understand her responsibilities and obligations. It would furnish her with resources to mitigate her troubles by enabling her to view them in their proper lights and deal with them accordingly. It would be an inducement for her to educate her children and bring them up in the right course of life. It would enable her to assist her husband in his struggle for the moral and mental up-lifting of the members of his household. It would be a great factor in the explanation of differences of opinion between husband and wife and parents and children.

If young men, about to enter life as married men, will only remember that taking a wife means taking her for ever; that, unlike commodities, she cannot be exchanged, replaced, sold, or transferred; and if they will only look around them and take into careful account the several mistakes made by their neighbours and friends, and the irretrievable nature of such blunders and the deep misery into which unsuitable matches have landed such people, they will pause and think a hundred times over before leaping into matrimonial entanglements.

The happiness of the young man himself, the peace and comfort in his home, the moral and mental education of his children, the economic regulation of his expenditure, the godliness, orderliness and cleanliness of his house and its members,—in fact, the success or failure of every conceivable item and aspect of married life centres in the wife. She it is who is the internal master of the situation. Her head heart and hands work oracles of success. A good wife is the angel that harmonises every chord in the music of the home. Man toils all-day long, and brings home whatever he could to meet his household demands, and—be, it more or be it less—a capable woman, willing, self-sacrificing, and dutiful, will be able to show the very best results. Give a thousand rupees into the hands of a squandering, luxurious, easy-going, and indifferent wife; it will vanish in a couple of days and on the third day there will be nothing left but the seeds of trouble and discord. While a good wife is the best ornament in a family, a bad one is a curse and a ruination. Young men will do well to remember that by

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making a bad or a wrong selection, not only do they court unhappiness and misery for themselves, but they also expose their children to the danger of receiving a bad training from her and imbibing her perverted ways. The children of such women, unless they come under other salutary influences, are apt to turn out to be bad characters, as they grow up.

Men have oftentimes a tendency to marry women who are more accomplished than themselves or who have large fortunes. In the former case they run the risk of becoming mere puppets in the hands of their superior wives, while, in the latter, the natural course would be for the man to become the hand-maid of the woman, who is sure to run the show with her money. Accomplishments and fortune in a wife are, no doubt, good things when she has sufficient good sense as not to become hare-brained on that account. A woman may be beautiful *par excellence*, she may be highly educated and well accomplished in the fine arts, she may be rich and respectfully connected; but if she is not pure and virtuous, if she lacks the sense of duty as wife and mother, and if her character is open to question, all her beauty, education and wealth counts for nothing. One had rather go to a girl in poverty and rags, with no other accomplishments than the purity of her heart and the virtuousness of her character,—for these are the angelic glories of womanhood. Their lustre will eclipse her other deficiencies.

As it is necessary for a young man to take all possible precautions and care in the selection of a wife, so is it incumbent on a young lady to see that her suitor comes forward for her hand after mature deliberation and after providing himself with a home and the means for the support of a family that would soon spring around them. If she ignores this grave consideration she indirectly connives with him at dragging poor innocents into misery. She should also be watchful of her suitor's habits and temperament; for a great deal of her happiness and the welfare of the children she may have later on will depend upon them. Her suitor should be one that is willing to work and provide for the family, and if he has wealth of his own, he should not have a tendency to squander it. Let the young lady also see that the man is not intemperate in his habits. A drunkard is a bane not alone in a family but even to society in general. Women are generally weak in their powers of discrimination, and oftentimes prefer gallantry to sound intelligence, and fall victims to the style of young men's clothes, his cigarette cases, and his perfumes, in preference to real sound substance in other suitors. She should see that he is a true gentleman as contained in the following lines:—

"We see him as he moved,
How modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise,
With what sublime repression of himself,
And in what limits and how tenderly;
Not making his high place a lawless perch
Of winged ambitions, nor a vantage ground
For pleasure; but thro' all this tract of year,
Wearing the white flower of a blameless life.

In an old number of an illustrated journal there was a picture of a lady seated in the centre of a garden-seat, with two suitors of the same age on either side of her. The one was a judge of high repute with his wig and cloak on. His broad and bulging forehead bespoke intelligence, wisdom, and learning and his clear countenance beamed with honesty, frankness and sobriety. The other was a soldier—a red-coat with a physiognomy indicating deficiency of intellect and lack of purpose, with his face flushed with the effects of wine. And yet, the wonder of the situation was that the young lady was smiling in ecstasy to the soldier, with her back against the judge. What an instructive picture for our young sisters to draw a moral from? But unfortunately for them, they very often draw in the great lottery of matrimony the blanks of the 'redcoats' and rarely, the prizes of the 'wigs'.

And again, a young lady often takes sooner to a "gas-pot" of a young man than to a really grave, quiet, and unpretentious but sound and substantial suitor. She presumes that the quiet and unpretentious young man is a dullard and in spite of several other necessary accomplishments he will not do well in society, much less for exhibition among her girl-friends, little knowing that a short while after her marriage, very few people would care to talk about her acquisition, and that, as years go on, a society man, if he has not other requisite acquisitions, would be a signal failure as a family head, and that she herself would begin to rue her choice. On the other hand, there have also been

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several instances of very quiet-looking young men turning out real tyrants and demi-gods after marriage. They put on a sheep's clothing during their courting days, and once the nuptial knot is tied, they cast off their disguise and reveal themselves in their wolfish ferocity.

The choice of a husband or wife, therefore, is a matter beset with several difficulties; and as it is a question that affects one's whole future life and the welfare of the progeny, no man or woman would be justified in hastily drawing conclusions, and blindly selecting or accepting partners in life under the popular conviction that "marriages are made in heaven" and the parties are not, therefore, responsible for the folly, if any, in the choice of suitors. Whatever the popular opinion of this all-important institution may be, there can be little doubt, that if the parties are well-chosen and suitable to each other, and if there has been no precipitated hurry whereby details of each other's nature and character have been ignored, the union, in the majority of cases, would be happy. Let no man or woman, about to enter into the state of matrimony trifle with this all-absorbing and highly important question which would mean to two grown-up individuals happiness or misery, to a number of children a bright or a blighted future, and to society in general a satisfaction or a mortification.

When man and woman have made up their minds to be husband and wife, and when the irrevocable tie has bouud them together for life, (of course, only such sects with whom the marriage bond is irrevocable is meant) it behoves each of them to make the best of their alliance. The man conscious of his responsibilities as husband, must ever have before his eyes the image of his dear wife, and work and economise for the sake of her whom, among all women in the world, he has chosen for his companion in life, his adviser in times of need, his nurse in sickness, and his comfort and help in old age. He should also bear in mind the undeniable fact that, being married, he will have children whom it will be his duty to maintain and bring up in the right path, making such provisions for their future career as may be necessary. He should lead a scrupulously upright life so that its noble traits may be reflected on his wife and children.

The wife also, as soon as she has settled herself in her new home should assume her obligations as mistress of the household. Of course, by that she is not to boss over husband when he is at home, or her servants; on the other hand, it is her duty to love, honour and obey her husband who is none other than her friend and colleague, and rule her servants kindly yet firmly. It is also her duty to give good counsel and direction to her husband whenever needed; for well has it been said that the wife is primeminister, to her husband. It is equally her duty to manage her servants efficiently, displaying kindness towards them, when needed, and treating them not as beasts but as beings deserving of sympathy and compassion, in spite of their being placed under her in a subordinate and menial position. She should take pains to keep her home in cleanliness and order. She should have an eye on the several departments in her home. She should avoid incurring debts by regulating her expenditure, and should practise thrift and economy. She should endeavour to attain the maximum of comfort with the minimum of cost. Let her also remember that a cheerful countenance is a great consolation to her husband. Wives would do well to maintain this great asset in want and in plenty. Her face may be very pretty and bewitching, but if she suffers it to be clouded with moroseness, it would despirit her husband and, perhaps, annoy him. The disagreeable combination would certainly not be conducive to domestic felicity. Nothing pleases a tired man after his day's hard labour more than to see his wife cheerful and contented, and his home neat and tidy.

The equipment of a home should be on a scale directly proportional to the income of the family. Good taste in furnishing it, is necessary and would be pleasing to all; but all pleasure would be lost, if thoughtless extravagance is restored to for the purpose. Whether the young wife is brought to a palace or cottage, she can so arrange everything as to be pleasing to all. A lady of high repute has said that "cleanliness, plenty of air, neatness and quiet are indispensable in a well-ordered home. A dirty window, a stuffy atmosphere, a littered floor, noisy children, clattering servants, are enough to spoil the comfort of the most elegant house in the world."

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Women, after giving birth to a couple of children, often put forward the plea of want of time to rectify the untidiness of their homes or the disorderliness of the children and servants; but in ninety cases out of a hundred it will be found that the real cause lies in the fact that such women are idle dolts, unwilling to spend a few minutes a day in this important direction.

Wives must also learn to have a great command over their tongues. Many a difference of opinion has ended in open quarrels and unseemly fights, because women did not realise the importance of bridling their tongues. George Eliot says "we are apt to be kinder to the brutes that love us than to the woman that love us. Is it because the brutes are dumb?" Wives should get an insight into their husband's nature and should know exactly when to speak and what to speak and more than all. when *not to speak*, for, in this tact will depend much of the peace in a family. Most effective lessons were taught by great men when they were silent.

Husband and wife must remember that they have to work conjointly for their domestic happiness. It is idle to expect the husbaud to work all day while the wife recklessly keeps on spending whatever he brings; it is equally idle to expect the wife to economise when the husband goes head-long into extravagance. One cannot expect the wife to keep home clean and tidy and the children in orderliness if the husband returns home every day the worse for liquor. One cannot expect the husband to work harder day by day and to deprive himself of his little luxuries for the sake of his children, if his wife's millinery and perfume bills run up to colossal figures. No, these divergent tactics of husband and wife will never run smoothly. They must end in want, disorder, disatisfaction, and rupture in the family. Hand in hand, in work, in labour, in spending in saving, in management, and in every conceivable matter regarding the home, both husband and wife must go, in order to attain domestic felicity. Be they rich or poor, there is no deviation from this rigid path; and there cannot be.

After the first few months, and in some exceptional cases, few years, of marriage, when the delusive charm of married-life has passed away, troubles are likely to follow. The honeymoon period and a few succeeding months are, as a rule, happily spent, but as days go on either the husband or the wife assumes towards the other an attitude quite different from what it had been up to that. It may be either due to difference of opinion, lack of interest in each other, or to that devil suspicion who has found one of them susceptible to his vagaries. This period is a turning point in married life, and if husband and wife do not use all their intelligence, prudence and tact at such a critical moment, one does not know when they would be needed at all. One false step taken at this period by either party may lead to trouble ever after. There should be a frankness in explaining differences of opinion so as to win the opposite party; there should be love mingled in all the explanations and actions; the woman should go back to her maiden days and behave towards her husband as if they were starting their courtship afresh; the man should likewise take the standpoint of his bachelor days and behave towards her as if he just began his suit to her, and would lose it if he did not acquit himself well. One of the worst evils that can enter the minds of married people is Suspicion. "Wrong thoughts are painful in their inception, painful in their growth, and painful in their fruitage." faults or offences on either side should be fairly and squarely set before each other and corrected—not in a manner to wound the feelings of any party, but with the intention to heal the differences. There must be a certain amount of forgiveness from either side, especially when an amendment is promised. Young men, having some differences to settle, have often been known to pull off their coats and take to boxing in order to settle their disputes, and then regain their friendship after a cordial drink together. Quarrels in married life can rarely be settled in this manner. The pacification after the broil will never be complete; the additional offences committed in the brawl would rankle in the mind and assert themselves sooner or later. It is one of the worst things for a married couple to fight over any matter. It not only spoils the effect of the love and regard between them which ought to be everlasting, but it lowers each in the other's estimation besides lowering both

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in the eyes of their children and servants and of the public who come to know about such misbehaviour. There are couples who take a delight, as it were, in fighting over the most trivial affair—even over the accidental breaking of a tea-pot or a sherry-glass. Constant quarrels in the house mar considerably the happiness of a home besides setting a bad example to the youngsters. Several matters which misguided couples make the basis of quarrels and fights can easily be settled by a little explanation and a patient hearing of it.

Both husband and wife must remember that they are but human, not divine, beings, and slight errors and deficiencies cannot but happen even in the best regulated families. There must be a certain amount of forgiveness from either side and in some cases husbands and wives if anxious to maintain domestic peace and hapiness, will have need to exercise much patience in settling several matters which, for want of this mother-virtue, would end in great trouble, disagreement and disunion in the house. The fact must be well remembered that in cases of family feuds the best umpire to refer to for deciding the points at issue is their own conscience. The arbitration of relatives and friends will more or less, be intrusive and mortifying to self-dignity. The disputants can consult their conscience at such times and obey its dictates with a spirit of patience, forgiveness, and readiness to make amends.

A family is the primitive element of society and its relations are derived from Nature itself. All bodies of organic composition whether in the animal or of vegetable kingdom, while living however rudimentary their life may be—require mating and union of male and female or equivalents thereto for the propagation and continuance of species. Man, being not exempt from the operation of this physical law, as was proved, according to the Bible, from the beginning of the world, when Adam found it worthless to live without the existence of an Eve by his side, could not be a perfection in species without union with woman. The one calls for and presupposes the other who, between them, make one unity in two bodies. The offspring resulting therefrom are, in reality, a prolongation and continuation of the primal union. The same process is, of course, repeated in successive generations *ad infinitum*. Marriage is not, therefore, an arbitrary institution, but the observance of a physical law, having for its end the propagation of children to supplant the parents and so continue the race by constant succession. In thus perpetuating the race, it is an important factor of evolution that each succeeding generation should be better fitted in its relation to its environments—or, in ordinary parlance, more perfect—than its preceding one. The responsibilities of parents in the matter of bringing up their children properly is, therefore, even greater than what their mutual obligations are; for, supposing a married couple sends out to the world half a dozen children without proper training, these half a dozen will, as generations go on, increase the number of ill-regulated families and badly brought up children, so that society at large will suffer considerably on this account,—and the cause of the wickedness, miseries, and troubles wrought by this large section will be attributable to the two who first formed the wedded pair, and neglected their duties to their offspring. Let not parents, amidst the ecstasy they feel when they hug their first-born to their bosom, forget their responsibilities to the little one. New duties spring up for both. The mother owes it her incessant care and an indefatigable sacrifice of comfort on its behalf just as she owes it her milk. The father owes it bread, clothes, his tenderness and watchful protection. The beasts and birds forget themselves while tending their young ones. Can man and woman, possessed with reason, degrade themselves below these? As the young one grows up, the responsibilities on its account also increase, and one of the greatest levers that works its success or failure in life is the home-training that it gets at the hands of its parents. Scores of indifferent and wicked boys and girls we come across, and if one will but enquire, their bad ways can invariably be traced to the want of proper parental care and training. Men and women have sunk into evil ways because their parents have failed to watch their youthful days and guide them in the fear and love of God and their neighbours. Fathers and mothers lead lives of luxury and, perhaps, dissipation, perfectly indifferent of the doings of their children or what their tendencies and

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inclinations are. In the training given at home to young children, the mother is more responsible than the father. The home is the proper sphere of woman, and it is there, while youngsters are still with plastic natures, that she can easily mould and form their character; for "through the wide portal of a mother's heart have come the noble train of human virtues that have raised the race from, we know not, how crude and degraded a stage in physical and moral being, up to that high state which, in its perfect flowing in the souls of the redeemed has made men only a little less than the angels." A neat and simple home, presided over by a sober, gentle and hard-working man, assisted by pure, virtuous and amiable woman, and surrounded by children carefully brought up in the ways of righteousness and in the love and fear of God, would indeed be a little paradise on earth. What a relief to the toiling man, what a consolation to the self-sacrificing woman, and what an inestimable blessing to the youngsters! The task of imparting a sound moral training to children at home is heavy and tedious besides being difficult; but parents, cognisant of their deep responsibilities, have to face it manfully and do it thoroughly and sincerely. Need it be said that it should be done cheerfully, for does not the parent realise the inestimable blessings that follow his labours and does he not imbibe the blessedness of having been the cause of these noble effects? Faults and evil habits in young people, like diseases, develop the longer they are left unchecked; and parents should, therefore, use the knife of prudent correction early in life to cut and root out the weeds that hamper the moral growth of children. Let not parents be misguided by the reflection that so long as they feed and clothe their children and pack them, if need be, to school, they have done their duty to them. No, not at all. Their physical, personal, and intellectual requirements may have been thereby met, but their moral requirements, the most necessary thing for man in the true sense of the word, needs attending to. Children should learn from parents the great lessons under this head. They should learn from parents to distinguish good from evil, to love the one and attain it, to detest the other and shun it. Faults and failings should be corrected with firmness and calmness, not with anger and violence. Parents, owing to their doting affection for children are prone to tolerate in them slight deficiencies, faults and failings. It is a serious risk; for their indulgence in the first word of impertinence, the small act of disobedience, the wee drop of wine, or the cheap little cigarette, may, in after years, be found to be the composition that manured the vile plants that have grown in the child, and to such an extent that it would be impossible to remove or check them.

"A little fire is quickly trodden out, which, being suffered, rivers cannot quench."

Parents should teach their daughters habits of modesty, truthfulness, morality, and unswerving rectitude. They should reveal to them the beauty of usefulness, the dangers of idleness, and the despicable worthlessness of frivolity. They should hold out for their daughters warning, examples of maidens who have gone astray and become wrecks of womanhood. They should teach their daughters duties of wives and mothers. Parents should bestow equal, if not more, care on their sons; for, these, perhaps, have to be separated from the influence of home at an earlier period than the daughters. They should be taught to imbibe the higher sentiments of our nature, upon which is based social existence, ideas of justice and order, compassion and charity. Much of our misery and debasement are the effects of ignorance. One who knows nothing, whose mental faculties are not cultivated, has naught but his physical powers to assist him; and physical powers have no value except in proportion to the direction given to them by the understanding. An ignorant man is, therefore, little better than a machine in the hands of one who works it for his own ends. Would parents wish their sons to vegetate in blind toil merely for the sake of their stomachs like the oxen that rend the furrows for nothing but a feeding, the owner who drives and goads them on profiting by their work? Children should be given sound instruction—the nourishment for the soul—in the same manner as they are given bread, the nourishment for the body.

More important than home training, and a sound education in a school or college, is the necessity for parents to give their children good example. The great orator Burke has said "Example is the school of mankind, and they will learn at no other." In every department of social life, example

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exerts the greatest influence upon the members of society. In India, a Hindu girl must be married before she enters her teens; in Europe early marriage is rarely resorted to. What is fashionable in Europe is a serious sacrilege in India, not because the Indians do not understand and realise the advantages of the European, or the harmfulness of the Indian custom. Example that great dictator leads them on to move in the same groove. Men are always prone to follow other people in all matters—in customs, fashions, occupations, &c. Children, especially, quickly take lessons from examples. The greatest solicitude should, therefore, be exhibited in constantly presenting before them noble examples of good and virtuous character; and this cannot be done better than by the parents themselves becoming the examples for their children. Parents should never ignore the stubborn fact that their children would always follow the examples set by them. Words of advice and studied discourses to the young will avail but little, if they are not supported by example. Parents may preach ever so much about the evils of bad company or of drink; their full powers may be adjusted to portray the pernicious effects of these evils, but their efforts will not produce any appreciable result in children, if the parents themselves return home invariably the worse for liquor and in company with turbulent and boisterous companions. Parents should be very careful in their speech, actions, behaviour, &c., so that their children may profit by the example set before them; for, remember, children are like insects that take the colour from the leaves they feed upon. No sane man can expect his sons to be sober and temperate if he himself is a constant tippler. No mother has any right to expect her daughters to be virtuous if she herself is vicious. If parents are extravagant and profligate, how can children learn economy and virtue? If fathers and mothers keep bad company, use coarse language, and lead ribaldrous lives, how can their children be expected to be modest in their speech and action, and refined and cultured in their ways. Great is the responsibility of parents, therefore, in setting the best example before their children. In their daily conversation, in their habits at home, in their dress, in short, in everything, parents should exercise the utmost discretion, so that the children may draw salutary lessons from them. Above all, in their religious practices, let not parents omit their obligations. Children should be brought up in the fear and love of God. Children should be insisted upon performing their daily religious duties, and parents themselves should not omit theirs. There can be nothing more blessed to see than a little child at prayer; and one of the happiest sights in this world is to see father, mother, and children, all together in daily prayer. The practice is one of the most beneficial for the welfare of the family and, surely, one that brings showers of blessings on the home. How consoling it is to see the father and mother, ripe in experience and versed in the troubles and trials as well as in the joys and happiness of this world, mingle with the litte ones, so new to the ways of the world, in a common prayer for help, for mercy, or in thanksgiving to the One Great Creator in Heaven. Would the dear merciful Lord of all creation refuse to hear such a supplication? Never. The task of providing for the family which devolves on the father, the yet more tedious work of managing the family which rests with the mother, the difficult task of training up the children in the right way, pertaining to both of them—all these amidst trials and difficulties would become easy enough and light to bear, if God's blessing is upon them. Children themselves would naturally grow obedient and dutiful and parents will find them happy help-mates in their lives' struggles.

In the preceding lines, a few points that should strike a father and mother striving to attain happiness at home have been dealt with under the heads of (1) provision for a home, (2) the choice of a partner in life, (3) the mutual obligations of husband and wife, and (4) their responsibilities towards their offspring. There are, besides these, certain other points of a general character to be borne in the minds of parents. One of the chief among these is the avoiding of debts. Davenport Adams, speaking about this pernicious habit in his "Plain Living and High Thinking" says,

> "Whether you enter upon your race, my friend, in the poor man's clothes of frieze, or the rich man's clothes of gold, form at the outset a habit of economy, accustom yourself to the strict measures of thrift and cry to the demon of debt—Get thee behind me, Satan."

Amidst the several agencies that tend to [illegible] domestic felicity, there can be none

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other, save a vicious life, so disastrous as this great evil of incurring debts; and the writer, quoted above, has only drawn the most accurate comparison in having named it the Demon Satan. Some parents generally spend more than what they earn to keep up appearances; and, out of their foolishness, arises the necessity for incurring debts, which, in the end, will impoverish and ruin them, and land them in misery and starvation and unheard-of perplexities. The man who does not live within his means and who contracts debts to 'keep up appearances' is a dangerous man to society. He is in the first place a liar, for he cannot but speak falsehood to his creditors to obtain the money he knows he cannot repay. Secondly, he is a deceiver, as by shining in borrowed feathers, he prevents the public at large from forming a correct estimation of his worth. He is also a plunderer, and that of a high order, for he cleverly robs his creditors of what is theirs. He is, above all, a criminal before society, for by his example, he sets a degrading lesson to those around him. The Demon of Debt should, therefore, be avoided where one has an idea to establish Domestic Felicity. The two can never live together.

Another diabolical habit that should never be suffered to enter the threshold of a home is the Demon Drink. Like an avenging spirit, it goes forth from man to man, hampering progress, ruining constitution, banishing prosperity, increasing misery and want, feeding sin and crime, degrading women, spreading ruin around, and robbing human beings of all their noble qualities. No wonder, Shakespeare exclaimed, "Oh God, that men should put an enemy into their mouths to steal away their brains."

Two-thirds of the entire globe is occupied by the fathomless sea, and a mighty, almost infinite, scroll of lives have been swallowed up by this relentless element; but here within the narrow compass of a bottle, delusively, yet charmingly, sparkles a little liquid that has drowned more men and women than the sea—not drowned in glory, as often happens in the sea, but in abject dishonour and disgrace. This debasing vice is ruinous from every point of view—physical, intellectual, or moral. Reason, science, scripture, and experience have condemned it in the strongest terms.

"Oh, madness to think the use of strongest wine and strongest drink our chief support of health when God, with these forbidden, made choice to rear His mighty champion, strong above compare, whose drink was only from the limpid brook."

A single drop of alcohol, it has been scientifically ascertained, when passed into the system is sufficient to cover the whole surface of the organs with which it comes into contact with an inflammatory poison capable of deranging the health to a great degree. What would be the result, if alcohol is consumed by glasses and even by bottles! Not only health will suffer, but everything else with it. Well has it been said that "where drink enters wisdom departs." Health and intellect fail and morals are lost. Man loses his brains, and often his soul. Davenport Adams says,

"Fatal to the development of intellect, fatal to the cultivation of moral faculties, fatal to high aims and generous impulses, is the drinking habit—the habit of swallowing glasses of intoxicating liquors on the pretence of good fellowship or in obedience to some self-created necessity."

In the twinkling of an eye, this accursed demon transforms individuals: The quiet man becomes boisterous; the gentle husband emerges as a tyrant; the virtuous woman becomes corrupt; young men and women, who otherwise would have been ornaments to society, turn out to be immoral vagabonds and degraded harlots. Hundreds of families would have been blest with domestic felicity if this Demon were kept at a distance. Husbands and wives, and sons and daughters whom God created to shed sunshine in their family-hearths would have been lustrous gems in the home, were it not for this debasing and demoralising vice. Fathers and mothers will do well to remember, whenever they have recourse to a glass of intoxicating drink, that it is not a wholesome draught that they swallow, on the other hand, that it may be the tears of the patient wife or the labouring husband, or the life-blood of their neglected and ill-provided children.

Every one born in this world has his duties to perform. The king has to govern his subjects; the soldier has to brave his enemy; the sailor should not quail at the sea; the statesman has to see to the administration; the peasant has to look to his farm; so the husband and wife have their duties too, either towards each other or towards their children, and from which neither king nor peasant is free; for men in all walks of life, whether high

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or low, rich or poor, have to emerge out of a home, from the guidance of parents. If parents, therefore, do the duties expected of them, the reformation of the world would be quite an easy matter, each successive generation would become more and more pure and elevated, and the expected millenium would be reached. There would be no more broils and quarrels, fights and troubles; and instead of disunion, rupture and disgrace, instead of anger, hatred, and bloodshed, instead of anxieties, miseries and mortifications in the home, we shall see contentment-peace and happiness reigning.

JOHN OWEN SURRAO.

THE BEGINNING OF HINDU CULTURE AS WORLD-POWER

BY PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

(A. D. 300-600)

SECTION I.

Indian Napoleon's Alexandrian March.

IF we exclude the Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian Monarchies of ancient times, the Maurya Empire of the Hindus (B.C. 321—B.C. 185) was, chronologically speaking, the first Empire in the world's history, and that, internationally speaking, it occupied the first rank in the contemporary state-system. At a later stage in the world's history another Hindu Empire became similarly the very First Power of the world. This was the celebrated Empire of the Guptas (A. D. 320—606). There was now "anarchy" (?) in China. With the incursions of Barbarians into the Roman Empire, Europe was immersed in her "Dark Ages." The Saracenic Caliphate of the followers of Islam was not yet come. It was the people of Hindusthan who enjoyed the real "place in the sun."

While noticing the military and political achievements of Samudragupta (A. D. 335—375), one of the Emperors of this House, Mr. Vincent Smith—to whom indologists owe the only "chronological narrative of the political vicissitudes of the land"—makes the following remarks:

"Whatever may have been the exact degree of skill attained by Samudragupta in the practice of the arts which graced his scanty leisure, it is clear that he was endowed with no ordinary powers; and that he was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon. * * By a strange irony of fate this great king—warrior, poet, and musician—who conquered nearly all India, and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon—was unknown even by name to the historians until the publication* of this work. His lost fame has been slowly recovered by the minute and laborious study of inscriptions and coins during the last eighty years."

It may be mentioned, in passing, that monarchs of the Samudragupta type, who may be compared easily with a Charlemagne, a Frederick or a Peter the Great have flourished in India almost every second generation. Hindu folk-lore has known them as Vikramadityas (Sun of Power) and has invested their names with the halo of Arthurian romance.

It is unnecessary to wait long over the political achievements of the Gupta Emperors. The *Digvijaya* or 'Conquest of the Quarters' made by Samudragupta fired the imagination of a contemporary poet, Kalidasa, the Goethe or Shakespeare of Sanskrit literature. The following are some of the verses from Canto IV of his immortal epic, *Raghu-vamsam* ("The House of Raghu") translated by Griffith for his *Idylls from the Sanskrit*, which describe the triumphal progress of his hero Raghu:

"Fortune herself, sweet Goddess, all unseen,
Held o'er his sacred head her lotus screen,
And Poesy in ministrels' form stood by,
Swept the wild string, and raised his triumph high.
What though the earth, since ancient Manu's reign,
Was wooed by every king, nor wooed in vain;
She came a bride, with fresh unrifled charms,
A pure young virgin, to her Raghu's arms.

* * *

Scarce was he ready for the sword and shield
When autumn called him to the battlefield,—
War's proper season, when the rains are o'er,
When roads are dry, and torrents foam no more.

* First Edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905.

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Soon as the day to bless the chargers came,
The warrior's holy festival, the flame
Turned to the right, and with a ruddy hand
Gave him full triumph o'er each distant land.
Then when his Kingdom was secured, and all
His city fortified with tower and wall,
His hosts he marshalled, his broad flag outspread,
And to subdue the world his army led.
Forth as he rode, the city matrons poured
The sacred grain upon their mighty lord.

* * *

First to the East the hero takes his way,
His foemen trembling as his banners play.
Thick clouds of dust beneath his chariots rise,
Till dark as earth appear the changing skies;

* * *

He marked his progress with a mighty hand;
The fountain gushed amid the thirsty sand;
The tangled forest harboured beasts no more,
And foaming floods the freighted vessel bore.

* * *

Through all the East he passed, from land to land,
And reached triumphant, Ocean's palmy strand.
Like an unsparing torrent on he went,
And low like reeds, the lords of Suhma * bent.
Then fell the islets washed by Ganga's wave.
Nor could their ships, the hosts of Banga † save.

* * *

No wealth he sought, but warred in honour's name,
So spared his land but spoiled his warlike fame.

* * *

But louder, as the war-steeds paced along,
Rattled the harness of the mail-clad throng.

* * *

True to the Law thus Raghu marched by land
To Parasika ‡ with his conquering band.
He saw, indignant, to the lotus eyes
Of Yavana dames the wine-cup's frenzy rise.

* * *

Mad was the onset of the western horse,
And wild the fury of the conqueror's force;
No warrior saw—so thick the dust—his foe,
But marked him by the twanging of his bow.
Then Raghu's archers shot their keen shafts well;
The bearded head of many a soldier fell,
And covered closely all the battle-ground
Like heaps of honey that the bees surround.

* * *

Pale grew the cheek of every Huna § dame,
Trembling in wild alarm at Raghu's name.

* * *

By him subdued, they forced their pride to bring
Coursers and gold as gifts to Kosal's King.
Borne by these steeds he climbed Himalayas hill,
Whose crest now clothed with dust rose loftier still.

* * *

Fierce was the battle with the mountaineers
Armed with their bows and arrows, stones and spears,
The thick sparks flying as they met. Then ceased,
Slain by his arrows, from the mirth and feast
The mountain revellers, and minstrel bands,
That walked as demi-gods those lofty lands,
Were taught the hero's victories to sing,
And each hill tribe brought tribute to the King.

* * *

Thus when all princes owned the conqueror's sway,
He turned his chariot on his homeward way,
Letting the dust, beneath his wheels that rose,
Fall on the diadems of humbled foes."

It was the atmosphere of this poetry which nurtured the nation of Kumarajivas.* Fa-Hien and Kalidas were contemporaries, and if the Chinese traveller had cared to know some of the prominent Hindus of his time, the first man to be introduced to him would have been Kalidasa. But it seems from Fa-Hien's diary that he had not much leisure to go beyond his special mission. However, it was the Indianism of Kalidasa's age with which the Chinese Apostle came in contact. It was this Hindu Culture which was propagated in China and finally transmitted to Japan to build up her *Bushido* and *Yamato Damashii*. Buddha-cult was introduced into Korea from China in A. D. 372, and from Korea into the Land of the Rising Sun in A. D. 552.

SECTION 2.

"World-sense" and Colonising enterprise.

The Hindus of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries were not living in 'splendid isolation," as it has been the fashion to suppose that the Asiatics have ever done. As in previous ages, so under the Guptas they kept up cultivating the "world-sense."

In the first place, it must be remembered that India alone is a world by herself—the whole of Europe minus Russia. Therefore, for the Hindus to be able to develop the "India sense" in pre-Steam days must be regarded as an expression of international-ism of a high order. Considered territorially, and also in terms of population, the world-sense of the Roman Emperors was not greater than that of the Hindu Imperialists.

The internationalism of the Hindus was extra-Indian too. It is well-known that the world of Kalidasa's poetry includes

* Part of West Bengal.
† Central and East Bengal.
‡ Persia.
§ Hun.

* An Indian educator, who carried forward the missionizing activity of Asoka to the Far Eastern Cathay, and thus became instrumental in the establishment of Indian hegemony throughout the Orient.

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the whole of India and also the Indian border land and Persia. The fact that with the fifth century is augmented the stream of traffic between India and China both by land and sea is itself an indication of the "Asia-sense" they had been developing. It may be said that the Mauryas had cultivated mainly the relations with West-Asia, the Kushans had opened up the Central-Asian regions, and the Guptas developed the Far Eastern intercourse. The Hindus could now think not only in terms of India but of entire Asia.

The larger world beyond Asia was also to a certain extent within the purview of the Hindus. Ever since Alexander's opening up of the West-Asian route, the Hindus had kept touch with the "barbarians." About the first century A.D., Hindu trade with the Roman Empire was not a negligible item of international commerce. The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (c A.D. 100) is a document of that Indo-Roman intercourse. Both the Kushans in the North and the Andhra Monarchs in the South were interested in Rome.

In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*India* Vol. II.) Sewell describes the foreign trade of the Hindus under the South Indian Andhras (B.C. 200—A.D. 250):

"The Andhra Period seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade both overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. Pliny mentions the vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India and in this he is confirmed by the author of the *Periplus*. Roman coins have been found in profusion in the peninsula, and especially in the south. In A. D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seem to have taken refuge among the friendly coast people of South India and to have settled in Malabar."

The following picture of foreign settlements in Southern India is given by Vincent Smith:

"There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of our era. And that European soldiers, described as powerful Yavanas, dumb Mlechas (barbarians), clad in complete armour, acted as body-guards to Tamil kings."

According to the same authority Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya (A. D. 375—413) of the Gupta dynasty was "in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt."

Besides, intercourse with Further India and the colonisation of Java form parts of an adventure which in Gupta times was nearing completion. In fact, with the fourth century A.D. really commences the foundation of a "Greater India" of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan on the East to Madagascar on the West. The romantic story of this expansion of India has found its proper place in Mookerjee's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*. The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were all embodiments of the world-sense.

It would thus appear that the travels of Kumarajiva the Hindu Missionary (A.D. 405) and of Fa Hien the Celestial Apostle were facts of a nature to which the Indians had long been used. The Chinese monks came to a land through which the current of world-life regularly flowed. Hindusthan had never been shunted off from the main-track of universal culture. To come to India in the age of the Guptas was to imbibe the internationalism of the atmosphere.

Regarding the Indo-Chinese intercourse of this age the following extracts from *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* are interesting.

"Of what took place in the Tartar regions of the north we know little, since their dynasties have not been recognised by Chinese historians as legitimate. The true Celestial annals, indeed the lore of Chinese genius, belong at this time to the stimulus afforded by the new southern conditions. The new capital, near the present Nanking, was on the great Yangtse. * * * The Southern seats of the Chinese were in closer proximity to a new part of India, the south through Burma, or along the opening lines of coast trade. * * * It was here, too, in the Southern Chinese nests, that Buddhism could drop her most fertile germs."

It may be mentioned that the patriarch Bodhidharma, originally a South Indian Prince, reached Canton by sea and was then invited to Nanking (A. D. 520).

The above is a picture of the sea-traffic. References to this are to be found in the *Kwai-Yuen Catalogue* (A.D. 730) of the Chinese *Tripitaka* which has been drawn upon by Prof. Anesaki for his paper in the J. R. A. S. (April, 1903).

It must not be forgotten, besides, that Kucha and Khotan, the half way house between India and China, remained all this while the great emporium of Hindu culture and Greeko-Buddist art. Manus-

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cripts, unearthed by Stein and others, both in Kharoshthi and Chinese Scripts, prove that Central Asian Indianism flourished during the period from 3rd century A.D. to 8th or 9th. And it was the Central Asian land-route which was traversed by Fa Hien in A D. 399 and later by Hiuen Thsang in A.D. 629 on their way to India, from which both returned home by sea.

A VISIT TO THE BENGAL CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS

By Prof. Satis Chandra Mukherji, M. A., B. Sc.

In our college days, whenever we had to read of a chemical works we had to depend on diagrams for forming our idea about it, for there was no factory near by where chemical processes were applied to manufacture. But now things have changed. Students of chemistry are taken over to the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works to bring them face to face with the application of science to industries. In this way, not only do the young men get a clear understanding regarding a chemical works and a vivid object lesson, but they also gain self-confidence as here are our countrymen actually carrying on a manufacturing business, on a gigantic scale, requiring great power of organisation and rare expert knowledge of science.

Those who have seen only the unpretending and rather unsightly office of the firm at 91, Upper Circular Road, have a pleasant surprise in store for them if they can manage to pay a visit to the vast works at Manicktola (near the ditch) where the articles are turned out. The works occupy no less than eleven bighas of land and recently fifteen bighas more have been acquired for further extension. It really does one good to have a look round the whole thing, consisting of various buildings and structures for manufacture of scientific apparatus, acids, chemicals and medicines, etc. Limited space of a single article does not permit more than a very short description of the works.

It has been my lot to visit the Works more than once during the last fifteen years and I have been able to observe the rapid strides with which the Works has advanced in the path of improvement. A recent visit to it has convinced me that the early promises have been fully realised.

As one enters the factory he finds big store rooms of various articles in one of which tons of sulphur have been heaped up, filling the room up to the ceiling. Then comes a printing department with an up-to-date press. Next one comes to the installation of steam saw mills, as all the packing cases, barrels, etc., are made on the spot. Farther on one is led through a long stretch of the workshop where various scientific apparatus like Bunsen burners, tongs, forceps, and even chemical balances are turned out. Then we enter the department of pharmacy where excellent arrangements like heating by steamcoils, vacuum pans, pumps, etc., are made use of to ensure the purity of the medicines manufactured. Adjoined to this is the department for manufacture of chemicals like acids, ammonia, sodium bicarbonate, magnesium sulphate and so on. Then there are the three gigantic lead chambers for the preparation of sulphuric acid. Recently the manufacture of boracic cotton and antiseptic dressings has been taken in hand to meet with a widely felt want. Last, though not the least, we come to the chemical laboratory where experiments are being carried on to suggest improvements in the methods of preparation or to introduce the manufacture of some new chemical. The chemist in charge showed us how he has successfully prepared thymol from aqua ptychotis. The office is adjoined to the Laboratory. No less interesting is the bottling and packing arrangements—everything being done with the aid of machinery. The output has to cope with the heavy demand suddenly

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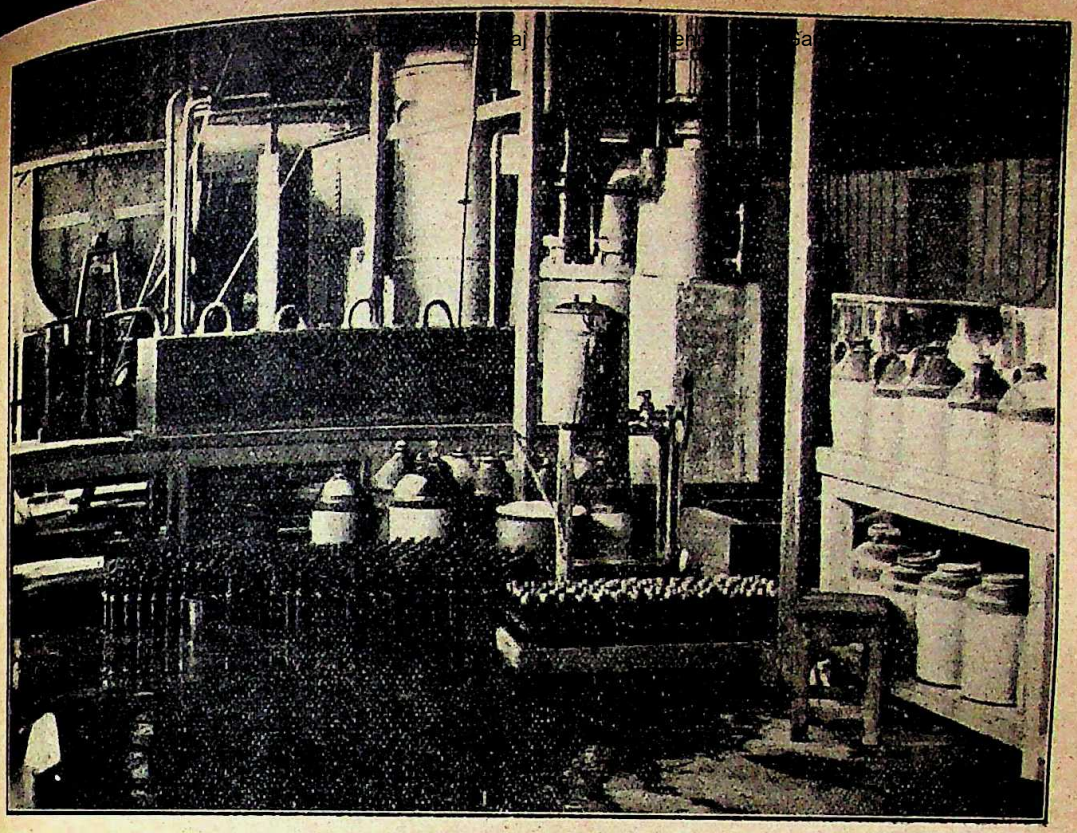
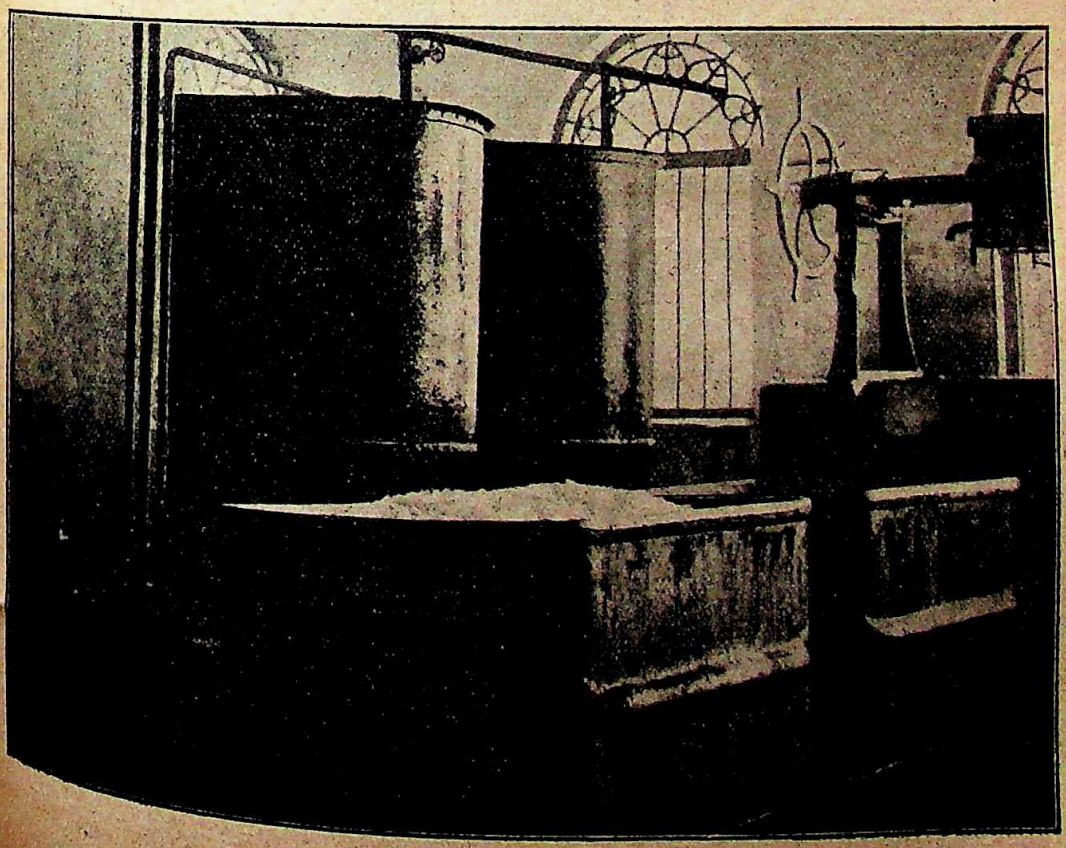


Ammonia Still in the front and Epsom Salts Reaction Drums in the background. (P. 326)



Finished Crystals of Epsom Salts. (P. 326)

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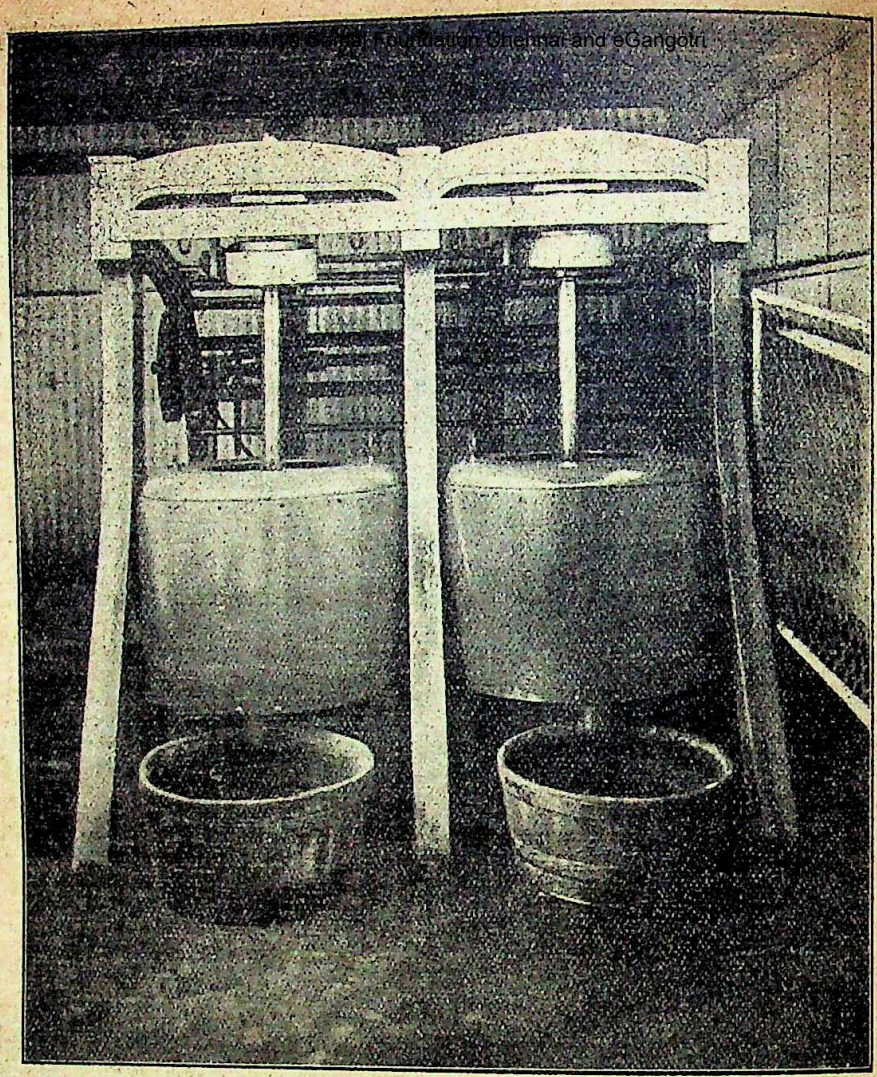
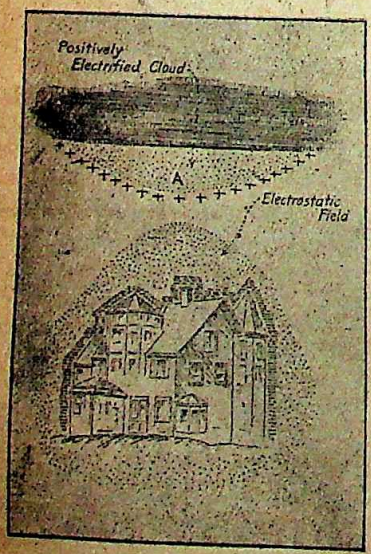
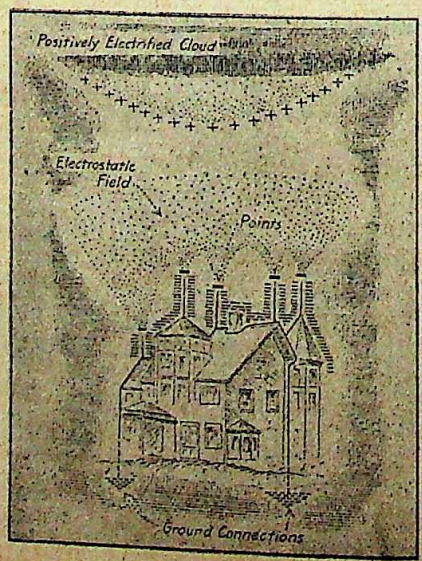


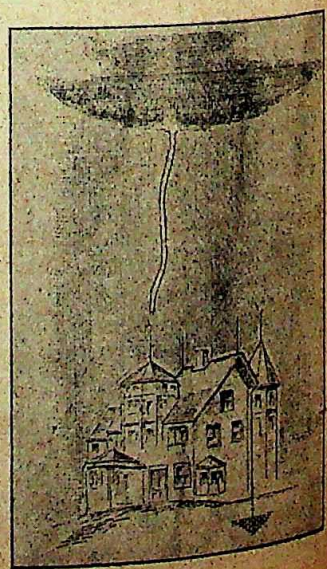
Centrifugal Machine for Drying Crystals. (P. 326)



1. Electrostatic Charge on an Unrodded Building.



2. Charge Induced on a Rodded Building.



3. Track of a Single Lightning Flash.

How The Lightning-Rod Saves the House. (P. 340)

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made upon the resources of the concern by the stoppage of supplies from Europe.

The feeling one has at the end of this visit is one of stupefaction and awe.

In these days when we hear of the failures of so many Swadeshi enterprises, it is highly reassuring to find that this works, a Limited Company, has been even in a prosperous condition. Though it keeps a large share of its profits in its Reserve Fund, it has been paying seven per cent dividend for a long time. It has a capital of five lacs which will soon have to be increased in view of the extension taken in hand and employs close upon 200 men working under the guidance of four expert chemists.

In this connection we shall do well to notice one peculiarity of the Bengal Chemical Works. The founders have always availed themselves of the best expert knowledge of chemistry. They have been liberal in paying decent remunerations to their chemists, some of whom even share in the profits. No wonder that these chemists are single-minded in their devotion to this Works.

If we look into the English scientific journals of the present time, we find that great authorities like Professor Filden and others, are lamenting over the backwardness of the scientific works of England compared to the German Works. The chief reason of this backwardness is that the English manufacturers have never employed well trained scientists in the works whereas in the German factories a large number of first class scientists are employed. We hear that in some big chemical works in Germany about a hundred chemists with university degrees are engaged in experimenting in the laboratories and fifty with a view to find out some new and cheaper method of manufacturing certain chemicals. But in England, unfortunately, there has been a divorce between the factory and the university. The manufacturers look upon the university men as unpractical and useless people while the university takes little interest in the commercial problem of the factory. The result has been that the operations of the scientific works are often carried on by the rule of thumb method and after a time the works fail to compete with German works helped by expert scientific advice. Nowadays, attempts are being made in England to rectify this error. In the light of this fact, it appears really highly creditable for the agencies of the Bengal Chemical Works that they would all along take the help of able chemists with high academic qualifications.

Now it is interesting to look at the history of this works. Like many other great things it had a humble beginning. It was in the year 1891, long before the Swadeshi movement, that Dr. P. C. Ray, then a junior professor in the Presidency College, started a modest works for the preparation of some chemicals and medicines at 91 Upper Circular Road and he was soon joined by the late lamented Dr. Amulya Charan Bose, who was equally indefatiguable in his exertions to make the business a success. Dr. Ray had recently come back to the country after taking his D. Sc. degree from the Edinburgh University and found that the educated Bengalis had great difficulty in earning their livelihood, as the professions were already overcrowded. If some industries could be started, that would have opened a new source of income. This idea led Dr. Ray to found this works.

During the infant stage of this works, not only the whole work of the chemist but also the brunt of the business management fell upon Dr. Ray. The labour and money ungrudginly spent by him have been amply repaid as the seed thus sown and carefully nurtured has now developed into a magnificent and fruitful tree.

For those who see him work regularly at the College devoting every spare moment after his heavy professorial duties to the prosecution of research work, it is difficult to guess, that he the contributor of more than three scores of original papers on murcurous nitrite and numerous compounds and the author of the monumental History of Hindu Chemistry is also the founder and guiding spirit of a big commercial enterprise. When the history of the Swadeshi industry comes to be written, the name of Dr. P. C. Ray will be mentioned as one of the few pioneers and captains of industry.

The recent war conditions, cutting off the supply of many articles which used to come from Germany have certainly created an opportunity for home industries. But unfortunately due to our unpreparedness, Japan has taken possession of the market, leaving us as poor as ever. It is a relief, however, to find that the Bengal Chemical

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and Pharmaceutical Works has seized upon the opportunity. It has considerably increased its outputs and has begun to prepare many new chemicals for the first time in the country, such as thymol, magnesium sulphate and so on.

The limited space of the article does not permit me to describe the many ingenious processes of manufacture that are employed in the Works. So for the present we shall have to be satisfied with a brief description of one of them, namely, the manufacture of magnesium sulphate.

Magnesite, an Indian ore, is pulverised in a machine and then treated with sulphuric acid in a reservoir, the mixture being kept heated by steam. The large amount of carbon dioxide gas that is given off during this process (as will be evident from the formula of magnesite, $MgCO_3$, about half the weight of the ore being carbon dioxide) would have been wasted. But here this gas is led by a pipe to a gas-holder whence it is pumped under pressure into another reservoir containing sodium carbonate, which is thereby converted into sodiun bicarbonate. This utilisation of the waste-product considerably lessons the cost of production of magnesium sulphate so that even after the removal of the advantages due to war conditions the company will be able to compete with foreign manufacturers. Now the mixture containing the crude solution of magnesium sulphate is taken out and carried in trucks over rails to an apparatus where it is filtered under pressure. The filtered liquid is then concentrated and allowed to crystallise in a series of tanks. The crystals are then taken out and brought to a powerful centrifugal machine (worked by an oil engine) where they are dried and made ready for packing. The barrels and packing cases, too, are made on the spot, as has been already pointed out.

Before I conclude it is my pleasant duty to express my thanks to Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, Manager and Head Chemist of the works, who was courtesy personified; to Mr. Satishchandra Das Gupta, the able Factory-Superintendent, who is ever on the look-out to devise ingenius methods; to Mr. Prabodhchandra Chatterji who is in charge of the laboratory and is working out processes for manufacturing thymol etc.; and to Mr. Surendra Bhusan Sen, who is in charge of the acid department.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

I. Village Government in British India: *by John Mathai, Vakil, High Court, Madras, with a preface by Sidney Webb. London, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. 1915. 4-6d net.*

The object of the book is to present a connected picture of the methods adopted by the village community to meet such simple administrative needs as the settlement of disputes, the prevention of crime, and the improvement of the means of general well-being. In the introductory chapter the author shows that in Hindu times the isolation of the village was not quite so pronounced as in the Mahammadan period. There were officers of the king, of varying degrees of authority, through whom the king maintained watch over the village. This he proves by extracts from the *Arthasastra* and the *Sukraniti*, and also from some South Indian inscriptions. The Mughal Government was almost entirely fiscal, and so long as the taxes were duly paid, no connection was maintained between the villages and the King's Government. The village community has lost much of its internal cohesion, but 'as an administrative organ of great potential usefulness for the rural population the village community is by no means dead.' In the chapter on Education the author says that the principal characteristic which distinguished the village schools of the Hindus from the Muhammadan *Maktabs* was the secular character of the teaching. "It is likely that prayers might have been offered in the course of the day's work, and that moral precepts were strengthened by the teaching of sacred legends, but anything in the nature of direct religious instruction was unknown. The principal ingredients of the village curriculum were reading, writing and arithmetic in the vernacular, with occasionally a dose of Sanskrit Grammar and poetry. The secular character of the schools was strengthened by the advent of Buddhism." Those who are in favour of compulsory religious education in our modern schools would do well to note this. Possibly what they mean by lack of religion is not the decay of morality but of the virtues of politeness and obedience, and the non-observance of certain ritual, the reason for which may lie elsewhere than in the absence of religious teaching. After

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village schools comes the village system of poor relief, which is followed by an account of village sanitation, represented by the physician, midwife and scavenger. This is followed by a chapter on such public works as wells, tanks, canals, roads, and public buildings (meeting places and rest houses, temples or mosques), which again is followed by an account of the village system of watch and ward (the headman and his assistant, the watchman.) The administration of justice next engages the author's attention, and village arbitration and conciliation boards, the village panchayets, are passed in review. The old communal panchayets were certainly useful in their day, but Sir Henry Maine was of opinion that "he who would bring to life again one of these barbarous institutions is placed in the following dilemma: Either he must connive at many of their accompaniments which are condemned by modern morality and modern civilisation, or in the attempt to give them a new character, he must so transmute them that they cannot be distinguished in any sensible degree from the modern institutions by which civilisation has superseded them." The author very rightly objects to the use of the term 'barbarous' with regard to these institutions, and believes that their resuscitation would prove highly beneficial in the adjudication of petty disputes, as the institution of village Munsifs in the Madras presidency and the success of the co-operative movement everywhere amply demonstrates. Finally, some of the paragraphs of the Local Self-Government Resolution of the Government of India, issued in May 1915, and dealing with village panchayets, are summarised. There is a bibliography attached to the book. The materials of the book have been almost entirely drawn from government reports and publications, and the result is that the views expressed are somewhat official in cast and character, but in all other respects it is a highly useful and timely publication, and we welcome it as a valuable addition to Indian socio-economic leterature.

The preface, though brief, deserves separate notice, as it is full of thoughtful suggestions. Mr. Sidney Webb begins by saying that "we sometimes tend to exaggerate the extent to which the cleavages of caste have prevailed over the community of neighbourhood..... But we have seen that, even where caste exists, it has, in fact, permitted a great deal of common life, and that it is compatible with active village councils." Then follows a most important statement: "The first and most important business of a Government is, after all, that its people should live and not die! In the long run, in the judgment of history, it is by this test that Governments will be judged. How does India stand this test? In the most civilised parts of Europe.....we have about doubled the average expectation of life of the whole population. Seeing that in India, where the circumstances are more adverse, the average expectation of life of the people is only somewhere about one-half that of the people of England, there is perhaps no direction in which the community could more profitably invest its thought, its effort, and its money, than in a wise development of its local self-government. [Footnote: What a loss, what a tragedy it is that so many of India's most valuable citizens die before they are fifty! A deliberate scientific investigation into the causes of premature death in India, of adults subject neither to privation nor to industrial accidents or diseases, might be of great value].." Mr. Webb then goes on to contradict the statement, based on Census Reports, that the people of India are a people of villagers. "But it is a mistake to assume that a land of villages necessarily means what is usually implied by the phrase, a people of villagers. In truth India, for all its villages, has been also, at all known periods, and today still is, perhaps to a greater extent than ever before, what Anglo-Saxon England, for instance, was not, or the South African Republic in the days before gold had been discovered, and what the Balkan Peninsula even at the present time may perhaps not be, namely, a land of flourishing cities, of a distinctly urban civilisation, exhibiting not only splendid architecture, and the high development of the manufacturing arts made possible by the concentration of population and wealth, but likewise—what is much more important—a secretion of thought, an accumulation of knowledge, and a development of literature and philosophy which are not the least like the characteristic product of villagers as we know them in Europe or America." The last words of the preface give Mr. Webb's view as to the place which local self-government is destined to occupy in the life of the Indian nation. "I do not in any way deprecate the desire or belittle the claim that India, like other parts of the British Empire, should be administered in the main by Indians, in accordance with Indian public opinion. But in India, as elsewhere, it is Local Government that is destined to grow, at a much greater rate than Central Government and the importance of the field thus opening out should not be overlooked. There is here, as it seems to me, a greater and certainly a more accessible sphere for the exercise of autonomy. In practice it will be found, as the century advances, that by far the greater part of "Indian self-government" and more and more of the part in which the daily lives of the Indian people are most intimately concerned, will lie, not in the sphere of His Excellency the Viceroy in Council,—not even in that of the Provincial Governments—but in those of the Village Council, the District Board, and the Municipality, or of any local authorities that may supersede them. In the fully organised India of a century hence, as in the England of tomorrow, it may well be that it may be these or some analogous bodies, that will be found exercising actually the larger part of all the functions of government, expending the large part of that share of the people's income which is administered collectively, appointing and controlling the majority of all the salaried servants of the community, and even enacting, in the aggregate, in their byelaws and regulations, a greater volume of the laws that the people obey." Let us share the hope of so wellknown an authority as Mr. Sidney Webb, and trust that both the Government and the people will begin to develop local self-government by devoting more attention to village sanitation and village education.

II. Indian National Evolution: *by Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Nateson & Co., Madras, 1915. Price Rs. 2.*

This bulky volume of 500 pages and more is no mere *rechauffe* of recent political events in India. It is this and much more. It is a history of the rise and growth of the spirit of nationalism in India, and it passes in brief review the whole political horizon since Lord Ripon's memorable viceroyalty. The headings of some of the chapters will give an idea of their contents: 'The Genesis of Political Movement in India'; 'the Partition of Bengal'; 'the Indian Unrest'; 'the Depression'; 'Reorganisation of the Congress'; 'Indian Renaissance'; &c. In the Appendix the constitution of the Congress and other useful matters have been incor-

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porated. Portraits of all the leading Congressmen is a welcome feature of the publication. The work is singularly free from quotations, and we have a continuous narrative written in a pleasant style. The case for the Congress has been soberly put and supported by a wealth of arguments, and antagonistic views have been judiciously met. The result is that very little of what requires to be said in order to present the national cause in its true light has been left unsaid. The author's remarks are often pointed and forceful and one feels tempted to quote freely from the book, but we refrain as we think that the book deserves to be read from beginning to end. Mr. Mazumdar has served a long period of apprenticeship in local, provincial and Indian public life. He has taken a leading part in the deliberations of the Congress and in the legislative council of his own province. Above all, he has all his life been a devoted student of politics. A volume containing his mature convictions on the political situation in India is therefore bound to be instructive. We want Indian politics to be handled by veterans of this type, for what they put down as their deliberate views is bound to carry weight with all thinking men. Mofussil civic life in Bengal would be all the richer with more public men of his wide outlook and political culture. We hope the book will find a ready sale among our countrymen, for it will substantially help their political education.

III. **Mukundaram**: *A glimpse of Bengal in the 16th Century A.D. and other essays: by Professor J. N. Das Gupta, Presidency College, Calcutta.*

These papers have been collected and printed by the Calcutta University in book form. The book has been named "Bengal in the 16th Century A.D." (Cambray & Co., Price Rs. 2). We have read the book. It consists of eight lectures delivered by Prof. Das Gupta as University Reader, in which the learned professor has shown that there was a Renaissance, a spiritual and intellectual awakening in Bengal in the sixteenth century, and he has supported this conclusion with reference to the literature of Vaishnavism, the Institutes of Akbar, the works of Mukundaram, and the contemporary narratives of European travellers. The inaugural lecture on the study of history is a learned essay. The lectures consist of a string of quotations, but perhaps in the nature of things this could not well be avoided. Sanskrit, Buddhist (Pali) and original Persian sources do not appear to have been consulted. A full bibliography would have enhanced the value of the book. The identification of Ralph Fitch's 'Serrepore' with 'Serampore' is evidently a mistake. Fitch speaks of Sripur, the capital of Chand Ray ('Chondery') and Kedar Ray in Vikrampur. The book has been neatly printed and got up by the University Press, though printing mistakes are not uncommon. Prof. Das Gupta has opened an interesting field of research, and we hope competent scholars, as learned in Sanskrit, Pali and Persian as Prof. Das Gupta is in English, will take up the work, and bring the past history of Bengal, specially in its sociological aspects, into the full light of day.

IV. **The Proposed Muslim University**: *by Syed Rauf Ali, Bar-at-Law, Delhi.*

This is one of the many controversial pamphlets now being issued by those interested in the Muslim University. We have seen another pamphlet in which the advisability of accepting a constitution on the terms proposed by Government is advocated. In this brochure the policy of waiting and watching till the war is over is supported, not without a show of reason. The Benares Hindu University type is, according to the writer, a settled precedent, and it cannot in any case be denied to the Mahomedans whenever they choose to ask for it. So they loose nothing by waiting and deliberating, and watching the growth of the Benares University. They will certainly be the wiser for it. The writer hopes that Sir Syed Ahmed's programme of "Self-government in matters educational" will be accepted by the Government.

V. **Report on the Sociological Survey of the Servants of the Khangi Department of the Baroda State**: *1914. Baroda Printing Works.*

The go-ahead state of Baroda is nothing if not new in every department of its activity. The lower employes of the Khangi department of the State were examined as to their physical, social, economic, moral and intellectual, and religious condition, and the result of the various examinations was tabulated and sorted under distinct heads, and the following conclusions were arrived at: (1) They live in insanitary houses and surroundings. (2) They are not quite strong and robust as they ought to be. (3) Their expenses exceed thier income and as its result they are largely indebted and pay usurious rates of interest. (4) They are ignorant, superstitious and without any high ambition or aspirations in life. Certain remedies are then suggested. His Highness proposes to direct such sociological surveys in particular villages from time to time. Their utility has been made obvious in this concise report. Such surveys may usefully be undertaken by public bodies in Bengal. The result is sure to be an eye opener in many ways, and would put new life into the movement for social reform.

VI. **Anthology of Patriotic Prose**: *Selected by Frederick Page. Oxford University Press*, 1915. *Two shillings net.*

This is a volume of quotations from the speeches and writings of distinguished men in the English language which are calculated to evoke a love of country. It is a very useful publication, and ought to find a ready sale in India. The fact that the book has been brought out by the Oxford University Press is sufficient guarantee of the excellence of its contents.

VII. **The Navy**: *by K. C. Macartney. The Christian Literature Society for India*, 1915. *Price annas four only.*

In this neatly printed and well written pamphlet the author has tried to show among other things "that the contention that the British navy, that Navy which helped to liberate Greece, which played a great a part in putting down the slave trade, which has driven all but German piracy from the seven seas, is not such a menace to civilisation and peace as the German Army."

VIII. **Western Education in India**: *by S. Ambrawaswar, B. A. Trichinopoly. Wednesday Review Press*, 1915. *Four annas.*

This is a reprint of some articles which appeared in the Wednesday Review. All subjects appertaining to the present political, social, moral and intellectual development of the country are briefly passed in review from a liberal and hopeful standpoint. The pamphlet well repays perusal.

XI. **Sir Henry Cotton**: *A sketch of his life and career. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas four.*

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This is one of the well-known series of the "Friends of India," and the little volume has been got up with the usual discriminating power of selection displayed by the Editors of the series. Those who want to know about the great man recently dead will find everything in a nutshell in this brief sketch.

X. **Puri for the Health Seeker and the Hindu**: *by Jahnath Ganguly, B.A., M.B. · Benares, December* 1915. *Price one anna.*

This unpretentious little pamphlet contains a mass of useful information on Puri both from the sanitary and the religious point of view.

XI. **Documents and Extracts illustrative of English Constitutional History**: *Vols. I. and II.*

The object of this compilation is to put together a few of the more important documents which tend to throw light on the development of early English institutions and the progress of constitutional movements in English history. It is hoped that this collection of papers will impart a reality and a living interest to the study of constitutional history among the graduates and under-graduates of the Calcutta University.

XII. **Students' Manual of General Philosophy**: *by S.C. Sen, M.A., B.L. Second Edition. S. Roy & Co, Cornwallis Buildings, Calcutta. Price Re 1-4-0. 1915.*

The book is a short treatise on philosophy intended for the use of University students. It deals with the general problems of philosophy in a clear, concise and systematic way. The beginner generally finds it difficult to grasp the real significance of any particular problem and discover its place in the general scheme of thought. To meet this difficulty the different topics have been arranged in their natural order and the transition from one problem to another has been clearly indicated. The author seems to have spared no pains to make the book useful both as a preliminary study and as an examination manual. Though specially intended for students it will also prove a profitable study to those who interest themselves in metaphysical thinking and would like to have a clear knowledge of the development of modern speculative thought within a short compass.

P.

Prosody and Rhetoric *by Prof. Roby Datta. The booklet has been dedicated to the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C. S. I.*

The Author says he has "spared no pains in making the subject really interesting and setting forth the latest ideas." But our misfortune is that we find his ideas rather old, at least by ten years. His book is *Prosody and Rhetoric*, but Mr. R. Bose's *Rhetoric and Prosody* has been in the market for several years past. We have compared the two treatises and now without any ceremony offer the result to the public. There is an overwhelmingly large quantity of internal evidence to show that Mr. Datta's book was absolutely unnecessary.

Let us compare the *Rhetoric* first, because this is Mr. Bose's first part, though Mr. Datta's last. Take, for example, *Allusion*. Mr. Bose says:

"ALLUSION."—This figure consists in using some word or expression which recalls to one's mind some well-known past incident, or the saying of some great man: e.g., It was not given to Goldsmith to feel "like the monument," on any occasion whatsoever.—*Black.*

The allusion, here, is to a remark once made by Dr. Johnson. When he was asked by his friends how he received the news of the failure of his tragedy *Irene*, he replied, "Why, like a monument," i.e., with the utmost indifference.

The ungainly Irishman was called to *make sport for the Philistines.—Black.*

The italicised expression reminds us of Samson, the Jewish hero. It was during the period of his captivity that he was called upon by the Philistines to make sport for them."

There are two more examples given here. For obvious reasons we refrain from quoting them. But let us see what Mr. Datta has to say on this point. He says:

"Allusion is the use of a word or expression recalling to the mind some well-known saying or incident, e.g.,

(a) The ungainly Irishman (Goldsmith) was called *to make sport for the Philistines.* (Black). [The allusion is to Samson the Jewish Hero, who, during his captivity, was called upon by the Philistines to make sport for them.]

(b) It was not given to Goldsmith to feel "like the monument." (Black). [The allusion is to a saying of Dr. Samuel Johnson. When asked how he received the news of the failure of his tragedy *Irene*, he replied, "Why, like the monument" (i,e. with entire indifference)].

Here it is quite evident that Mr. Datta in his book has spared no pains in turning participial and other phrases into clauses and clauses into phrases in which he is a masterhand and finding out exact equivalents for English words. And this is the case in the entire Rhetoric. Compare Tautology, Pleonasm, Hypallage, Asyndeton, Polysyndeton, Hendiadys, Zeugma, the Condensed Sentence, Prolepsis, Litotes, Euphemism, Innuendo, Periphrasis, Epanaphora, Epistrophe. And the same state of things is found throughout the chapters on the figures of Rhetoric, the Choice of Words, Construction of Sentences, Forming of Paragraphs, etc., etc. would give more concrete examples. Mr. Bose says;—

"Similes which serve the purpose of explaining a subject may more properly be called *Illustrations*, e.g., "As wax I would not....., they are instantly lost."

In the place of this Mr. Datta has the following:—

"A simile which serves the purpose of explaining a subject is called an Illustration, e.g.,

(f) As wax would not....., they are instantly lost." (From a quotation).

As this is a paragraph, so we do not quote the whole thing. But it would serve our purpose all the same. We beg to draw the attention of the reader to the "(From a quotation)" of Mr. Datta. Quotation from where? Here Mr. Datta has been in a fix! All this while he has managed well because Mr. Bose has given his authorities along with all his quotations and Mr. Datta has copied them. In this case perhaps the printer's devils have ill served him and Mr. Datta has gone beyond his depth. Now I hope I have by this time been able to give my readers an idea of what Mr. Datta's idea is as to "setting forth the latest ideas."

From Mr. Bose we have:

Tautology—Tautology (Gk. tautos, the same; and logos, word) means the use of two or more words or phrases having the same or almost the same meaning, in the same grammatical situation; *e.g.*

Particularly as to the affairs of this world integrity has many advantages over all the fine and artificial ways of *dissimulation* and *deceit*; it is

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much the *plainer* and *easier*, much the *safer* and *more secure* way of dealing with the world; it has less of *trouble* and *difficulty* of *entanglement* and *perplexity*, of *danger* and *hazard* in it.—*Tillotson.*

The use of tautology is sometimes justifiable for the sake of emphasis, as the following—

The very *scheme* and *plan* of his life differed from that of other men.

Nor is any *blasphemy* or *impiety*, any frantic saying or *godless thought* more appalling to me, etc.—*Ruskin.*

Mr. Datta has given us the above in the following abridged form—

Tautology is the use of two or more words having the same meaning in the same grammatical situation, e.g., (a) dissimulation and deceit; (b) plainer and easier; (c) safer and more secure; (d) scheme and plan. It is often more a fault than a figure of speech.

No comment is necessary.

From Mr. Bose's book we have already had the following—Pleonasm or Redundancy means the use of unnecessary additional words not in the same grammatical situation. Thus, in the sentence—"They returned back again to the same place from whence they came forth,—the words *back, again, same, from* and *forth* are all superfluous, although they are not synonymous"..... Here follow many other examples in which we find,—"The thing has no intrinsic value *in itself*." "He eyed me with *a look of* contempt.

The following is the uptodate version of it by Mr. Datta: Pleonasm (redundancy) is the use of unnecessary additional words not in the same grammatical situation, e.g., (a) They returned *back again* to the same place *from* whence they came *forth*; (b) The thing has no *intrinsic* value *in itself*; (c) He *eyed* me with *a look* of contempt; (d) The *Seagirt isle*. It is more a fault than figure of speech.

"ASYNDETON," according to Mr. Bose, "consists in the omission of connecting conjunctions, and conducive to energy and vividness, e.g.,

I slip, I slide, I gleam, I dance.—*Tennyson.*
What? not a line, a tear, a sigh,
When valour bleeds for liberty?—*Scott.*
From art more various are the blessings sent,
Wealth, commence, honour, liberty, content.—
Goldsmith.
O, what a noble mind is here o'verthrown!
The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue,
sword.—
Shakespeare.

Mr. Datta spares his 'no pains' in the following manner.—ASYNDETON is the omission of connecting conjunctions for the sake of energy and vividness, e.g., (a) I slip, I slide, I gloom (?), I glance.—(*Tennyson*); (b) Wealth, commerce, honour, liberty, content.—
(Goldsmith).
(c) The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword.—
(Shakespeare)."

On the head of POLYSYNDETON Mr. Bose says—"This figure consists in the redundance or excessive use of conjunctive particles. It serves to impart emphasis to the particulars which are enumerated."

Mr. Datta uptodates it by saying,—"POLYSYNDETON is the redundant use of connecting conjunctions for the sake of emphasising each particular," and gives all the examples given by Mr. Bose quoted from Milton, Goldsmith and Macaulay. Nothing more, nothing less.

HENDIADYS.—By this figure, two substances connected by the particle *and* are used to convey one complex idea which might have been expressed by a noun qualified by an adjective.—Mr. Bose.

HENDIADYS is the use of two nouns connected by the conjunctive particle '*and*' to convey one complex idea which might have been expressed by a noun qualified by an adjective.—Mr. Datta.

This is Mr. Datta's idea of sparing no pains and making the book uptodate.

On this head both of them have cited examples. Mr. Bose—*Life* and *sufferance* (suffering life).

With *joy* and *tidings* (joyful tidings) fraught—
Milton.

Here follow four more examples from Scott, Ruskin, Milton and Goldsmith.

Mr. Datta—(a) Life and sufferance (suffering life). (b) Joy and tidings (joyful tidings). Here follow two new examples.

We have from Mr. Bose—

EUPHEMISM (Gk. *eu*, well; and *phemi*, I speak)—This figure consists in softening down a harsh or disagreeable expression; it is a way of stating something offensive in an agreeable and pleasing manner.....; e.g.

He *perished in scaffold* (was hanged).
Discord fell on the music of Cowper's soul
(He became insane).

The tradesman has stopped payment (has become a bankrupt). Etc., etc.

Mr. Datta simply says—

Euphemism is softening down a harsh or disagreeable expression, e.g., (a) He *perished on the scaffold* (i.e, he was beheaded); (b) The tradesman *has stopped the payment* (i.e. has become bankrupt). This may also be regarded as a figure of rhetoric.

Certainly this is 'sparing no pains' with a vengeance. But we had better stop here.

We cannot refrain from referring to Mr. Roby Datta as the ideal lyrist and epic poet. At page 110 of his book Mr. Datta has held before his students a poem from his *Pictures & Songs* as a model of Lyric verse. We are glad though Byron and Shelley might shine in other skies they must not rise above the Indian horizon. And this fate awaits not the lyrists only. Mr. Datta's *Epic Fragment* also should be read by our students as the ideal of epic verse.

DHIRENDRANATH CHAUDHURI.

Vemana: *The Telugu Poet and Saint, by Mr. Ram Krishna Rau. Pp.* 65. *Price four annas.* (*G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras*).

The name of the poet is a household word in all the Telugu Provinces.

Ten Tamil Saints *by M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Pp. 93. Price* 12 *as.*

Sketches of the lives, works and teachings of (1) St. Juana Sambandhan, (2) St. Manickavachekar, (3) St. Appar, (4) St. Sundarar, (5) St. Kannappa, (6) St. Karaikal Ammai, (7) St. Thiruvalluvar, (8) St. Mey Kanda, (9) St. Thayumanavar, and (10) St. Pattinaththar.

Indian's Untouchable Saints *by K.V. Ramaswami B.A. Pp. 63. Price six annas.* (*Natesan & Co., Madras*).

Sketches of the lives of Nanda, Ravidas, Chokamela and Haridas.

All these three booklets are woth reading.

Warfare in Ancient India *by P. Jagannadhaswami. Pp. 45. Price 4 annas.*

An interesting booklet.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

1. **Kakarer Ahamkar**: *(the Pride of the letter Ka)*; *by Professor Lalit Kumar Bannerjea.*

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In this nicely printed little volume, the author, who is well known for his power to amuse his readers, treats us to an essay showing the various combinations in which the first consonant of the Bengali alphabet enters in current conversation and in scientific, philosophical and general literature. Of course 'alliteration's artful aid' is frequently resorted to, and the result is that the book affords us the means of spending a pleasant half an hour in its company.

II. **Daridrer Krandan** : *(The Cry of the Poor): by Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Puplished by the Rangpur (Branch) Literary Academy. Price annas twelve.*

This closely printed volume of 260 pages is intended to present a true picture of rural Bengal in its economic aspects. The author quotes Swami Vivekananda's saying that the New India of the future is to emerge from the hovels of the poor and the socially depressed, and is of opinion that India has reached the nadir of her poverty and that in her present abject material condition it is idle to expect high art, great thoughts, noble deeds and fruitful religious ideas from her. The crying need of the country, therefore, lies in the solution of her economic problems, and from personal investigation he lays down certain methods for the resuscitation of her cottage industries. The author puts in a vigorous plea for the improvement of village sanitation and holds that India must solve her economic difficulties in her own way and not as a mere imitator of the methods of the West, where the conditions are so different. Mr. Mukherjee wants to see our literature reflect the true condition of the masses of the people, their daily needs and elementary wants, for unless literature is a reflex of the real life of the people it cannot exercise that uplifting influence which is its special mission. Incidentally we are glad to learn that the author will shortly bring out a volume entitled the "Foundations of Indian Economics" in English through Messrs. Longman's Green & Co. The book before us is a valuable contribution to Bengali literature and should be widely read.

P.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacied Books of the Hindus *(Nos. 74—77: Aug.—Nov. 1915) Vol. XIV. Parts VI.—IX. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad translated by Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Vasu with the assistance of Pandit Ramaksaya Bhattacharya Vidyabhusan. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. ii and 377—128. Price of this part Rs. 7—8 only. Annual Subscription of the series—Inland Rs.* 12—12; *Foreign £* 1.

The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad is now completed. It is translated according the commentary of Madhva, the great dualistic Vaishnava theologian. In his Bhashya, he combats the Monastic interpretation of Sankaracharyya and tries to shew that his *Maya-vada* is nothing but a form of the *Sunyavada* of the Madhyamika School. The Rishis of this Upanishad might not be thoroughgoing monists, but there could be no doubt about the fact that their tendency was towards monism. If any one could be said to have fairly represented the spirit of the Upanishad, it was not Madhva the Dualist, but Sankara the Monist.

The book is an important production, not because it is an interpretation of the Upanishad but because it expounds the views of the dualistic theologian Madhva, known also as Anandatirtha and Purnaprajna, claims to be the third Incarnation of Vayu, Hanuman being the first and Bhima the second Avatar.

Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu successively and successfully translated the Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishad with Madhva's commentary and has thus greatly enriched the theological literature of our country for which we are thankful to him. The book under review is an excellent edition of Madhva's Brihadaranyaka Upanishad and is especially recommended to those who are interested in the development of the Vaishnava theology on dualistic basis.

The book contains (1) Sanskrit Text, (2) Meaning of all the words of the text, (3) English translation of the text, (4) English translation of Madhva's commentary, (5) Notes in English given by the translator, (6) Alphabetical Index of the Mantras.

The Saced Books of the Hindus: *(No. 78: December 1915) Vol. X. Part 6. Purva-Mimamsa-Sutras of Jaimini, translated by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha D. Litt. and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. viii+iii+457+106+vii+XIX. Price of this part Re.* 5-3. *Annual Subscription—Inland Rs.* 12-12 *as. Foreign £* 1.

The system of philosophy known as Jaimini Sutras, Purva Mimansa Sutras or simply as Mimansa Sutras is a philosophical defence and the exposition of the inner meaning of the sacrificial rites as prescribed in the Samhitas and Brahmans.

These Sutras are divided into 12 Chapters which are divided into Padas; divided again into Adhikaranas or 'topics' of which there are nearly 1000.

The whole book consisting of 1,000 Adhikaranas is a voluminous work and for this reason the first three chapters only have been published for this series.

That Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha is the translator of the book, is a sufficient guarantee that it is an excellent edition of the work.

In this book the original Sutras with an English translation, padas with their meanings and an English commentary have been given.

MAHESH CH. GHOSH.

GUJARATI.

Bhilonan Git, *collected by Nagri Maheshwar Pathek, and published by Krishnalal S. Vakil, B. A., Superintendent, Office of the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, Price Re. 1-0-0. (1915).*

The Bhils are ethnologically said to represent the aborigines of India, before it was overrun by the Aryans. On this side of India they are found in large numbers in the Revakantha and Mahikantha Political Agencies and in Khandesh and Malwa. In spite of their contact with civilized people, they have preserved most of their original or rather aboriginal customs and usages in their entirety, on account of the isolated life they live in the jungles and on the hills in which these parts of the country abound. As between themselves they use a certain kind of *patois* in conversation but with others they talk Gujarati or Marathi, picking it up from their town or village neighbours. A collection of songs sung by this community was no doubt a happy idea, and the specimens collected in this book furnish very interesting reading. Almost every song is typical of the life they lead in the jungles and on the hills. Their humble fare of *Mowra* flowers, and maize, their pride in their

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cattle, their simple forms of marriage and courtship, are all reflected in these songs, which also exhibit the subtle influences overtaking them on account of their constant intercourse with the outside world, as evidenced by their imitation of some of the customs and manners of a Hindu's life with its joint family system. The introduction to the collection is written in very simple and terse language, but is full of information. One remark made in it is worth noticing, viz., that the Bhils living in the jungles never tell an untruth, while those who have come in contact with civilized or educated people, cannot resist the temptation of telling falsehoods. There was no such book as this in Gujarati, and we are of opinion that it would meet with a cordial welcome at the hands of all those who would care to read it through.

Rajpadya, *edited by Mansukhlal Ravjibhai Mehta, and printed at the Diamond Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 114. Unpriced (1915).*

Rajpadya is the name given to several poems written by the late Raychandra, a Jain philosopher and a friend of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who put him "much higher than Tolstoy in religious perception." They are poems written while Raychandra was very young, and concern *Bhakti* (भक्ति), *Charitra* (चरित्र), *Vijnan* (विज्ञान), and other cognate topics. Their chief beauty is that though they are written by one who was in his teens, still they are pregnant with spiritual meaning, and a knowledge of religion as well as of the world scarcely to be expected in one so young. The language is so simple, that one does not find it at all difficult to follow their meaning or understand them. Mr. Mansukhlal has certainly done a बंधुकृत्य by publishing them.

(1) **Shrimad Bhagavati Bhagvat**, *published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 892. Price Rs. 2-12-0. (1915).*

(2) **Raja Rammohan Ray**, *translated by Odhavji Tulsidas Thakkur, published by the same Society and printed at the same Press. Cloth bound, pp. 215. Price Re. 0-7-0. (1915).*

The first is a substantial volume, a popular translation of the Devi Bhagvat, while the second is an account of the life of Raja Rammohan Ray prepared from a Marathi Book. A larger life published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society exists, so that this book is the second of its kind.

Balakone Be Bal, *by Chandravadan, J. P., Khansaheb, printed at the Jain Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover, pp. 28. Price Re. 0-3-0 (1916)*

This small book contains precepts and moral maxims for children. It is a useful publication.

Shri Anukramani Ramayan, by Manibhai Khandubhai Desai, printed at the Muslim Printing Press, Navsari, Paper cover, pp. 74. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1915).

This summary of the Ramayan in verse was written by Mr. Desai in response to an advertisement by the last Gujarati Sahitya Parishad for condensing the epic into a certain number of verses (1000). The writer's zeal has no doubt accomplished this task, but whether the book would live or not is problematical.

Shri Mahavir Jivan Vistar, *by Pari Bhimji Harjivan, published by Meghji Hirji & Co., Bombay, printed at the Satya Vijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 128. Price Re. 1-8-0. (1916).*

These are outlines of the life of Mahavir Swami, written by a Jain, so that it goes without saying that it is written in a spirit of veneration. Its chief attractions, however, are the several pictures. Which illustrate in a prominent form the different ordeals through which the saint had to pass in order to attain the proud position he occupies with respect to the Jain religion.

Be Prem Katha, *by Chandrashanker N. Pandya, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay, printed at the Dharma Vijaya Printing Press, Bombay, Paper Cover, pp. 32. Price Re 0-3-0. (1915).*

"Two Love Stories" is the title of this thin book. As its name implies, it is just two little love stories and nothing else. Written in Mr. Pandya's usual style—neither high nor low—they are tiny, chatty affairs, like sea-foam or soft fleece, beautiful to look at, but not meant for touch or pressure. The object hidden behind the stories, in one case is to present an ideal picture of the love of a married couple and in the other to show how a wife is expected not only to read books but to manage household affairs also.

K. M. J.

In the February (1916) issue of the Modern Review pape 230, column two, line eleven, the word "these" is a misprint for "three."

TAMIL.

Love's Triumph is the title of a short story in Tamil, priced 4 as. and published by Messrs. G. A. Vaidya Raman and Co., Madras. It narrates the story of a Brahmin girl who, unwilling to marry the boy her parents had chosen for her and whom she did not love, eludes the marriage and enters into marital relations with an old friend and relative of hers whom she loves. It would be too much to expect from writers of short stories any penetrating analysis of character or deeplaid plots which slowly unravel themselves. Nor indeed is it necessary. The present brochure is an amusing skit wherewith to while away an idle half hour of an industrious day. There is a playful humour in the work which will be appreciated by those who know the life of the Tamil Brahmans as it is lived.

S. P. T.

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REPORT ON INDENTURD LABOUR IN FIJ I

By C. F. Andrews, M. A., and W. W. Pearson, M. A., B. sc.

[By the courtesy of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson we are enabled to publish this report as a special contribution to the *Modern Review*.—the Editor.]

When we speak in our present Report of the 'Indenture System' we have specially in mind certain features, which have been common to this form of Indian labour, ever since it was started in Natal more than half a century ago. These have given to it the name and character it bears. They may be summed up as follows :—

Recruiting of individuals in India, at the rate of forty women for every hundred men.

A five years' term of compulsory, state regulated labour.

The absence of freedom to choose or to change either employment or employer.

A minimum fixed rate of wages, which tends to remain stationary, even when the price of food rises.

The payment of immigration charges by the employer.

Iu Fiji we were often asked whether we had a rooted objection to 'indenture' in any form or shape. We were informed that a large number of Englishmen, all over the world, had gone out under indenture to the Colonies. These Englishmen had no objection to 'indenture.' Why should the Indian object to it ?

When the matter was brought up in this form our answer was that the whole question turned on the freedom, responsibility and intelligence of those who entered into the agreement. In the case of the European immigrant, there was a natural presumption that he understood the exact terms of the agreement before starting, and that he felt quite clear in his own mind that they were neither oppressive nor degrading. Indeed, so far were his interests safeguarded by those in authority, that in South Africa, we found, the contract itself was not valid until it had been renewed after an interval had been allowed to the immigrant to examine on the spot all the conditions. Only when he was perfectly satisfied, after seeing things with his own eyes, was the contract finally signed. We were told in Australia that no one is allowed to come out to the Southern States except with the permission of Government. In Queensland, where European labour is badly needed, the limit that is allowed for an agricultural contract is a single year.

These facts show clearly with what care and precaution the interests of the European immigrant are safeguarded and assured. Furthermore,—and this is the chief point of all,—the contract is a purely civil one. If the European finds that the terms of the contract are not being faithfully kept, he has an immediate remedy at hand in a court of law. He knows the method by which he can get his agreement cancelled ; and if he can prove that there has been any unfair advantage taken of his ignorance, he can be quite certain of a patient and sympathetic hearing from the Magistrate, who is usually a fellow countryman of his own.

The position may be briefly stated as follows. Contracts for personal service, which are made, with ignorance on the one hand and intelligence on the other : or contracts which are brought about by the exploitation of the weak : or contracts which are engaged in for an excessively long period of years—these all tend to reproduce servile features. In these cases the new word 'indenture' is nearly equivalent to the old word 'slavery' writ large. Indeed the wish to possess such a form of labour proceeds from the same instinct—the instinct to endeavour to get the service of a fellow human being on compulsory terms.

This then is the root objection to the present Indian 'indenture.' It is neither a free, nor an intelligent contract. It is not what a business man would call a 'square deal.' It is also fixed for a dangerously long period of years, and thus is liable to lead to the abuse of individual liberty.

Other evils, peculiar to the condition of Indian recruitment, and to the character

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of the coolie 'lines' in Fiji, will come up later, in this report, for examination. But the objection which has here been urged is valid against any form of indentured labour, where the contract is made for too long a period, and is engaged in under unequal conditions.

It will be best to deal first with the length of contract. It has been already pointed out how strictly limited, in the case of Europeans, the period of contract is, and with what safeguards it is endorsed. With regard to labour other than European we found on enquiry in Johannesburg that the Kaffir contracts on the Rand were usually for one and a half years. The Chinese contract, when in operation, had been for five years, but for political as well as industrial and moral causes, that form of labour had been abandoned. We would add that we did not find in S. Africa a single good word said for the Chinese indenture system. Its morals were regarded as unspeakably corrupt.

In Natal we found that the Indian indenture system with its low percentage of women and its five years' contract was still in force. We saw with our own eyes its inherent evils and there were very few indeed in the Colony, outside a small group of Planters, who were ready to uphold it. Since that time it has been practically abandoned.

In the Malay States, indentured labour was first tried on the five years basis, but this has now been brought to an end by a joint agreement of the Government and the Planters, and a much free and shorter form of contract has been substituted for it.

We are informed by one who had full knowledge of the labour conditions in New Guinea, that in the Papuan plantations a yearly engagement had become the rule of the employers: and this produced more satisfactory results than a contract for a longer period.

In Hawaii, which is most near in its conditions of life to Fiji, the Americans, as far as we could gather, have never taken to inedentured labour. They secure permanent employees by high wages and advantageous terms.

In Ceylon, the indenture system has never been in operation. Labour, in large quantities, is engaged on a monthly contract. An altogether different evil, namely coolie indebtedness, has to be combated with, but the five years' indenture has never been tried, nor would it be acceptable to the Planters.

It will thus be seen that, in the case of immigrant labour, a contract is not uncommon. But, wherever the period of contract has been prolonged, it has led to a serious curtailment of individual liberty and to bad moral results. On the other hand, a short contract has not been open to industrial objection, while at the same time it has tended to preserve freedom.

Indeed, this special form of short contract labour (in return for passage paid) is likely to become more and more common in future, now that ocean travel has been made easier and quicker and cheaper. The flow of labour, under contract, across the ocean is only another form of the migration of labour from a congested area of population to an uncongested area, or from the villages for town factory work. One of the most interesting recent developments of such migratory labour has been the yearly transport of Italians to Argentina for harvesting purposes. Such a migration would have seemed impossible only a short time ago.

There was scarcely any subject which the Fiji planters were more eager to discuss with us than the continuance of the present term of five-yearly indenture. We listened carefully to all they had to say from a business point of view. On the other side, we stated our own invincible objection to such a long and dangerous service. Our opinion on that point had been fixed, once for all, long ago by what we had witnessed in Natal. We were understood, from the very first, both by the Government and by the Planters to be unmoveable on that issue.

Three grounds were put forward by the Planters in favour of a longer rather than a shorter contract in the case of Fiji. We felt that each of them had weight, but we felt also that the Planters' difficulties should be met in some other way than the retention of a five years' indenture.

First, they argued that the cost of the passage out to Fiji was very great. If, in the future, they were obliged to bring out whole families rather than individuals, the cost would be greater still for every unit of labour. A family could hardly cost less, in passage money, than 450 rupees. If the contract were a short one, this heavy expense would have to be

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incurred again and again at very short intervals.

Secondly, the Planters urged that sugar-planting itself was skilled work. During the first six months, therefore, the labour done by the new worker was of very little value. Only after a full year, they said, could the workman be called efficient. So then, if the contract were too short, the labourer would be taken away, just as he was getting into his work.

Thirdly, they insisted with great reiteration that the work itself was an apprenticeship. Only those who had thoroughly learnt modern methods of sugarcane cultivation, by working under a big employer, could hope themselves in the future to undertake profitable plantation work on their own account. They pointed out that Fiji was not like India in this respect, but rather like Java. The best Indian growers of cane, they said, in Fiji had learned their business during the five years of indenture. If they had had a shorter training they might never have learnt at all.

Such were the points which were brought to our notice with regard to the length of contract. We remained convinced in our opinion that a shorter period of training on much freer and more equitable terms would bring about as good, if not better, technical results; while at the same time the moral and social value of the greater freedom would be, even from the business point of view, very high indeed.

We would next endeavour to make plain, by illustrations from our own personal experience, how very widely the present system of Indian indentured labour differs from the free, equal and intelligent contract entered into by Europeans.

We shall best accomplish this purpose by offering examples which are chosen as typical out of hundreds of interviews with Indians in Fiji. They expressed to us, with the utmost freedom, the circumstances in which they were first led to come out to Fiji and their experiences on the plantations.

It will be seen from these what an amount of fraud and deception appears to be at work in the process of recruiting. It will be seen, also, how unscrupulous exploitation dogs the footsteps of the illiterate coolie from first to last. On every side his path is beset with pitfalls and very few indeed escape disaster during their long five years' indenture.

In giving these examples, which came under our personal observation and were entered down in our notes on the spot, we have purposely omited the coolies' names. In very many cases their information was given in confidence, with a request that their names should not be revealed. The peculiar state of fear that exists among Indians throughout the Islands will be explained later on. It was a common experience with both of us to have the question asked, "Are you the coolie agent sahib ?" Only when that question was satisfactorily settled would conversation flow freely. Later on during our visit, when the report had spread among the coolies about our coming, we were known as the 'Calcutta-wale Sahibs' and people would come from long distances to tell us their own story.

From all that we were able to gather from the indentured coolies' own lips, and also from the free Indians, it is probably not an exaggeration to state that, in the case of 80 per cent of those who were indentured in India, some deceit was practised by the recruiting agent. This man is actually paid so much per head for his task by the Colonial Emigration authorities at 61 Garden Reach, Calcutta, or elsewhere. He is given an extra bonus for every woman. The price paid in the west of the United Provinces seems to be as high as forty-five rupees for every man and fifty-five rupees for every woman; in the East of the United Provinces and in Madras we were told the fee was lower. But whatever the price may be is immaterial; such payments made, at so much per head, for men and women, recall the worst features of the old slave system, and are quite indefensible. They offer a premium to a very low class of agents to engage in acts of cunning and fraud.

We have been ourselves into the recruiting areas of India and have questioned the villagers about the activities of these agents of the Colonial Emigration Depots. Allowing for every exaggeration on the part of those who are illiterate, there can be no shadow of doubt that the frauds already practised by recruiting agents have been immense. We found out another evil which makes this unscrupulous re-

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cruiting more dangerous still. The recruiting agents represent themselves as subordinate Government officials and bring the name of Government in to set forward their own plans. The villagers are often too simple to discover this obvious fraud. Those of us who know the dread, in the ordinary villager's mind, of the power of the subordinate official, will not need to be told what an instrument of tyranny such a false representation may become. It will also be understood what a prejudice against the Indian Government itself is likely to be raised. But the evil goes still deeper. A missionary, of long experience in the villages, whose word could be thoroughly trusted in such a matter, told us that there was frequent collusion between the recruiting agents and the police, the latter receiving from the former a commission.

The recruiting agent, becoming a man of power, carries the exercise of his authority far beyond the limits of recruiting. He becomes not seldom a blackmailer whom the villagers actually bribe in order to live in peace.

A typical case of this came under our own observation. A villager, named Fakhira, had his wife and daughter decoyed from him by a recruiting agent, who offered to return them to him on the payment of a sum of money. Fakhira had not the sum ready to hand and could not borrow it. The wife and daughter were missing. He never saw them again.

We had a long conversation with a coolie, who had escaped, after being fraudulently recruited. He had been given *datura*. In this case, his mother had almost lost her reason during his absence. The small village to which he belonged was in a state of panic-fear. It is now a clearly-indicated fact that, over large areas of the United Provinces, there has been added, to the other fears of the villager this new dread of the recruiting agent. The villagers have in some districts actually banded themselves together against their common enemy, and there have been cases of violent assaults upon the recruiting agent when he has been found entering a village. Songs in the vernacular are now sung from village to village warning pople against the recruiter. The situation is not altogether unlike the Mormon Scare in England, and the object of the villagers is the same, namely, the protection of the chastity of their women and the sanctity of their married life.

It was deeply instructive to find that the actual accounts of the coolies in Fiji as to the manner of their own recruitment tallied exactly with the stories we heard from the villages in the Indian recruiting districts. We listened, as it were, to the same story from both ends,—from the fellow villagers and relations of the recruited coolies in India and from the recruited coolies themselves in Fiji.

Piecing together the different stories and eliminating exaggerations, it is clear that the recruiting agent in recent years has begun to fight shy of going direct to the villages and inducing people to come to the Depot from their own village homes. He does not bargain with them there. Nearly every coolie we questioned in Fiji said he was away from home when he was recruited. In a very large number of cases the coolie's own home people knew nothing about his recruitment. Very possibly many such coolies were escaping from justice, or running away from some family quarrel at the time. But others were clearly quite simple village people, involved in no such trouble. They had lost, perhaps, their relations in a crowded railway station. They were on a pilgrimage and did not know the way. They were merely going from one village to another, when the recruiting agent came along and tempted them with his story.

It was noticeable among the women how many were recruited at the pilgrim-centres. The common narrative was, that the recruiting agent came up, offering to take the woman to her relations, or to show her some sacred shrine, and then took her to the depot instead. The evidence given of such practices was far too circumstantial in detail, and far too frequently given with fresh detail and fresh names of places, to allow of any doubt concerning its substantial accuracy.

The following is an account of a visit paid to Muttra to gather information at first hand about up-country coolie recruiting.

We found, at the first depot, that all the coolies had been moved off to Calcutta. At the second depot, a Muhammadan (who appeared to us a dangerous person to be entrusted with the charge of Indian women) was manager of the place. The first coolie, whom we saw, was evidently

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a prostitute. Four men were also there, who told us they were ready to emigrate. One man, of very low caste, was even eager to go. He told us he had been getting only two annas a day in India. He had no idea where Fiji was, and said he thought it was about two hundred *kos* from Muttra. The last coolie was a woman, who was going out again to Fiji. She told us that a man had lived with her in Fiji, but had deserted her, as soon as she landed in India. Now she was all alone. No one had anything to do with her. She said that in Fiji there was plenty of money, but in India she could make no money at all. She was in a very wretched condition. Evidently she expected some other man to live with her, if she went out.

In the third depot, news of our coming had preceded us and feverish efforts had been made to get things straight. There were only two coolies. One did not appear at first, and when he came forward, he would hardly answer any question. We told the Manager to leave us alone. Then the coolie began crying and said he was in great trouble. He had been in the depot for four days and had not been allowed to go out at all. He did not wish to go away to Fiji. (When I had asked him previously before the Manager, he had said he was willing.) He implored us to take him away. We called the Manager back and told him this. He went up to the man and began to threaten him. The coolie at once got frightened. We told the manager to speak quietly, and the man then said that he wished to go away. The Manager told him to fetch his bundle and go.

We then went to see a Gaur Brahman who had gone mad on account of his wife being taken away by the recruiting agent. The whole neighbourhood collected, showing their sympathy and pity. The mad man was a pathetic sight to witness.

The news had by this time spread widely that we were in the town, and the relatives of those who had been taken away flocked round us. A respectable Jat came up to us. His brother was blind and had an only son, who was taken by the recruiters. The lad was sixteen years of age. Another boy had been taken with him, but had been rejected on medical grounds. This second boy told the blind father his son's fate. The Jat informed us that he had gone to the Magistrate and asked for an order to stop the boy's embarkation. The Magistrate asked for a deposit of thirty rupees, which was paid, and a telegram was sent to Calcutta. An answer had come from the depot that as the boy was going by his own consent, his embarkation could not be delayed. The Jat thereupon asked the Magistrate for an order to enter the Calcutta depot. He went to Calcutta, and, as he described to us his treatment, we could understand the difficulties which were placed in his way. In the end he was informed that the boy had already sailed for Fiji. If he wished to get him back, a deposit must be made of 465 rupees.

A Hindu, by caste a Bania, spoke to us concerning his wife. She had been taken by the recruiters, and he was very bitter against them. We asked him if he had made any attempt to get her back. He said he had not, for when once she had been inside the depot she was stained.

Some correspondence was given us concerning a coolie who had been shipped to British Guiana, The following official letter is of interest:—

> Sir,.....With reference to your endorsement, No. 2047 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform you that a sum of Rs. 531, will be required for the repatriation etc., of Radha Kishan No. 104, Mutlah 1912. (Details given). It will not be possible for Radha Kishan to return to India till about August or September 1916.

The father of Radha Kishan was a villager earning four annas a day. He told us he was going to try to borrow the money, because his son had written to him in very great distress.

It was clear from the narratives of the women in Fiji that when once they had crossed the threshold of the depot their terror became too great to allow them to turn back. The recruiting agent seemed able to stupefy them with fear. He was then able to coach them in the questions which they had to answer and they very rarely refused to reply according to his directions when the time came.

With the men folk, the methods of the recruiting agents appear to be somewhat different. Here it is the ordinary villager's cupidity which is the lever most frequently used. If he is of the stupid ignorant type, then Fiji is referred to as a district near to Calcutta where high wages are to be obtained. Incredible though it may appear, we came across many cases where

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the indentured coolies informed us, with every appearance of truth, that they were quite unaware of their real destination, until they found themselves tossing and sea-sick in the Bay of Bengal.

If the villager, on the other hand, is of the more intelligent type, then the full details of the indenture are revealed. But the work is made out to be very light indeed, and the most glowing prospects are given. Nothing is said about the penal laws, or the hard conditions of compulsory labour. If the Fiji conditions were even normally fair and prosperous and wholesome, then little harm might be done by mere exaggerations. The advertisements which attract emigrants from England are often highly coloured. Yet on the whole the English emigrants are satisfied. But in Fiji the amount of satisfaction we found was very limited indeed. Here and there we discovered a set of coolies who were happy on the estates. But this was the exception, not the rule.

The recruiting agent appears not to be content with finding his recruits among the peasant classes only. He deals with all sorts and conditions of men and women. Where he finds a Sikh or a Jat, who is ready to step into his toils, he pictures Fiji as an ideal place for a soldier or a policeman, if only the thumb mark is placed to the agreement. A whole group of Panjabis was once recruited in this way, under false pretences. When they found out, on arrival, how they had been cheated they broke out into open mutiny and held up a whole district, for the time being, with fire-arms (which they managed somehow to obtain) and the trouble was not stopped until Government separated them one from another and distributed them among different coolie 'lines.'

Sometimes the recruiting agent finds a raw youth fresh from school, with a smattering of English education, and a boyish desire for adventure. He pictures to him employment in Fiji, as a teacher, on fabulous rates of pay,—if only the agreement is signed. We were startled every now and then to find in the coolie 'lines' a young lad of high caste and education, whose whole appearance showed that he had no business at all in such a place. The condition of such lads, when they arrive and have to be lodged in the same quarter with men of low morals and unclean habits of life, is pitiable indeed.

There appears to us to be a clear need for an overhauling of the whole system of recruitment in India, and for a closing of the up-country depots. We have spoken to many of the Emigration Officers and Magistrates, in whose courts the coolies' agreements are signed, and not one has expressed himself satisfied with what is going on. Each one has told us in turn that he had suspicions of some secret fraudulent dealing, which was very difficult indeed to detect. One who had the fullest opportunity of seeing the work of recruiting in up-country districts spoke of it, in our hearing, as 'dirty work.' Our own very limited experience corroborates that statement, and the narratives we heard in Fiji endorse it. If the indenture system is abolished, and free labour to the Colonies is allowed to go on, then it is most important that such labour shall only be recruited under free conditions.

We found, further, on examination, that the agreement, which the coolie signs before going out, does not truly represent the facts of coolie life in Fiji. It is a misleading document. Not a word, for instance, is said concerning the penalties which await the coolie, if, for any reason (which he may regard as valid) he refuses to work. Another serious omission from the agreement (seeing that those who sign it are for the most part ignorant and illiterate people) is the failure to record the fact that food rates in Fiji differ materially from those in India. The coolie is told in the agreement, that he will be paid at the minimum rate of twelve annas a day. But he is not told that the purchasing power of twelve annas in Fiji is scarcely equal to that of five annas in India. He is not told, also, that more is required in the way of clothing and other necessaries of life in Fiji than in India. So that the bare living expenses are nearly three times as high in Fiji as in India itself. One of the examples which follows will show what hardship this low rate of wages involves.*

The Indian woman who comes out under indenture has a still more serious charge to make against the signed agreement. These women are simple ignorant

* It is interesting to note that the English coinage of Fiji is given an Indian value by the coolies. A two shilling piece is called a rupee. A one shilling piece is called eight annas. Sixpence is regularly called four annas. But this does not at all represent the true relative value. For eight annas in India would go considerably further than a shilling in Fiji.

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Indian villagers who have been used to field work. They are told in the agreement that they will have agricultural work to do in Fiji at the minimum wage of nine annas per day for a completed task. They naturally picture to themselves a state of labour in the field such as they have been used to in India. But when they get to their work in Fiji, they find that all is changed. Those who have seen the Indian woman working in the fields in India with her little family playing near her, will realise the change when she is told to leave her family behind in the coolie 'lines'. The provision of regulation 'fly-proof nurseries' is no compensation to her for the loss of the privilege of looking after her own children, and living her own natural life in her own natural way. She is not told, also, in the agreement that she will be compelled, under penal clauses to work incessantly, day in, day out, with no time to cook her own husband's meals or look after her own children. She is never told anything also of the condition of the coolie 'lines' in which she will be compelled to live, without any privacy or even decency, for five years, with no possibility of change.

All this is hidden from the village woman who enters into the indenture agreement in India. In these circumstances, as well as others, it cannot be called a fair contract. For it is made on behalf of one party, the Fiji Government, who is fully aware of the actual state of affairs as they exist in Fiji, with another, the ignorant coolie woman, who is imagining entirely different conditions.

(*To be continued*).

GLEANINGS

Why a Saw Cuts

"If a chisel is driven lightly into a board and pushed lengthwise with the grain, it picks up a shaving. This is the principle on which the swage-set rip-saw cuts. The kerf taken out by the saw-tooth corresponds to the shaving removed by the chisel. The edge *LN* of the tooth in the figure corresponds to the sharpened end of the chisel. If the edge *LN* is not sharp, the cutting efficiency of the saw is impaired just as it is with a dull chisel. Hence the necessity for always touching up the teeth of a swage-set saw with a file after they have been upset.

"If the chisel is driven deeply into the board, difficulty is experienced in pushing it along, because of the friction on its sides and because of the resilience of the wood which tends to bind the chisel. To avoid this side friction and binding, the teeth of a rip-saw of the type in question are upset or swaged so that nothing but the extreme points *L* and *N* experience any side friction. The body of the tooth and the saw-blade it-self should not rub against the sides of the cut. The expert sawfiler always strives to bring the ends of the edge *LN* to needlepoints as nearly as possible.

"The best test of this condition is to place the thumb and forefinger on either side of the teeth, running them in this way around the saw. If the sensation is one of encountering small, round beads as each tooth is passed, the points are not right. The sensation should be a prickly one as the fingers slip from tooth to tooth. This will insure minimum side friction and the cleanest cut. . . . . .

"The length of the chisel-edge *LN* of each tooth should be the same—that is, each tooth must be upset the same amount, otherwise the longer chisel-edges will have to do more work than the shorter ones and the cut will not be smooth. To accomplish uniform projection of the points *L* and *N* beyond the disk of the saw is the object of using the side file. After the side file has been used, the teeth which were struck off by it should be retouched to bring them to sharpened points again."

"In the case of the cross-cut saw the action is quite different. It will be noted that the ripping process consists of parting the wood-fiber and removing shavings, such as are lifted by a chisel, even tho the kerf no longer has the appearance of shavings when ejected as sawdust. If an attempt is made to push a chisel across the grain of a board, it sticks and tears up the woodfibers. If, however, a knife is drawn across the grain, . . . no great resistance is encountered, provided the knife is sharp. After drawing the knife across the grain along two lines the short cylinders of wood-fiber between the two can be easily broken loose, leaving a channel such as that cut by a saw. If we substitute for the point of the knife the tip of the cross-cut sawtooth and for the edge of the knife the leading edge of the tooth, we see at once the action of the cross-cut saw. Alternate teeth, due to their being set to one side and to the other of the disk, shear the ends of the wood-fiber. These short cylinders of sheared fibers are then easily rasped out by the following teeth and ejected as sawdust.

"Bearing in mind that cross-cutting is a shearing process, the reason is apparent for making the outside leading edge of the tooth sharp. In order that this may be done, it is necessary to bevel the leading side of the tooth. If the tooth were ground straight

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across the part *KR*, a keen-cutting edge could not be given to *OR*. The fact that a shearing cut must be made by the cross-cut saw-tooth also explains why the angle of such a tooth must be radically different from that of a rip-saw tooth. Suppose the knife were inclined in the opposite direction and it were then attempted to push it along from *A* to *B*—the point would stick and great difficulty would be experienced in forcing it through the fibers.

"One frequently sees the backs of cross-cut saw-teeth filed in imitation of the leading edge. This is wasting labor, as the back of the tooth performs no function. All it needs to do is to keep out of the way. So long as the back of a saw-tooth does not project beyond the point, it is doing everything expected of it. The extreme end of a cross-cut saw-tooth should be a sharp point, as it corresponds in the cutting action to the point of the knife-blade. So as to make certain that the edge *OK* will not touch in making the cut—as this would be equivalent to putting a broad point on the knife—a slight bevel is often given to the back of the tooth *OV*. But this is really not necessary if the front level is right."—

Factory, Chicago.

The Lightning-Rod

"The lightning-rod has two functions: (1) To prevent discharges. This it does through the action of the points which permit the electricity to leak from the structure. Usually the leakage is rapid enough so that the electric charges of the cloud and the building are neutralized and a discharge is prevented. But if the charges accumulate so rapidly that the leakage from the points can not neutralize them and a stroke occurs, then the lightning-conductors (2) prevent damage by conducting the lightning-stroke current to ground. If there are no conductors forming a low-resistance path to ground, the stroke will select its own path, which will be of relatively high resistance and will probably damage the building or set it on fire. . . . . .

"Damage done by lightning may be divided into two general classes—heat-effect damage, as, for example, where telephoneor power-conductors or other metal members lying in the path of the stroke are fused; (2) mechanical disruptive disintegration; for example, the splitting of a tree, the breaking of a rock, or the overturning of a stack.

"Lightning seldom damages certain objects. In so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, lightning has never been known to damage seriously (1) railroad-trains or locomotives, (2) buildings with metallic-grounded sides and roofs, (3) buildings having frameworks wholly of metal, (4) grounded-steel windmill towers, (5) steel battle-ships, and (6) business blocks in cities. Apparently all of these objects conduct electricity sufficiently well for electricity induced on the earth by a cloud to be drawn up through them and dispersed by the point action before the difference of potential between the cloud and the object becomes great enough to produce a flash. If a lightning:stroke to such an object does occur, the mass of metal in it is usually sufficient to conduct the current safely to ground. Conversely, lightning often damages non-conducting objects such as country homes and barns, wooden-frame school-houses and churches, stacks, trees, cattle, and horses, particularly where the stock is near wire fences.

"The theory of the lightning-rod may be explained by reference to Figs. 1, 2, and 3. If an electrified cloud, A (Fig. 1), passes over any portion of the earth, it will induce a charge of electricity on that portion. The cloud, the intervening atmosphere, and the surface of the earth really constitute a large electric condenser.

"A heavy charge will be drawn by mutual attraction to the highest portions of objects that are near or directly under the cloud. In Fig. I, if the cloud is positively electrified, a negative charge will be induced and attracted from the earth up over the outer surface of the building shown. If the building has a metallic or other surface that is good conductor, the charge will rise (flow) rapidly. If it is of brick, stone, or wood which are only fair conductors—but they are conductors—the charge will rise (flow) slowly. It can not, however, leak rapidly, because the material of the building is a poor conductor ; hence the electricity can not flow over its surface rapidly. The consequence is that the building will lie within a static field that is built up as suggested in Fig. I.

"If the building is rodded and equipped with points as shown in Fig. 2, the charge on the building, induced and attracted by that on the cloud, will rise rapidly, and it will discharge freely from the sharp points. The probabilities are that the flow of electricity from the points will so decrease the potential difference between the cloud and the building that no lightning-stroke will occur. The presence of the grounded lightning-conductor and the points has a tendency to raise the static field above the building, as indicated in Fig. 2.

"Now if the charge on the cloud accumulates very rapidly, the corresponding charge on the building will increase faster than the points can discharge it. If it thus increase to such a value that the potential difference between the cloud and the building exceeds the breakdown value of the intervening atmosphere, a lightning-stroke (Fig. 3) will occur between the cloud and a lightning-rod point. If the lightning-conductors and their grounds are adequate, the charge will be conducted to the earth without damage to the building. A building may be struck, even if it is rodded, if the charge accumulates so fast that the points will not disperse it. . . . . .

"Of the materials suitable for lightning-conductors or rods, copper is probably the best, because it is a good conductor and will not corrode. Electrically, iron is also satisfactory if it is of sufficient section, but it will ultimately corrode, even if it is galvanized, and may therefore fail just when it is most needed. The contact of dissimilar metals should be avoided in a lightning-rod installation because of the liability of electrolytic action and the consequent corrosion. Some insurance companies will not accept risks rodded with iron conductor. A conductor of flat form (rectangular cross-section) appears to be preferable from a theoretical standpoint, and it is a convenient form to handle and to connect with mechanically. Practise indicates that material of any cross-sectional form will give adequate protection if it has sufficient weight per foot, that is, if it is big enough.

"In the matter of installation of lightning-conductors, the rodding must always be held in metallic connection with the surface of the building by cleats, clamps, or staples, so that an electric charge on the building's surface can readily be conducted to the points where it can disperse. Round conductor can be held with straps. . . . Flat conductor is spliced by lapping the ends and nailing a copper strap across them with copper nails. Round conductor is spliced with a sleeve."

"Conductors should be run down corners instead of over the sides of buildings, and all metallic members or fittings must be connected with them, especially if

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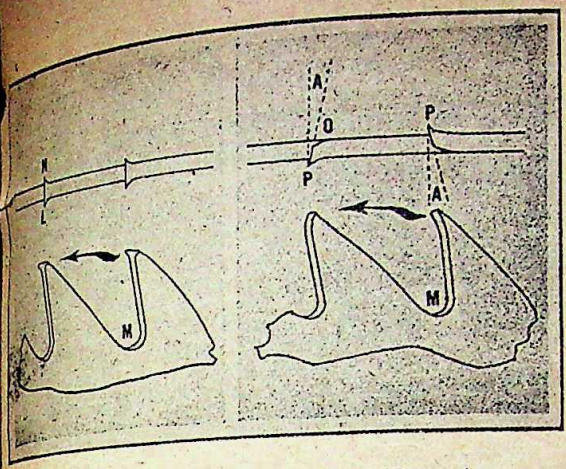
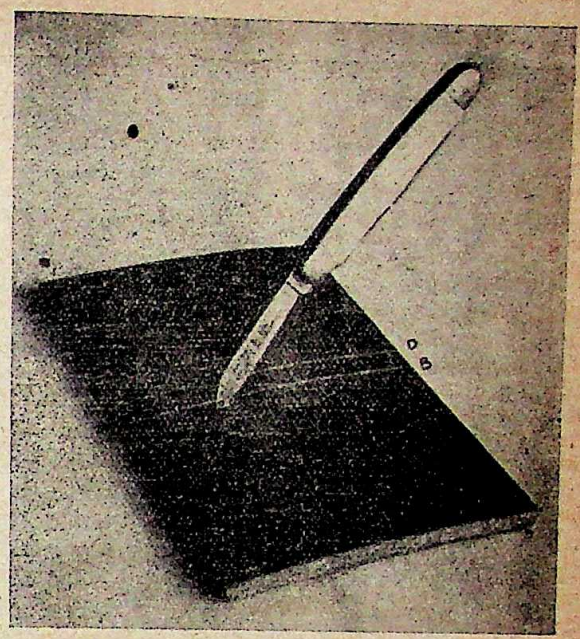


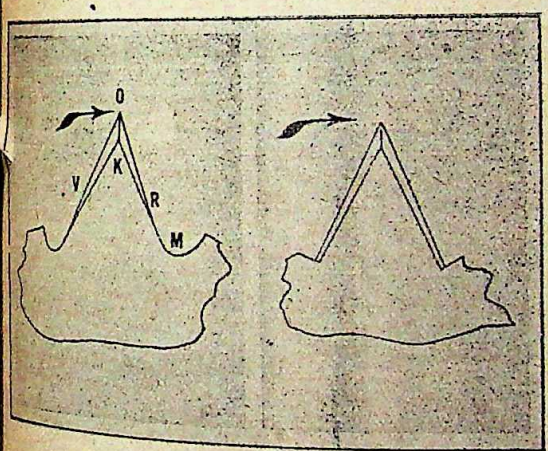
TWO TYPES OF RIP-SAW TEETH. (P. 339)

The edge *LN* of the tooth corresponds to the sharpened end of the chisel. To avoid side friction and binding, a swage-set ripsaw has the teeth upset as shown. The teeth of spring-set ripsaw cut exactly like the tilted chisel. Each tooth cuts with its point and about one-half of the edge *PO*.



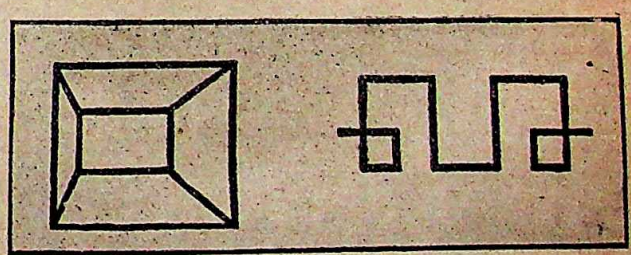
EACH TOOTH IS A KNIFE-BLADE. (P. 339)

The alternate teeth of a cross-cut saw break the short cylinders of wood-fiber between their incisions, in the same way that they are broken between the knife-strokes *A B* and *C D* here.

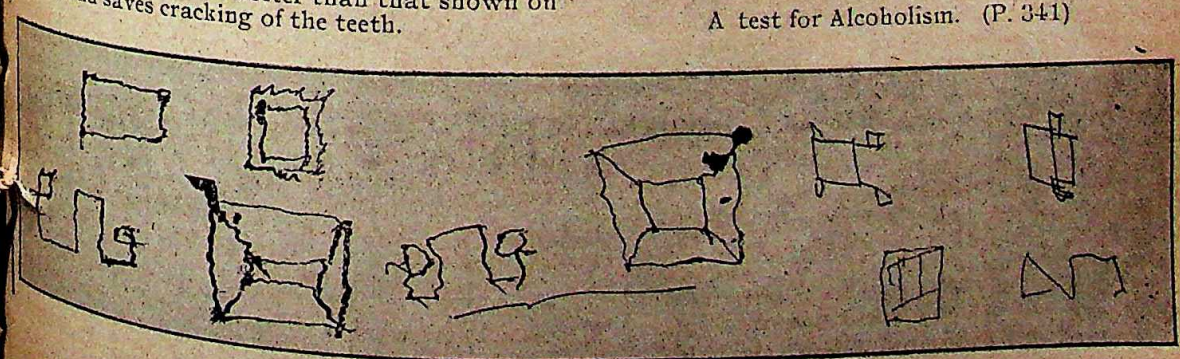


THE KNIFE-BLADE CHARACTER OF THE CROSS-CUT SAW. (P. 339)

The tip *O* corresponds to the knife's point, the leading edge *OR* to the blade-edge. A rounded gullet takes away the sawdust better than that shown on the right, and saves cracking of the teeth.



A test for Alcoholism. (P. 341)



HOW THE HAND OF THE DRUNKARD BETRAYS HIM. (P. 341)

These copies were made from memory after looking for ten seconds at the diagrams reproduced in the center of the page. No psychologist we are assured would hesitate a moment in pronouncing these copies as the work of chronic alcoholics.

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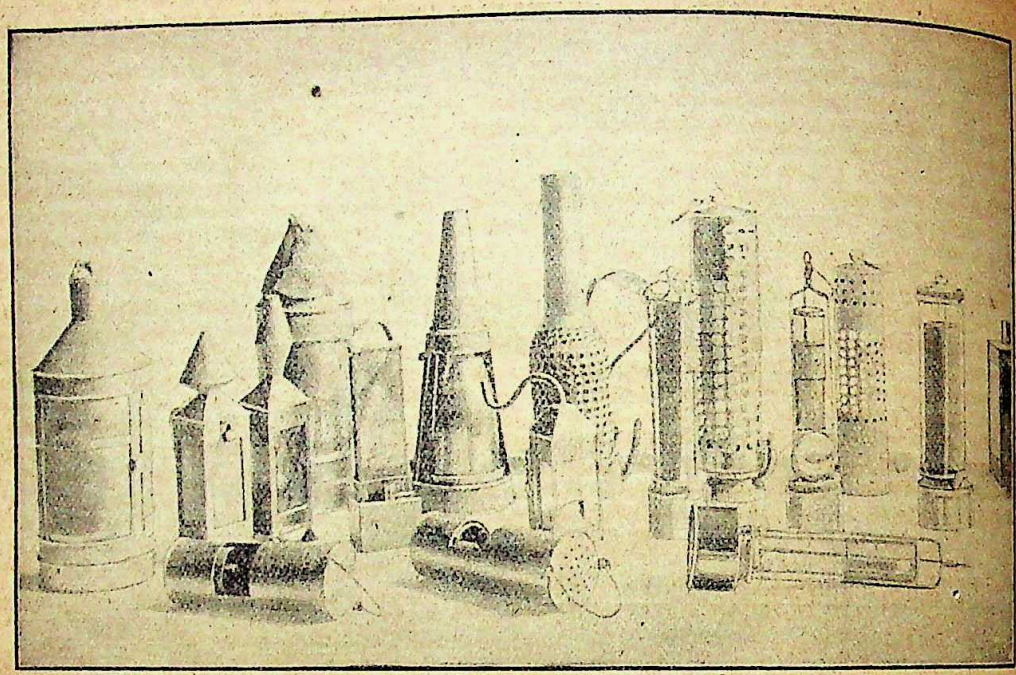
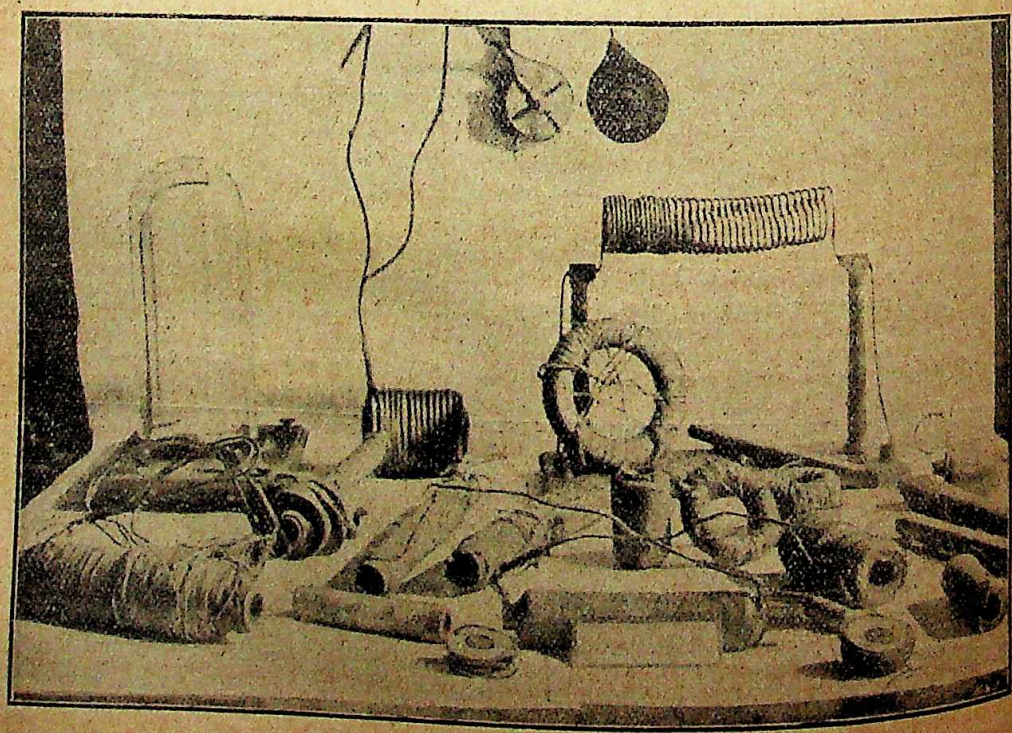


Historic Apparatus of Davy in the Royal Institution. (P. 356)



Historic Apparatus of Faraday in the Royal Institution (P. 356)

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within six feet. All piping in a building should form one electric system and have substantial connection with the rodding preferably at the highest possible point. Ground-connection is especially important and should be through a hole ten feet deep, drilled into the earth and kept moist."

"Protection for telephone-wires is also essential. If it is not provided, lightning-discharge current may enter a building along the wires and cause damage. The lightning-arresters ordinarily furnished by the telephone companies are of too frail construction to provide protection against a lightning-stroke of any consequence. For this service, protectors or arresters of very sturdy construction should be mounted outside the building and well grounded.

"Wire fences should be grounded at frequent intervals. If they are not, a lightning-stroke current may follow along a fence-wire and into a building and start a fire. However, the most important reason for grounding is to prevent the killing of stock. During a storm the animals crowd against the fence, and when a lightning-discharge strikes an ungrounded fence-wire it will seek the path of least opposition to ground, which may be through an animal near or against the fence-wire. The result is usually fatal."

—*The Electrical World.*

Cotton in Natural Colors

Instead of having to dye cotton, we may in future grow it in whatever color we desire. Colored cotton is already grown in various parts of the world, and we have only to assemble the colored varieties in our own country, and produce intermediate tints by interbreeding, to obtain the result suggested above. In order that this may be brought about, of course, the different colored varieties must breed true; that is, the seeds of yellow, green, or red cotton must always produce cotton of that one particular color. That this is true, and that the colors are not due to the influence of soil or other environment, have been proved by A. W. Brabham, a plant-breeder, of Olar, South Carolina.

"The production of cotton tinted by nature with any color desired is the newest and most revolutionary departure attempted in the cotton-growing industry, and one which may have far-reaching effects.

"Commercially, the achievement of natural colors in cotton would obviate the use of chemical dyes, which, besides their expense, are said to damage the fabric of the cheaper varieties of cotton-stuffs. With the perfection of the new process it would be possible to feed to the looms, to suit any design, cotton-threads colored by nature with tints which could not fade.

"The leading apostle of colored cotton is A. W. Brabham, a plant-breeder of Olar, South Carolina. He points out what is scarcely known to the general public—acquainted only with white cotton—that already there exist species of cotton of many various hues.

"Besides the white cotton of the United States, which produces a cotton with reddish lint; brown cotton is grown in Egypt, Peru, and Hawaii; yellow cotton is produced in China; and India has a gray cotton. In addition, a green cotton has been evolved in South Carolina, and even a jet-black cotton is said to have been developed in Mexico. C. H. Clarke, of Boston, has written to Brabham that it has proved feasible in laboratory experiments to produce a blue cotton.

"Brabham's chief contribution to the introduction of colored cottons is his proof that the different species, whether from Peru, Egypt, or China, will breed true to color in whatever soil they are planted. It was at first thought that the hues of the lint were due to peculiarities of the earth in which the cotton grew. But by experiments in South Carolina, he has established that the seed from gray cotton in India produces gray cotton wherever planted; and that the same is true of red cotton from Peru, yellow cotton from China, and brown cotton from Egypt. It is well established that white cotton from North Carolina or Texas also remains white cotton in the tropics.

The American experimenter may thus have at his disposal eight different hues of cotton—white, red, brown, yellow, gray green, blue, and black. According to Brabham, by interbreeding it will be possible to blend these colors into all the intermediate tints. For instance, by breeding white and red cotton together, we should arrive at a fixt type of pink cotton; by blending red and blue cotton we should achieve purple cotton; and the intermixture of black cotton should give us darker hues of all the other colors"

—*The Literary Digest.*

What Drives Men to Drink?

The Impulse to drunkenness is disease. Men drink according to their desires—some to satisfy thirst, some because they like the taste of intoxicants, some because they crave the stimulation due to alcohol in the blood. These last are the men who drink to get drunk, and their impulses are essentially abnormal; they are diseased. This fact has been brought out with distinctness of late by mental tests made in the psychopathic laboratory of the Chicago Municipal Court by Dr. William J. Hickson, a student of the clinics at Zurich, Switzerland, where this line of investigation was first taken up and developed. "We have yet to find the first case of this kind where there is not at least a psychopathic constitution, epilepsy, dementia præcox, manic-depressive insanity, or feeble-mindedness at the basis." The habitual drunkard may know well that alcohol is a poison and that his life depends on letting it alone, but he is driven to drink by forces against which he is powerless to contend. This substratum of disease in the alcoholic has been most clearly shown, in what the laboratory authorities call a "visual-memory test," a specimen of which is given herewith. The person tested is shown certain figures for ten seconds and then asked to reproduce them from memory—an easy thing for a normal man or woman to do. Defectives can not do it.

The drawing displays the tremor of the alcoholic. But the significant thing is the fantasy, the putting into the drawing things that aren't in the original he was trying to reproduce. Fantasy of that sort means dementia præcox.

The immediate problem of the court is to find some way of dealing with this sort of man which won't make things worse than they are now. If he is discharged and allowed to go back to his family he will most certainly get drunk again, and he may kill his wife when he does. If he is sent to jail for six months his family will be robbed of his support for that length of time and he will come out in worse shape than when he went in. He won't be able to get a drink in the jail, and that will be good for his body, but the conditions of life there are most favorable to dementia præcox so that confinement

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will be bad for his mind—and it is his mind that is making the trouble. A six-months' sentence will see him less able to do without alcohol than he is now. No amount of physical care and no amount of will enable him to escape alcohol as long as his dementia præcox endures. What he needs is light work on a farm and the society of other men. His case is probably too far gone to be cured, but social contact would do him good. Bleuler, of Zurich, used to say that he believed the reason psychoanalysis was effective in dealing with dementia præcox was due more to the fact that psychoanalysis requires frequent long conversations with a physician, which make the patient feel that somebody has an interest in him and that he has a place in the world, rather than to the special character of the psychoanalytic method—and yet Bleuler is a practitioner of psychoanalysis.

But what are you going to do with a man in the condition of this dementia-præcox case? He has no money, and there is not provision of a public institution that isn't likely to do him more harm than good.

Men of well-to-do families aren't so much better off when they become chronic alcoholics. They are more likely to be sent to a private 'cure' than haled into court by their relatives. But splendidly managed as are the best private "cures," they don't cure. Occasionally they may do something of permanent advantage to a patient. Usually they can do nothing more than straighten him out physically and send him back to begin over again a fight he is bound to lose. Physical treatment and care will prolong the life of a chronic alcoholic, sometimes indefinitely. But all the physical treatment in the world won't cure a psychic defect, and it is psychic defects that lie at the root of chronic alcoholism nine times out of ten, perhaps ninety-nine times out of a hundred.

It is important that the underlying basis be recognized, for until that is removed there is no hope for curing the alcoholism which our daily experience carried on for years of failure in the treatment of these cases attests.'

The psychic tests are too new to have been extensively used, as yet, in determining how far moderate drinking and drunkenness are similar in their causes. It is altogether reasonable to suppose that Dr. Reid's classification will stand. The man who drinks beer instead of water or buttermilk, when he is hot and dusty, may be a fool, but he is not necessarily suffering from mental disease. The connoisseur of wines who rolls a minute quantity of a vintage on his tongue in order to get its full savor may be the victim of a perverted taste which will injure both his health and his pocketbook, but he is not necessarily suffering from dementia præcox or manic-depressive insanity. Even the man who is able to enjoy a dinner-party or a chance meeting with an old friend if his barriers of reserve are broken down with cocktails may be mentally normal. These varieties of drinking are unfortunate, so unfortunate in their effects that mankind is gradually learning to do without them. But they are not such a red flag of danger as is the presence of the desire to get drunk.

The man who wants to get drunk, will do well to search out the nearest neurologist. The probability is that the desire is born of some hidden psychic defect. Normal men do not desire alcohol in excess. It is only the abnormal who are driven to drink.—*The Literary Digest.*

Putting out a Fire with Kerosene.

For every substance, no matter how combustible there is a limiting temperature below which it will not ignite. At or below this temperature it may be used to extinguish a fire, just as if it were non-combustible. This is how a recent fire in a cotton-warehouse in America was put out by a judicious use of kerosene oil, for cotton smolders at a comparatively low temperature. But one should, "proceed with extreme care." In most cases where water is handy it would doubtless prove to be a safe and efficient substitute for the kerosene—at any rate in any place but California, the land of wonders. For those of our readers who have started hundreds of fire in kitchen stoves and elsewhere by an application of kerosene, brief account of its successful use as an extinguisher should have especial interest.

"What would you think if you got a hurry-up call for kerosene to put out a fire? Probably you would request a repetition of the order, thinking you had not heard aright, and when it was repeated without change you would feel justified in concluding that some one was mentally off balance or attempting a practical joke. But that would be because you never lived in Calexico, Cal,, the metropolis of Imperial Valley, and by the same token knew nothing about cotton in the bale.

"A cotton-bale has been subjected to a very heavy pressure; water will penetrate it but an inch or so, whereas kerosene will go clear to the center; a fire in a cotton-bale does not blaze, simply smolders and eats its way into the bale; at the comparatively low temperature at which cotton burns, and where is no flame, kerosene does not ignite, and that's the explanation. After the fire is extinguished the bands are removed from the bale and the burned portions of the cotton stript off. It is said that the use of kerosene has practically no detrimental effects on the cotton, and after it has been spread out and aired for a few days all odor of the oil disappears."

—*The Literary Digest.*

PHALGUNI

A Musical Play by Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

'PHALGUN' is the name of a month, the month which heralds Spring. *Phalguni* stands for that rejuvenation of India which is being heralded by the sweet *kokila* voice of Rabindranath. Fully to appreciate the play you need to be yourself in the spring-time of the spirit into which India is wonderfully emerging.

The *Vairagya-sadhan*, the prelude of the play, gives you a key to its symbolism.

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The *Maharaja* is disconsolate, for the first grey hair has arrived. His winter has begun: summer has gone, he thinks, for ever! The minister is not equal to the novel situation. The inevitable priest is sent for and he counsels of course renunciation and inaction, and exploits the occasion for securing numerous valuable gifts for himself. The Minister is perplexed beyond patience, for there is a sore famine, and administrative problems are heavy, and need immediate attention. At this crisis comes the Poet with the message of hope and joy of Spring ahead of every Winter, of the victory of life and activity over the deadening grasp of a belated past. He offers to enact a play before His Majesty to demonstrate his message. *Phalguni* is the play.

The four scenes of the play are each introduced by a musical prelude, wonderful in colour and sound and joy, which represent the quick and marvellous transformation of decrepit dead Winter into the graciously joyous living Spring. The warm Southern Wind is a necessary character. The Bamboo sings:

O South Wind, O Wanderer, push me and rock me,
thrill me into the outbreak of new leaves.
I stand a-tiptoe, watching by the wayside to be
startled by your first whisper, by the music
of your footsteps, a flutter of joy running
through my leaves, betraying my secret.

Then a Bird rocking in its branches sings:

The sky pours light into my heart, my heart
repays the sky in songs.
I pelt the South wind with my notes,
O blossoming palash (flame of the forest) the air
is afire with your passion, you have dyed my
songs red with your madness.
O Sirish, you have cast your perfume nets wide in
the sky, bringing up the heart into my throat.

The Champak sings:

My shadow dances in your waves, everflowing river,
I, the budding Champak, stand unmoved in the
bank with my vigil,
My movements dwell in the stillness of my depth,
in the delicious birth of new leaves,
in flood of flowers,
in unseen urge of life towards the light;
its stirring thrills the sky, and the
silence of the dawn is moved.

But the hoary Winter is still about and he must be dwelt with squarely. A crowd of jolly youngsters set on him with a boisterous song—

We are out seeking our play-mates, waking them
up from every corner before it is morning.
We call them in bird-songs, beckon them in trembling branches, we spread our enchantment for
them in the sky.
You shall never escape us, O Winter!
You shall find our lamp burning even in the heart
of the darkness you seek.

Venerable old Winter would fain be let alone:

Leave me, Oh, let me go.
I am ready to sail across the South Sea for the
frozen shore.
Your laughter is untimely, my friends, you weave
with my farewell tunes your song of the new
arrival.

But the crowd is insistent:

Life's spies are we, lurking in all places.
We have been waiting to rob you of your last
savings of dead leaves,
Scattering them in South Winds.
We shall bind you in flower chains
where Spring keeps his captives
for we know you carry your
jewels hidden in your grey rags.

And they tease him:

How grave he looks, how laughably old,
how seriously busy with the preparations of
death!
But before he reaches home we will change his
dress and his face shall change.
We will confound his calculations, snatch away
his bag, bulging out with dead things,
and there shall be unveiled the reckless and the
young in him.
O the time comes, it has come,
when he shall know that he is our own, when
the mad torrent shall be unloosed from the
miserly grip of the ice, and the north wind in its
ring-dance shall turn round.
O the time comes, it has come,
when the magic drum shall be sounded,
when the sun shall smile at the change of your
grey into green.

All on a sudden the old man is attacked, his ancient trappings and grey beard and hoary hair are torn off. A fine athletic young man emerges. He is staggered at the new aspect of the same old world of his. "O, who are you?" he asks. "I am Vakul" "Indeed! and who are you?" "I am Parul." "And who are these others?" "Why we are Mango-blossoms landed on the shore of light." And so forth. They are the same old-time friends of his, but what a change in them now, with life quivering forth in every branch and leaf into bud and blossom, into scent and colour! So are also his old feathered friends transformed! He realizes his failure.—He had sought Death and pursued it steadily, but behold he has crossed the portal into a new youth.

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"Do you own defeat at last at the hand of the hidden life?"—"Yes!"
"Have you, in the end met the Deathless in Death?"—"Yes!"
"Is the Dust driven away that steals your City of the Immortal?"—"Yes!"

Interwoven in this beautiful musical setting is the Play itself. Full of action, humour and beauty as it is, it is really profound in its symbolism. Until the author himself gives the interpretation to the world, it is the privilege of the student to construe the parable according to his own lights.

The four scenes are named, Outburst, Search, Doubt and Discovery. In the life of a people as in that of an individual there comes a day when there is a sudden manifestation of great stirrings within, an unrest, a gnawing dissatisfaction with things as they are, a desire for something of life that is more abundant, more real, more satisfying. This feeling though vague, is nevertheless strong and real. This is the *Outburst*. In this stage the wise saws which answered hitherto are found ridiculous in their trite vacuity. The day for them and for the professional mentors who traded in them is past. But there is as yet nothing to take their place.

The true wisdom of the Ancients must be rediscovered. It led them to such marvellous achievements in every line of effort then available to the thinker and the ruler. That light has been shivered by sects and parties, obscured by the compromises of worldly-wise charlatans, discoloured by self-seeking professionals. The thing is to rediscover the original *Shekinah*, pure and self-effulgent, uncontaminated by any media. Hence the *Search*.

But how is this Search to be accomplished? Surely the place to seek is among the Ancients. It was there and should be there still. Let us turn our steps backwards and go into those dark recesses where it must still be hidden. The essential spirit of the new Outburst however is not convinced. It feels that the *Shekinah* must be perennially with men, and that the very Outburst is due to its undying workings within. And so the quest is launched in perplexity and after an uncertain lead.

The conventional guides are of no avail. They know nothing of realities. They are still at the level of the platitudinous wisdom of the professional, which the seekers have discarded as ridiculous. The quest must therefore proceed unaided and with independent effort. It becomes long and wearisome, perhaps desperately depressing, before a discovery is made. A new light is revealed in the symbolism of the *Blind-singer*.

Blindness has given him the advantage of freedom from the distractions and trivialities of life. His "inner eye" is all the brighter. "He sees with his all." And he sees beneath and beyond, perceives the essential unity of past and present, and indicates the direction where the object of the quest is to be sought. The most heroic spirit among the seekers ventures on the lead, plunges into an untrodden cave, and discovers the *Ancient* who does bear the *Shekinah* of the quest. The Ancient is brought into full view and lo, who is it, but the *Eternal Youth*, the Spring-spirit of their own Outburst! The realization of this discovery means unbounded joy, and it is expressed in a classic scene, where all the actors join in a final chorus:

Come and rejoice! for April is awake.
Fling yourselves into the flood of being,
bursting the bondage of the past.
April is awake.
Life's shoreless sea is heaving in the sun before you.
All the losses are lost and death is drowned in its waves.
Plunge into the deep without fear with the gladness of April in your blood.

In this chorus we recognize one of the greatest truths in which the Poet voices the spiritual renaissance of India. We recall the now world-famous stanza of the *Gitanjali*.

Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads.
Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut?
Open thine eyes and see, thy God is not before thee!
He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking the stones:
He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust.
Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil:
Deliverance! Where is this deliverance to be found?
Our Maker himself has joyfully taken upon Him the bonds of creation: He is bound with us all forever.
Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and thy incense!
What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained?
Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat

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DRAMATIS PERSONAE IN VAIRAGYA-SADHAN. (P. 342)

From the left.—

Sruti-bhushan.—Mr. Abanindranath Tagore.

Minister.—Mr. Samarendranath Tagore.

King.—Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

Vijoy Varma, the Commander-in-Chief.—Mr. W. W. Pearson.

Poet.—Sir Rabindranath Tagore, here photographed as he afterwards appeared in the PHALGUNI in the role of Blind Singer and not as he appeared as a young poet.

—Photograph by Mr. Alakendranath Tagore.

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DRAMATIS PERSONAE IN VAIRAGYA-SADHAN AND PHALGUNI. (P. 344).

Principal characters—Mr. Samarendranath Tagore as Minister (extreme left), Ferryman (with a rain hat), Mr. Narayan Kasinath Deval as Chinese Ambassador (2nd row, extreme left), Master Narabhup as another Chinese (next), Mr. W. W. Pearson as Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore as King, Sir Rabindranath Tagore in the middle as Blind Singer, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore as Shrutibhushan (2nd from the right, 2nd row), Mr. Dinendranath Tagore (extreme right 2nd row).

—Photograph by Alakendranath Tagore.

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It is not renunciation and inaction, but joyous service in the work-a-day world that conserves the undying freshness of the spirit, whether of an individual or of a people.

Phalguni has another great Truth too to tell us children of Mother India. How ardently we desire the heyday of Spring for our country. But Spring is not born of the Sea or the Sky. Spring is in the bosom of Winter. True Spring is utterly unspeakably different in many ways from Winter. Nevertheless Spring emerges from Winter and from none else. "Who are you?" I am *Vakul*. The wonderfully scented stars now falling from the *Vakul* tree imply the conserving, the strengthening, the sustaining influences of hoary Winter on the tree as it stood through the weary depressing months stolid and sober with darkened leaves and scragged bark. The India that is to be, *must* come out of the India that has been. Ancient India can never be New India, any more than Winter can be Spring yet. It is equally true that New India can never issue but from the loins of Ancient India. New forces, strange agencies do and will have to operate, some of them of infinite power such as that of the *Phalguni Sun* (for does not 'Robi' mean Sun). The deadening grasp of the belated forces must be rent asunder with more or less violence. Suffering is inevitable in the critical stages of the metamorphosis, but it is the suffering of the birth-pang, and does not lessen the certainty that in the great essentials of being there must be a real continuity.

K. T. PAUL.

THE MAIDEN'S SMILE

TRANSLATED BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE
FROM A BENGALI POEM BY DEVENDRANATH SEN.

Methinks, my love, in the dim daybreak of life, before you came to this shore
You stood by some river-source of run-away dreams filling your blood with its liquid notes.
Or, perhaps, your path was through the shade of the garden of gods
where the merry multitude of jasmines, lilies and white oleanders
fell in your arms in heaps and entering your heart became boisterous.
Your laughter is a song whose words are drowned in the tunes, an odour of flowers unseen.
It is like moonlight rushing through your lips' window when the midnight moon is high up in your heart's sky.
I ask for no reason, I forget the cause, I only know that your laughter is the tumult of insurgent life.

MY OFFENCE

TRANSLATED BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE
FROM A BENGALI POEM BY DEVENDRANATH SEN.

When you smilingly held up to me, my sweet, your child of six months, and I said, "Keep him in your arms,"
Why did a sudden cloud pass over your face, a cloud of pent-up rain and hidden lightning?
Was my offence so great?
When the rose-bud, nestling in the branch, smiles back to the laughing morn, is there any cause for anger if I refuse to steal it from its leaves' cradle.
Or when the *Kokil* fills the heart of the spring's happy hours with love-dreams am I to blame if I cannot conspire to imprison it in a cage?

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INVINCIBLE

O Fate ! between the grinding-stones of pain
Tho' you have crushed my life like broken grain,
Shall I not leaven it with my tears and knead
The bread of Hope to comfort and to feed
The myriad hearts for whom no harvests blow
Save bitter herbs of woe ?
O Fate ! upon the threshold of my trust,
Tho' you have trod my spirit into dust,
Shall not my dust reblossom like a grove
To shelter under burgeoning boughs of Love
The myriad souls for whom no gardens bloom.
Save bitter buds of doom ?

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Under the heading

The Study of Indian Art

Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributes to the *Hindustan Review* for January an article which is refreshing in its candour and truthfulness and which should prove useful to the Indian and foreigner alike in understanding and appreciating Indian Art. Mr. Gangoly is well-known as an art critic of no mean calibre and he deserves to be heard.

The following observations on the modern educated (?) Indian and the European savants who take an interest in Indian artistic productions, though verging on the caustic are nevertheless justified. Says Mr. Gangoly :

As one of the results of the denationalizing process that has been at work for the last decade the modern educated Indian has lost all pride in or even capacity to understand the magnificent achievements of his own people in any sphere of life,—be it in the field of letters, commerce, industry or art. The educational system of this country has been founded on assumptions which have engendered the belief that there was nothing deserving of attention in the ancient and hereditary culture of the land which should be preserved, continued and developed. This has helped to a great extent, to the cultivation amongst our educated brethern, of a strong sense of depreciation of all that appertains to the cultural history and civilization of India. It has become an unfortunate characteristic of the contact between the East and the West that the value of Oriental civilization has been supremely discounted. Some European *savants* have taken a sort of an amateurish interest in the study of Oriental culture and have attempted to appreciate the masterpieces of Indian Literature and Philosophy and to appraise their value by the touchstone of scientific criticism. But this study has been the hobby of a very limited few who are themselves looked upon by their countrymen as cranky and outlandish in their tastes. When we come to examine the nature of this study itself we find that even this does not go far enough, being exclusively confined to the philological, anthropological and historical branches of indology. The fixation of the date of the Indian epics seems to be of greater importance than the appreciation of the cultural value of their contents. Scores of lengthy articles have appeared on the "Date of Kalidasa" but the study of the poetry of Kalidasa has never been awarded a place in European culture.

The writer goes on to say that

The *Indianness* of Indian culture makes no appeal to our European Pandits. They find it difficult to

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understand, appreciate or sympathize with standards different from their own. And it considerably tickles their vanity and self-complacency to believe, that *the world has nothing new to learn from the records of Indian civilization.*

Indian culture whether relating to pictorial art or literary draws admiration only where it has points of similarity with similar European productions. As an instance in point the writer cites the appreciation in England of the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore.

Apropos Sir Rabindranath's welcome to the literary coteries of England it will be useful to quote a few passages from the *Times' Literary Supplement* (May 15th, 1914) which make revelations of a significant character regarding the value of this welcome and appreciation :—"There was another element in that welcome which was not quite so obvious,..... Here was one of a company (Sir Rabindranath Tagore) that turned even *more earnestly to Christianity than to the Upanishads.* Rabindranath Tagore is and remains a significant figure.....He leads to a restatement of the teachings of Christ." So, Sir Rabindra's works are deserving of appreciation not because it introduces to the literature of the world a novel spiritual temperament and a new flavour culled from the Indian Garden, but because they have distant resemblances to the teachings of Christ, to the Book of Job and the Song of Solomon, *i. e.*, because of their points of similarity and not on account of their specialities. Similarly the Gandharan Sculptures attract the European mind because it is less Indian in character and type and being an illegitimate offspring of Greek and Roman art-traditions are reminiscent of *familiar* art-forms.

This attitude of mind, this unwillingness to follow, grasp or understand the specialities of Indian civilization—is nowhere better illustrated than in the department of archæology and the methods and preferences by which the ancient remains of India are studied. In his anxiety to take stock of the un-Indian features of his finds the official archaeologist hardly if ever leaves any opportunity to himself to recognize and study the characteristically Indian features of these remains or to appraise their artistic value. The so-called similarity of Mauryan pillared-hall to the Perespolitan work of the time of Darius Hystaspes looms so largely in his mind and dominates his judgment that he is unable to distinguish the Indian elements which govern Mauryan Art. For a like reason he must necessarily turn his back against the masterpieces of Hindu Mediaeval Sculpture—for they do not conform to the formularies of the Greek and Roman art-canons,—they must therefore be brushed aside as ugly, fantastique or monstrous.

Every sane lover of art will readily admit that

In order to fully appreciate and correctly apprehend the meaning and the value of the art-productions of a foreign nationality, it is necessary as much as possible to approach the subject with the eyes of the people themselves for whom they were originally created. Even the so-called special or local elements of a work of art may themselves constitute the very new lights or qualities by which the art of the world is destined to be enriched. To the foreign student of Indian Art I would for the suggestions which the late Sister Nivedita made to the student of Indian religious ideas : "If you desire to understand a religious idea, reproduce as perfectly as you can in every detail the daily life of the man to whom it came or the race to which it was familiar. To understand the Buddhist Bhikhu go out and beg. To understand Aurangzeb, sit on the mosque at Delhi and pray the prayers of the Mahomedan."

For ages past the connoisseurs of the West have grown up in the belief that ideals and standards of artistic expression have once for all been found and determined by the ancient Greeks and have been established as the universal criteria by which the art-productions of all races and in all times must be studied and measured. It may be doubted if any system of æsthetics can be adopted as final. For after all æsthetics are founded on the achievements of the artists and a fresh manifestation in art may upset all philosophical calculations. And this has been nowhere better illustrated than in the modern appreciation of the art of the Far East. The art of Japan was the first to open this sealed book to the Western world, and to the hitherto accepted ideas of fine art and the artistic canons of Europe based on Greco-Roman traditions, the revelations of Japanese art-forms came as a great and unexpected shock. Students and connoisseurs immediately set out to explore the unknown realms of Eastern æsthetics and found that they must necessarily revise their ancient theories of art which they had fondly believed to be final, and the admission has come slowly though reluctantly that the art of Japan and the other eastern countries, though not answering to the Greco-Roman tests, stands high as fine art as any art of Europe.

But the study of Indian Art from its own point of view has yet to begin.

India and Illiteracy.

Mr. S. M. Dikshit, who was an unfortunate victim of the recent *Persia* disaster collected the following interesting statistics of illiteracy which were sent to us for publication along with many other journals :

WORLD STATISTICS.

Percentage of population over 12 years of age *unable* to read and write.

Country.	1840	1870	1900.
Germay ..	18	4	1
Norway ..	..	3	1
Sweden ..	20	3	1
Switzerland ..	20	5	1
New Zealand ..	..	7	4
France ..	53	15	5
United Kingdom	41	10	6
Australia ..	..	..	9
Holland ..	30	14	10
United States.	20	13	10
Belgium ..	55	20	12
Austria ..	79	45	31
Italy ..	84	53	44
Spain ..	..	68	..
Russia in Europe	98	85	78

(Quoted in the Encyclopaedia of Social Reform, mainly from Pearson's "Civilization Table.")

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The following figures relate to *Asia* and *Oceania* :—

	Population over ten years.		
Ceylon (All races) ...	78·3	All ages	1901
Ceylon (European races).	11·9	,,	1901
Ceylon (other than European)	78·4	,,	1901
India	92·5	Population over ten years	1901
Philippine Islands ...	55·5	,,	1903
Russia in Asia ...	87·3	,,	1897
Hawaii	36·3	Population over six years	1896
American Negroes ...	30·5	Population over ten years	1910

(Quoted from American Cyclopædia of Education.)

From the above it will be seen that, as regards illiteracy India possesses the unique distinction of occupying the first place!

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in the *Young Men of India* for February Rev. J. C. Winslow introduces

The Poetry of Narayan Vaman Tilak

In English Garb.

"The name of Narayan Vaman Tilak," we are told, "is famous in Western India, and deserves to be more widely known. Several volumes of his poetry are now to be published. At present one only has appeared, dealing with a variety of subjects of a general kind. The translations below are taken from this volume."

The Poet's Supplication

Reader, behold my heart laid bare,
And freely plant thy dagger there;
Yet on these poems—ah! forbear—
Though ne'er so soft the hand thou place,
Nor tricked with ne'er so deft a grace,
That lightest touch
Is yet too much!
Sweeter were death to poet heart
Than profanation of his art
For mark thee well, these songs I sing.
Nor mine nor thine their secret spring:
Bethink thee at Whose quickening
These fires upstart
Within my heart,
Ay, in that Presence trembling stand,
Then, if thou dar'st, stretch forth thy hand.

See on those clouds how sunset throws
Chance tints, nor plan nor order knows,—
Thence all their charm! Yon rambling rose
Counts not her flowers,
But in random showers
Droops and trails them with ne'er a thought!
Ever such is true beauty's sport.

Worship or scoff! yet draw not nigh
This sacred revel of poesy!
See, with clasped hands, with suppliant sigh
I beg, I pray,
Conjure thee—nay,
Prone in the dust thy feet I kiss,—
Touch not my songs! I ask but this!

A Riddle

There is a plant grows in the soil of Pain—
Guess ye its name?—that drinketh tears for rain,
And climbs most swiftly skyward when the rays
Of Separation's sun all fiercely blaze.
There is a potion—can ye name it true?—
At taste whereof dead men gain life anew,
Dumb lips break forth in music past compare,
And blind eyes ope on visions heavenly fair.
There is a spell so strange—guess yet again—
It shows men frenzied, though in heart most sane;
Its mystic wisdom leaves nor "thou" nor "I,"
And he who plumbs its secret scales the sky.
Guess ye my riddle: what is this so fair
That, where it blossoms, God is always there?

"Premsamadhi" or The Burial of Love

Ah love, I sink in the timeless sleep,
Sink in the timeless sleep;
One Image stands before my eyes,
And thrills my bosom's deep;
One Vision bathes in radiant light
My spirit's palace-halls;
All stir of hand, all throb of brain,
Quivers, and sinks, and falls.
My soul fares forth; no fetters now
Chain me to this world's shore.
Sleep! I would sleep! In pity spare;
Let no man wake me more!

Art and Education

In the course of an article in the *Crucible* Mr. Kundan Lal tries to explain the supreme position of Art as an educator.

Says he:

If we wish to teach something to a person we teach him in the language that he understands. We cannot teach history in Chinese to a young Persian boy. When we desire to teach more than one person we must do so in a language that is understood by all of them. Similarly if we have to teach something to many nations we must teach in a language that is understood by all those people. Thus, you will readily admit that the more universal the medium in which a knowledge is sought to be conveyed to the people the greater is its educational value. Leonardo da Vinci, an Italian genius and archetypal forerunner of the modern European civilization once said that that branch of human activity should occupy the more important place in the scheme of evolution the fruits of which are more universally comprehensible, and conversely, that science which is communicable to the least has the least significance in that scheme.

Which is the language which is most universally known? The language of nature. When man cries you know that he is in pain even though you be an Indian and he a Hottentot; if you are in France and you see the trees shedding golden leaves you know it is autumn there though you speak no French: when your mother looks at you in a certain way you know she loves you even though she may not tell you so. It is a certain change in the curvature of her eyelids and a peculiar light in her eyes that betrays her emotion, but it is very probable you received the sensation without knowing what it was in her eyes that conveyed it to you. This language of nature is the language of art. By this you must be careful not to think that art is the imitation of nature. No,

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art in this respect is identical with nature. The artist does what nature does. The artist uses—sometimes, not always—the forms that are found in nature, and thus far you may say he imitates nature, but then these forms are merely the materials in which the artist moulds his thoughts. The artist draws an eye only to display an emotion in its depths. The artist never paints a tree. It is always the light upon the tree that he wishes to display.

We said that the facts of nature being the same all the world over, and the thoughts of an artist being expressed in terms of nature, are the most universally communicable. Now, if you admit that the more universal a medium for education the greater is its value, you will also have to admit that there is no other language that can compete with that of art in that respect.

Art alone is a mode of expression that is both universal and constant in time. From generation to generation, and century to century and to every continent on the earth a figure on paper, or an image fashioned out of stone demonstrates the philosophy or the poetry of a culture in a form physically visible, and needing no other interpretation but that of a sympathetic eye and an æsthetic culture which do not differ according to time or geography. Here let me tell you that there is no greater falsehood than the pernicious saying that the appreciation and beauty of art is a matter of personal judgment and opinion. No, the success of art depends upon the success with which the divinity, or if you so prefer it, the harmony and rhythm of nature is revealed by it. Art points out the way that nature is trying to follow—the evolution of forms to suit the evolution of the spirit, and it is quite possible that only art and never nature be able to do it in a physically visible state.

The following observations of the writer explain why the partial suppression of the form of a painting is necessary to reveal the underlying soul of the picture.

A mere historian writing of Shri Krishna Chaitanya would never he able to portray him truthfully, the historian will make him a figure of flesh and blood, a wonderful incarnation, yet still living on earth and in time, but not the eternal avatar that lives in the consciousness of a Vaishnava, the lover imaged in the emotions of the Bhaktas, the conception of the collective psychological and religious yearning of the people. The painter in the rythmic mazes of his lines and the lights and shades of his symbolic colours, the sculptor in the dimples of his stone and the balance of his curves, and the writer in the poetry of his words tell more than the mere delineation of a fall and feature, or the meaning of a mere word, can ever convey.

In a *ragini* a particular emotion is conveyed not by the words of a song but by the rhythm, the time, and the melody of the music. Musicians will tell you that words count for little in a *ragini* and so in painting and in sculpture the face and the features are merely the material for the expression of that which the Hindu artists call the Rasas (roughly speaking emotions and feelings). You can no more represent an emotion in prose or portray man through photography than describe music by words.

In concluding the writer establishes "the superiority of art as a medium for knowledge."

Mr. Walter Peter says in one place that the service of philosophy, of speculative culture, towards the human spirit is to rouse, to startle it into sharp and eager observation, and to bestow on it great passions which may give it a quickened sense of life. Art is the most potent magic that can be used to rouse people from lethargy, to stir up their emotions, or to wake in their breasts memories of the past, to make them conscious of the present or ambitious for the future.

In the course of an erudite article published in the January number of the *Arya*, dealing with the

Ideal of Human Unity

we read the following observations about the possibility of destruction or otherwise of the nation and the empire.

The nation is a persistent psychological unit which Nature has been developing throughout the world in the most various forms and educating into physical and political unity. The political unity is not the essential; it may not yet be realised, but the nation persists and moves inevitably towards its realisation; it may be destroyed, but the nation persists and travails and suffers but refuses to be annihilated. In former times the nation was not always a real and vital unit, the tribe, the clan, the commune, the regional people were the living groups. Therefore those unities which in the attempt at national evolution destroyed these living groups without arriving at a vital nationhood, disappeared once the artificial or political unit was broken. But now the nation stands as the one living group unit of humanity into which all others must merge or to which they must become subservient. Even old persistent race unities and cultural unities are powerless against it. The Catalonian in Spain, the Breton and Provencal and Alsatian in France, the Welsh in England may cherish the signs of their separate existence; but the attraction of the greater living unity of the Spanish, the French, the British nation is too powerful to be injured by these persistences. For this reason the nation in modern times is practically indestructible, unless it dies from within. Poland, torn asunder and crushed under the heel of three powerful empires, has ceased to exist; the Polish nation survives. Alsace after forty years of the German yoke remains faithful to her French nationhood in spite of her affinities of race and language with the conqueror. All modern attempts to destroy by force or break up a nation are foolish and futile, because they ignore this law of the natural evolution. Empires are still perishable political units; the nation is immortal; and so it will remain until a greater living unit can be found into which the nation idea can merge itself obeying a superior attraction.

And then the question arises whether the empire is not precisely that destined unit in course of evolution. The mere fact that at present not the empire, but the nation as the vital unity can be no bar to a future reversal of the relations. Obviously, in order that they may be reversed the empire must cease to be a mere political and become rather a psychological entity. But there have been instances in the evolution of the nation in which the political unity preceded and became a basis for the psychological as in the union of Scotch, English and Welsh to form the British nation. There is therefore no insurmountable reason why

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a similar evolution should not take place and the imperial unity be substituted for the national. Nature has long been in travail of the imperial grouping, long casting about to give it a greater force of permanence, and the emergence of the conscious imperial ideal all over the earth and its attempts, though still rude, violent and blundering, to substitute itself for the national, may not irrationally be taken as the precursory sign of one of those rapid leaps and transitions by which she so often accomplishes what she has long been gradually and tentatively preparing.

Guru Nanak's Message

penned by T. L. Vaswani and appearing in the *Sikh Review* for January is an eloquent piece of contribution clothed in beautiful language. For the benefit of our readers we cull the following from the article under notice:

What is the Glory the Lord beholds in all that is? Men often think their glory consists in the exercise of the power they possess.

There be not a few of the world's kings, generals, warriors, statesmen who have thought so and interpreted glory in terms of power, dominion, conquest. Not unoften even little men dressed in brief authority show their glory by exercising their little power.

The Lord's glory is not shown forth by power which often means the suffering of many and the passing pleasure, of a few: the Lord beholds His Glory in His *perpetual sacrifice* for the Universe. So many worlds, so many planets, stars, systems; may we not regard them as the Lord's self-offering on the plane of manifestation? May we not say the Universe is the self-giving,

The Self-Oblation of the Lord?

so we read in the Bhagawad Gita that the world is a fragment of the Lord's own Self. In starry skies, in all the wonders of the world, everywhere, in every place the Lord beholds the Glory of His perpetual Self-Giving. This sacrifice, self-giving involves no pain: sacrifice is painful to us because we are often reluctant to give up for another what we have appropriated for ourselves. We are often selfish, grasping and so sacrifice involves effort, struggle, pain. The Lord's sacrifice is Joy: His self-giving is an overflow of His Eternal Joy. Many there be who pass by the wondrous forms of Nature-beauty; but let an artist gaze at the glory of the sunrise or sunset, the mountain height, the midnight-moon, the sea, and skies; he cannot keep the vision to himself; he needs must *express* it. The universe is an expression of the Joy-vision of the Lord; Himself the Lord of Life and Joy

He builds up finite centres of consciousness

to share with us His Life and Joy. Therefore do we adore Him as Love.

If you be a seeker of the Light, fling yourself in joy on the pathway as the King in His Beauty passeth by, and in your self-giving will the Lord behold His Glory and with His Blessed Hands will He raise you from the dust, and into your life, emptied thus of self, He will breathe His Breath divine and through you shall a wondrous melody flow from soul to soul and star to star and the master's Joy shall be yours.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

In the course of an eulogistic short notice of the

Poems of Ralph Hodgson

the *Times* says:

In these dark and anxious days we realize as we may never have realized before that poetry is not a luxury but a necessity. For many it has proved a true encouragement and consolation. The unrelaxed strain (of reading) of the horrors of war gradually closes in the mind and curtains its windows. Like any personal and circumstantial danger or difficulty, it may become an obsession. And every obsession imperils true sanity and restricts freedom of action. Patriotism itself cannot live and flourish in any air but that of the imagination. The best things of life, all that is generous and beautiful, and unearthly and endurable, are things of peace.

Poetry—certainly dramatic and lyric poetry—is itself a form of action. It is the outcome, the revelation, of those rare moments when life's every energy is concentrated upon a single issue. No true poem was ever written in cold blood or out of an empty heart.

In interpreting Ralph Hodgson's poetry the *Times* says:

There is a poetry in which the words themselves have almost the force and efficacy of deeds. They seem to have been fused into their places by the intensity of thought and feeling of which they are the expression. There is no violence, no over-emphasis, for these are symptoms of a dissipation of energy. The man in earnest never wastes. His speech is as clean and incisive as a blow. It is this forcefulness, this clean-cut insistency and onset that are the conspicuous marks of the poetry of Mr. Ralph Hodgson.

His "complete works" would go into a small volume. An early collection of verse was published some time ago. And a year or two before the war appeared a series of four little chapbooks, bound in mustard-colored and gray wrappers, with drawings by Mr. Lovat Fraser (price sixpence plain and two-and-sixpence colored), and privately published, so to speak, at the Sign of Flying Fame. These have lately been reissued from the Poetry Bookshop; and two of

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them, "The Bull" and "A Song of Honor," were "crowned" last year and won the Polignac Prize presented by the Academic Committee of the Royal Society of Literature.

In the words of Hodgson "A song of Honor" is:

The Song of courage, heart and will
And gladness in a fight.
Of men who face a hopeless hill
With sparking and delight . . .
From men whose love of motherland
Is like a dog's for one dear hand,
Sole, selfless, boundless, blind.

That is the primary acceptance of this poetry. It does not argue, it does not dissect or explore or teach or attempt to criticize life, or to do anybody any particular good. Beauty is its impulse rather than its goal; truth the road it treads. And its effect is as downright and straight-forward as that of a formidable nose in a vigorous face, the sparring attitude of a fearless young pugilist. Open as sunlight, as starshine, it has few fine shades and little of what is generally meant by atmosphere. It states and asserts, loves and despises. It is concerned almost exclusively with things in themselves rather than with causes. It proclaims "I am."

The statement contained in the last line is the very thing which has been so beautifully expressed in *Vairagya-sadhan*, the new play of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

Here is the poetry of a man in love with the natural innocence, the instinctive nature, of all creatures great and small, of a man perfectly, effortlessly happy with a world as fresh and lovely with life and light and "million-tinted" diversity as it was on the first of all Sundays, violently menacing and angry against tyranny and cowardly oppression, the lust of the strong against the weak.

Pity him, this dupe of dream,
Leader of the herd again
Only in his daft old brain,
Once again the bull supreme,
And bull enough to bear the part
Only in his tameless heart.

Pity him that he must wake;
Even now the swarm of flies
Blackening his bloodshot eyes,
Bursts and blusters from the l l e,
Scattered from the feast half-fed,
By great shadows overhead.

And the dreamer turn away
From his visionary herds
And his splendid yesterday,
Turns to meet the loathly birds
Flocking round him from the skies,
Waiting for the flesh that dies.

Here are a few beautiful lines of Hodgson:

He came and took me by the hand
Up to a red rose tree,
He kept his meaning to Himself
But gave a rose to me.

I did not pray Him to lay bare
The mystery to me,
Enough the rose was Heaven to smell
And his own face to see.

The article under review concludes thus:

Fundamental brainwork has long been acknowledged as essential to the writing of poetry; fundamental heart-work is as indispensable. A man is half dead who exists without either; a poet without them has not yet been born at all. What we each ask of poetry, what precise proportions of its necessary ingredients, is a personal question. Poetry, as such, is elemental. In all poetry we take what is given to us as it is given. *Mr. Hodgson's* poetry depends for its originality on its pure singleness of spirit and purpose. There is little of the metaphorical, very little imagery, practically no allusiveness, othing elaborate or literary. It is bare, vivid, wasteless—as near action as words can be. It serves life; it serves beauty. And its beauty and music is as much its own as its love and faith and courage are his that made it:—

The song of men all sorts and kinds,
As many tempers moods and minds
As leaves are on a tree,
As many faiths and castes and creeds,
As many human bloods and breeds
As in the world may be;
The song of each and all who gaze
On Beauty in her naked blaze,
Or see her dimly in a haze,
Or get her light in fitful rays
And tiniest needles even,
The song of all not wholly dark
Nor wholly sunk in stupor stark
Too deep for groping Heaven—
And alleluias sweet and clear
And wild with beauty men mishear
From choirs of song as near and dear
To Paradise as they,
The everlasting pipe and flute
Of wind and sea and bird and brute,
And lips deaf men imagine mute
In wood and stone and clay.
The music of a lion strong
That shakes a hill a whole night long,
A hill as loud as he,
The twitter of a mouse among
Melodious greenery,
The ruby's and the rainbow's song,
The nightingale's—all three
The song of life that wells and flows
From every leopard, lark and rose
And everything that gleams or goes
Lack-lustre in the sea.

Why should Hindu Girls Go to America.

Miss K. Tullaskar, who is an M.A. of the Chicago University, (in fact she is the first Hindu girl to get the Master's degree from an American University) very ably answers the above question in the pages of the *Hindusthanee Student*. Says she:

American universities are more democratic and

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broader than our own universities. The purpose of Indian universities is to enable students to pass government examinations and thus be eligible to hold government positions. The Hindu girls may need schooling, but they are sadly in need of education. In Indian universities girls learn things that they never use in life. If they are in the American universities they learn the practical things that are most useful to them in life. This education equips them to take their right position whether at home or in the world. They may enter the married life or remain unmarried, but they have several duties and obligations toward their families and their fellow beings. If they are interested in humanity they have many responsibilities toward those who are less fortunate than themselves.

American universities give a practical training as well as culture and prepare a person for his vocation in life. There is a vast field open to girls in American colleges. They may develop their faculties in special lines for which they have talent. Their education abroad will enable them to understand the right position for them to take in the upbuilding of the nation.

The subjects that our girls can study in America; are sanitation, hygiene, psychology, sociology, domestic science. Then besides these are subjects that bring culture and breadth of mind as science, history, political economy, literature, etc. The work is interesting because we get different points of view. The study of history which seems to us so dry in India becomes very interesting here; because here the professor does not try to stuff the memory of his students with dry facts, dates and military strategy. It is a study of living human society and its affairs, the several forces that affect these affairs, the stages through which the society was passing in the past and the reaction on the future.

Another reason for their coming is that here they have a choice of subjects and do not have to take the studies that they dislike or in which they could never make much progress. We all know that that is not the case in India. The reason that education is a failure or makes so little progress is because it is based on wrong lines and is not according to improved and modern scientific methods. What we need in India is democration, broad and practical education. We want trained women who can help the cause of education of women. We want women who will be able to take up the several problems that confront us in India.

Our girls do know the simple and practical things of every day life. But they would be more efficient if they knew how to make things scientifically and use the scientific methods. This scientific learning is available in American universities which are far more advanced than our own.

Before Marching and After

is the title of a pretty poem contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* and written in memory of F. W. G. by Thomas Hardy. The poem, which we quote below, might as well have been written in memory of the hundreds of thousands of warriors of all nationalities who rushed to battle to court death.

Orion swung southward aslant
Where the starved Egdon pine-trees had thinned,
The Pleiads aloft seemed to pant
With the heather that twitched in the wind;
But he looked on indifferent to sights such as these,
Unswayed by love, friendship, home joy or home sorrow,
And wondered to what he would march on the morrow.

The crazed household clock with its whirr
Rang midnight within as he stood,
He heard the low sighing of her
Who had striven from his birth for his good;
But he still only asked the spring startlight, the breeze,
What great thing or small thing his history would borrow
From that Game with Death he would play on the morrow.

When the heath wore the robe of late summer,
And the fuchsia-bells, hot in the sun,
Hung red by the door, a quick comer
Brought tidings that marching was done
For him who had joined in that game overseas
Where Death stood to win; though his memory would borrow
A brightness therefrom not to die on the morrow.

What is a good Plot?

In noticing Mr. Arnold Bennett's "Author's Craft" the *Times* expresses its views as to what it thinks to be a good plot. Though it is not binding on the novelist to abide by the *Times'* point of view, for as Mr. Bennett says quite rightly, no critic has a right to tell the artist what he ought to do, still we cull the following with a hope that it would be of some help to our young literary men who may be thinking of writing novels or short stories.

A plot is not necessarily good because you cannot tell in it what is going to happen next. "In some of the most tedious novels ever written you cannot tell what is going to happen next—and you do not care a fig what is going to happen next." But, he adds, "It would be nearer the mark to say that the plot is good when you want to make sure what will happen next. Good plots set you anxiously guessing what will happen next."

Most people would agree to this; but is it true? Is it true that in the best novels or the best plays we guess anxiously what will happen next? We assume the best novels and the best plays to have the best plots, because plots are made for novels, not novels for plots.

The aim of a plot is, not to produce anxiety, but to have cumulative power, which is also the aim of structure in music. Every one says that the interest of a plot ought to increase up to the end, which is true; but this increase of interest is not necessarily an increase in anxiety, for it is, in the best works, interest in the present that increases, not in the future, and the interest is caused by what has happened, not by what we expect to happen.

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The plot is entirely the writer's affair; it is a piece of contrivance by means of which he makes the best of himself, contrivance being necessary to art in this imperfect world. But, being contrivance, it succeeds when the reader is not aware of it, and the greater the artist the less contrivance he will need; which, no doubt, is the reason why critics so often say that the plots of the greatest works are not good. The critic likes to judge—it is his weakness—and he cannot judge contrivance where there is none, or where he does not see it:

The Unfinished World.

The universe is not perfect, it is incomplete. There is yet plenty of disorder, plenty of things that remain to be mended, plenty of energy that is being wasted over a bad cause. Evil there is, but we need not despair, since it is not a permanent element in the universe. The material universe is the symbol and the commencement of the moral and spiritual world. It is spirit, not mere force, that restrains the tempest.

This is the subject-matter of a short article in the *Nation*. We read further:

We live in a universe only in part reduced to order, only in part rescued from chaos, rudimentary, in process of becoming, and incomplete. There is goodness, in the world, but imperfect goodness; reason, but inchoate reason; law, but law imperfectly formulated and enforced. It was an unfinished world from the creation of which "God rested"; distant is His, and our, Sabbath: as yet it is not; it *remaineth* for the people of God." On the supposition of a finished creation the world would be a tangle of conflicting and broken purposes, life meaningless, God a dream. This was the truth underlying the old Dualistic religions which pictured the world as a battlefield between light and darkness, the good and the evil principle. Their error lay in the relative significance which they attached to the two elements, not in the recognition of the actual conflict between them. This conflict is a primary fact of experience. St. Paul's famous argument in the Epistle to the Romans is built upon it. The glory is not, but "shall be," revealed in us; the creature is not, but 'spall be" delivered from the bondage of corruption; as we "wait for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body," so its "earnest expectation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God." In Nature this conflict takes the shape of evolution; in speculation it becomes the Dialectic of the Idea; in religion it is the "God all in all" viewed as the remote goal of the world progress. But throughout the world is for us a thing not become but becoming, a design imperfectly realized, potential, in process of reduction to actuality. Hence the home longing of the soul: "here have we no abiding city, but we seek one to come."

Were it not so, failure would be written large upon the world, life, and man. Think of the creations which have gone under in past time; the fauna and flora of vanished worlds the oceans, the continents, the civilizations sunk in the waste of the ages. Were the visible all, could we escape from the conclusion that

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made on; and our little life.
Is rounded with a sleep?"

In the course of an article under the title

Readers and Specialists

the *Saturday Review* makes the following observations:

General reading, much abused, is, after all, at the root of most of the ideas and beliefs of educated people. It is, of course, better to be a specialist—read in all the original sources of information. It is, indeed, almost essential to know at least one thing well; for to have followed out one line of thought to its origins gives one clearness and confidence in the pursuit of others. It gives one a sense for the truth, and judgment in assessing evidence. But to despise general reading on principles, to refuse some excellent historian because one cannot read the Statutes and the Court Rolls, is absurd.

It is commonplace that deep study of a subject is likely to be more instructive, and a better discipline for the mind, than a mere general acquaintance; that a man would discipline his mind more effectually by studying the whole range of Greek literature than by reading, say Grote's "History of Greece." But this does not imply that the person who reads and forms his opinions from Grote has no right to speak at all.

The theory that to obtain any knowledge worth having it is necessary to go back to original sources of information leads, if closely followed, to feebleness and timidity of thought. It condemns a person to specialism or to silence.

Stephen Graham writing in the *Times* about

Russian Literature and the War

says:

The war seems to have brought a stimulus to Russian literature similar to that experienced in England. On the whole, however, nothing striking has been produced during the year of the war, no book that has appeared stands out attracting universal attention. It is the quantity rather than the quality that calls for comment.

The most curious product of the war period is the collections of war stories, five or six of which are contributed to by leading tale-writers and novelists.

They all seem to be engaged calmly in their artistic work. But Kuprin, Kuzmin, Sologub have all produced interesting war stories. Perhaps the best collection is the "Lukomorie Sbornik," where in a remarkable passage in one of the stories a Russian gives his verdict on the war—In years to come people will say that this was a bad war, but I who have just come back from the war tell you that it is a good war, that it brings out good things in people.

Maxim Gorky has published two books, "Childhood" and "In Russia". The autobiographical volume must have been written by Gorky whilst he was abroad, since it appeared serially in the *Russian Word* before he returned to Russia. So the other volume is the first written by him under the fresh influence of

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seeing Russia. Unfortunately for the reader it is hardly representative of Gorky's new life. It is a book of powerful realistic sketches done in his old manner—but they say—nothing of the New Russia and Gorky's passion to have her more Western.

The only volume of poems to achieve four editions during the year is Severanin's "Victoria Regia," where fun is made of the war and the poet says that war is for the warlike but not for him.

It does not mean to be a traitor,
To be joyful and young.
Not torturing prisoners,
Nor hurrying into the shrapnel smoke,
To go to the theatre or the cinematograph,
To write verses, buy myself a mirror,
Or to put many sweet and gentle things
In a letter to my sweetheart.

As a contrast to this cheerful flippancy there is the selection of beautiful poems from Alexander Blok, entitled "Russia."

In the pages of the *Poetry Review* E. Hamilton Moore makes us familiar with the lovely verses of

Alexander Stephen

who was unknown to fame. The story of his life as told by the writer is sweet and serene and enmobling albeit pathetic in the extreme.

He passed and left no name or memory save in the hearts of the few who knew and loved him. When I met him he was old, gray-haired and poor. He lived in a sordid suburb, arid, dreary, a man-made desert wherein human souls die parched. He toiled at a tedious and uncongenial task in a sunless office in a grimy city, and he treasured memories, far off memories, of singing birds, green woods and flashing sea. I see him still—his ever ever smiling eyes peering behind his glasses, his pointed beard pushing a little forward, his characteristic and Caledonian nostrils snuffing the interest and the joy of life, even in the dingiest streets; under his arm some bundle of the classics, purchased, after long fingering at a second-hand stall, purchased with "tram-fares," and a tramp home through the rain. Over the backyard gate in secrecy the precious bundle must be slipped at nightfall, that he may thereafter enter his own front door with obviously empty hands to mock wifely supervision. I never heard him utter unkind word to or of, living creature. I never heard him breathe despondency. His presence reconciled feuds and was a source of still content. And yet, he nursed his dreams of days gone by.

Before I knew him he had followed many callings. He told me he had been "postie" in a Scottish rural district; that on his rounds about the lanes and fields he had learned to love the becks and fleeting clouds and murmurous leaves, and had been first inspired to sing their beauty. He was schoolmaster too in some now forgotten school where surely he understood the heart of youth. He turned news-agent also, but without success. It was only too easy for the village scallywags to engross him in some well-imagined theme, while a pilfering accomplice loitered by to snatch unguarded booty from under eyes abrim with dreams. His worst lapse was into an insurance agent; a calling in which he found his purgatory. To expose defaulters was beyond his power. He struggled to pay their debts. At last so deeply did he stand involved that he flung his books and papers into the river, took his fiddle and bade farewell to his native land, and so fiddled his road to the city where I met him.

About his letters and verses we are told that

A tiny manuscript volume, rubricated and paper covered, and some three or four letters in the same fastidious hand remain as mementoes of a kindly fellowship.

The letters are as characteristic as the poems; even more so, perhaps, being completely free from the conventions of the amateur versifier, more expressive of the gentle humor which was among the man's most salient features. One of the most charming is written round that well-worn theme, the weather, and imports into its grayness a pathetic April sunshine:

"I believe the weather must have been 'lovely' in some places, yesterday. I don't think I noticed it much. I have a sort of blurred notion that the light was a little better than usual. Your enthusiasm of last night has made me rather more observant this morning. When I look up from this paper, I can see that the sky has a good deal of light in it. Above the blank brick wall of the warehouse opposite, it shows like a large sheet of tin-foil seen through a gauze veil, sadly in want of washing; and there is a suggestion of brightness about the legend, in huge enamelled letters, which reads C.C.D. & Co, Ltd. This scene would have more enchantment if the wall-long window of plate glass through which I survey it were to be gone over with a wet wash-leather to remove the fine mottling of Ancoats dust, diversified by small clots of dried mud, that somewhat obscures its transparency.

"But in spite of such drawbacks, one does have a kind of sub-consciousness that the weather must be rather fine somewhere. Perhaps there may be a hint of coming greenness on the fields, if one could see them, and the sparkle of sunlight or running water. It may even be that on some, as yet, budless tree, an optimistic bird may find himself surprised into a brief twitter of premature song.

"One can imagine lots of things if one lets fancy loose, to fly beyond smoke-grimed windows and soot-encrusted brick-walls, until it reaches some spot where men may see

The jocund day
Stand tip-toe on the misty mountain-tops."

Gentle and cordial as he was to every man, it was rather round places than persons that the clinging tendrils of his affection fastened, above all round places loved in earliest years:

Dunnottar, O Dunnottar,
A spell is in the name!
Dunnottar, O Dunnottar,
It's Youth, an' Love, an' Hame!

Once and again he returns to the same theme, emphasizing the simple verses with a pencilled note of modest author's pride, "My own favorite," at the foot:

The bonnie green woods of Dunnottar,
I'm thinkin' it's mornin' there,
An' the gowans are white on the braes again,
An' the song of the birds ance mair

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Is mellow, an' sweet, an' gleesome
As it was in the days lang syne,
When we were there in the Spring time
O' the years we were laith to tyne !

. . . . . .

The bonnie auld wood of Dunnottar,
Far dearer it is to me
Than the fairest scenes that the warl' can show
In mony a far countrie !
We hae played on its braes as bairnies,
We hae loved an' sorrowed there.

Gin we win to the wood o' Heaven
Do you think they will be as fair ?

From memories and regrets which never strike the poignant note, he looks out with serene philosophy of heart rather than intellect, on life's transitory shows. This attitude is illustrated in the verses "On a Lifelong Friendship."

Remembering the old days, the swift sweet seasons,
(To memory grown, alas! how swift and sweet)
I search my soul again to-day for reasons
Whereon our faith may stand with steadier feet.
There comes no answer I can frame in words,
Only the birds
Sing as they did then, and I rise to go,
Feeling that, somehow, I am answered so.

For Spring again has filled the land with flowers,
Clothing the woods and happy fields in green,
Larks in the blue and linnets in the bowers
Carol again as if there had not been
Winter or night, to kill or chill their song;
And all day long
They charm with their unwearying melodies
The listening, whispering woods and sunlit leas.

Their little lives, like ours, go out unheeded,
And with the withered leaves are swept away.
But song lives on, immortal, unimpeded,
New as the dawn is, and the enduring day !
Yea, though the singer dies the song remains,
In deathless strains,
And Hope, awakening, holds a scroll unfurled,
"Youth, Love and Song live ever in the world !"
Yea, Song endures and fills the world for ever,
Youth is re-born with every sun-dawn fair,
Though we are but as ripples on the River
That flows, we know not whence, we know not where,
With ever-deepening and broadening wave,
Yet every grave
We make drifts backward, and is lost to sight
In an effulgence of Eternal Light !

A year or two later he wrote in the same calm spirit the "Ballade of the Burnside" :

Calm as the current of my days
Along its wonted channel flows
The stream that winds by well-known ways,
Now fallen into their old repose.

Around it lie the winter snows
Sown from a gray sky overhead,
And sea-ward peacefully it goes,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

At times a sunbeam o'er it plays,
But on the brink it finds no rose ;
On sheltered banks by which it strays
No longer any wild flower grows.

No more this winding pathway knows
Thy feet, where now alone I tread,
Yet memory nameless bloom bestows,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

Here summer ever with me stays,
And fair, unfading flowers disclose
Their sweets to me where'er I gaze,
While August sunlight round me glows.

No flowers on earth abide like those
(On dews of Love and Memory fed !)
The heart with deathless bloom endows,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

ENVOI.

Dear eyes that bade my heart unclose,
Dear Heart on mine that sunliget shed,
For me Love's flower immortal blows,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

Here is a sonnet written by Alexander Stephen and entitled "An April Eve."

Between me and the sunset's paling beam
I saw a blackbird, sitting lone and high
Among the branches, dark against the sky,
Silent and still, as if some happy dream
Possessed him, as he listened to the stream
That over its white pebbles trickled by.
Then with a chuckled song I saw him fly
Far through the wood, and so lost sight of him.
Within the wood the wind seem'd whispering
Some secret thing, unutterably sweet.
In fitful sights that grew and died away.
And in the dim light there were shadowy feet
Among the shadows, pausing, hastening,
And voices, that had marvellous things to say.

The following lines sum up most fitly the worth and significance of the little volume of verses:

These few songs the years have won from me,
The fleet winged years of youth that shone and fled,
And now are dear with memories of the dead,
Songs that seem echoes of the wind and sea
Heard over fields whose fruits are harvested,
And where our feet again may never be.

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ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

By a Disciple of Dr. J. C. Bose.

III

After the success achieved at the conservative University of Oxford it was now necessary that the Master's work should become widely known all over Europe. And for this purpose no scientific institution commanded greater authority and respect than the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

The Royal Institution.

As the history of this great institution, from which epoch-making discoveries have startled the scientific world for the last hundred years, is not well known in this country, I shall give a short account of some of the important work that has been carried out in this institution. The Royal Institution was founded in 1799 by Count Rumford and a few of his friends "to prosecute research and to illustrate and diffuse the principles of Inductive and Experimental Science." It never had any State aid but had grown and expanded with its growing scientific activities. Unlike many institutions the tragic history of which is but too common, stone and masonry did not here crush the scientific spirit. Its outward opulence kept pace only with its inner growth. Under its shelter have been worked out many of the fundamental ideas upon which is reared the vast industrial fabric which has enriched England. Within its walls were achieved those epoch-making discoveries in electricity which have transformed the economic conditions of the modern age. The eminent men who have successively directed its continuous research have collectively made contributions of incalculable value for the world's well-being.

Thomas Young here (1801 to 1803) established the undulatory theory of Light by his historic discovery of Interference of Light.

Humphry Davy continued the work from 1802 to 1815. He made many discoveries in Electro-Chemical Science, succeeded in decomposing Potash, isolated Potassium, Sodium and Chlorine and by his researches on Fire damp and Flame made the famous Safety Lamp which has been the means of saving thousands of lives.

Michael Faraday, the greatest scientific man of the age, worked here from 1833 to 1867. He discovered here the Magnetic Rotations, was able to liquify Chlorine and other gases, made that epoch-making discovery of Magneto-Electricity the numerous applications of which have transformed the modern conditions of life. As the visitor enters the great Institution he sees in front of him Faraday's lifes-ize statue, which bears no inscription. More eloquent than any inscription is an iron ring which he holds in his hand and round which is wound a helix of copper wire. The sparks that flamed across from the ends of this helix proved to be as mighty as the thunderbolt of Jupiter. The laws which govern the electric decomposition of compound substances were discovered by him and bear his name. He determined the Specific Inductive Capacity, visualised the Lines of Magnetic Forces, and determined the Magnetic Rotation of Light. The instruments with which he made these discoveries have been preserved in loving reverence and their exhibition serves to inspire men who are trying to follow his footsteps.

It is also here that John Tyndall worked from 1853 to 1887 and thrilled his audience by his remarkable oratorical powers and his extraordinary gift as an experimenter.

One of the greatest living physicists of the age, Lord Rayleigh, also worked here from 1887 to 1905, and is still the Honorary Professor of the Institution. The photograph reproduced is the most recent and was sent by him to the Master a fortnight ago. It was Lord Rayleigh's work that contributed greatly to the determination of the exact values of the standards of Electrical Measurements. His work on Sound and Electri-

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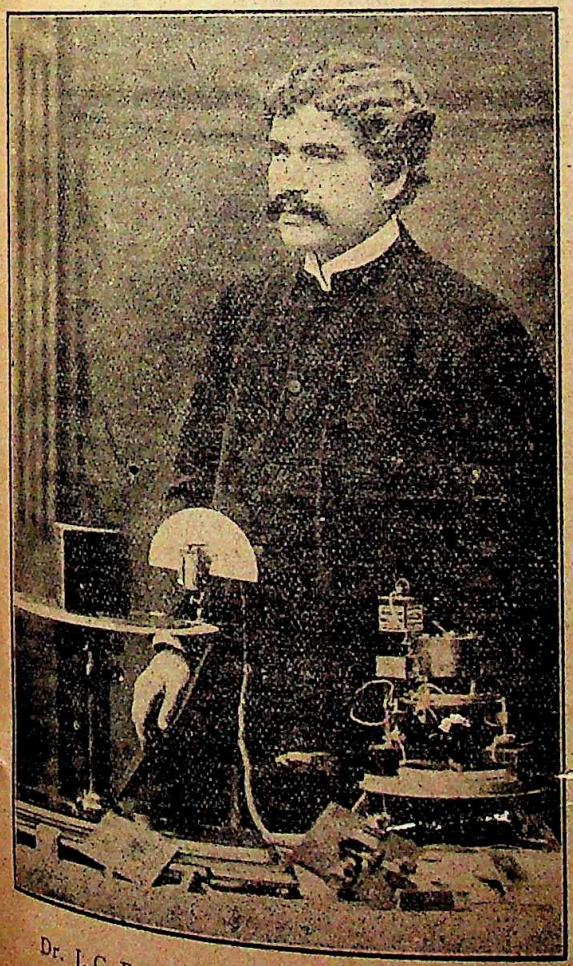
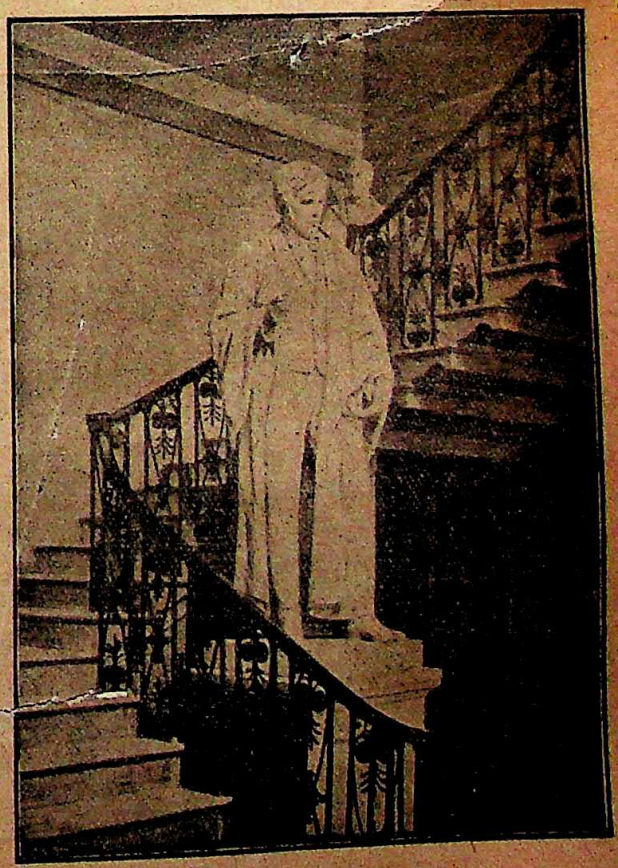
John Tyndall.

Lord Rayleigh.



Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1897.



Statue of Michael Faraday at the Royal Institution.

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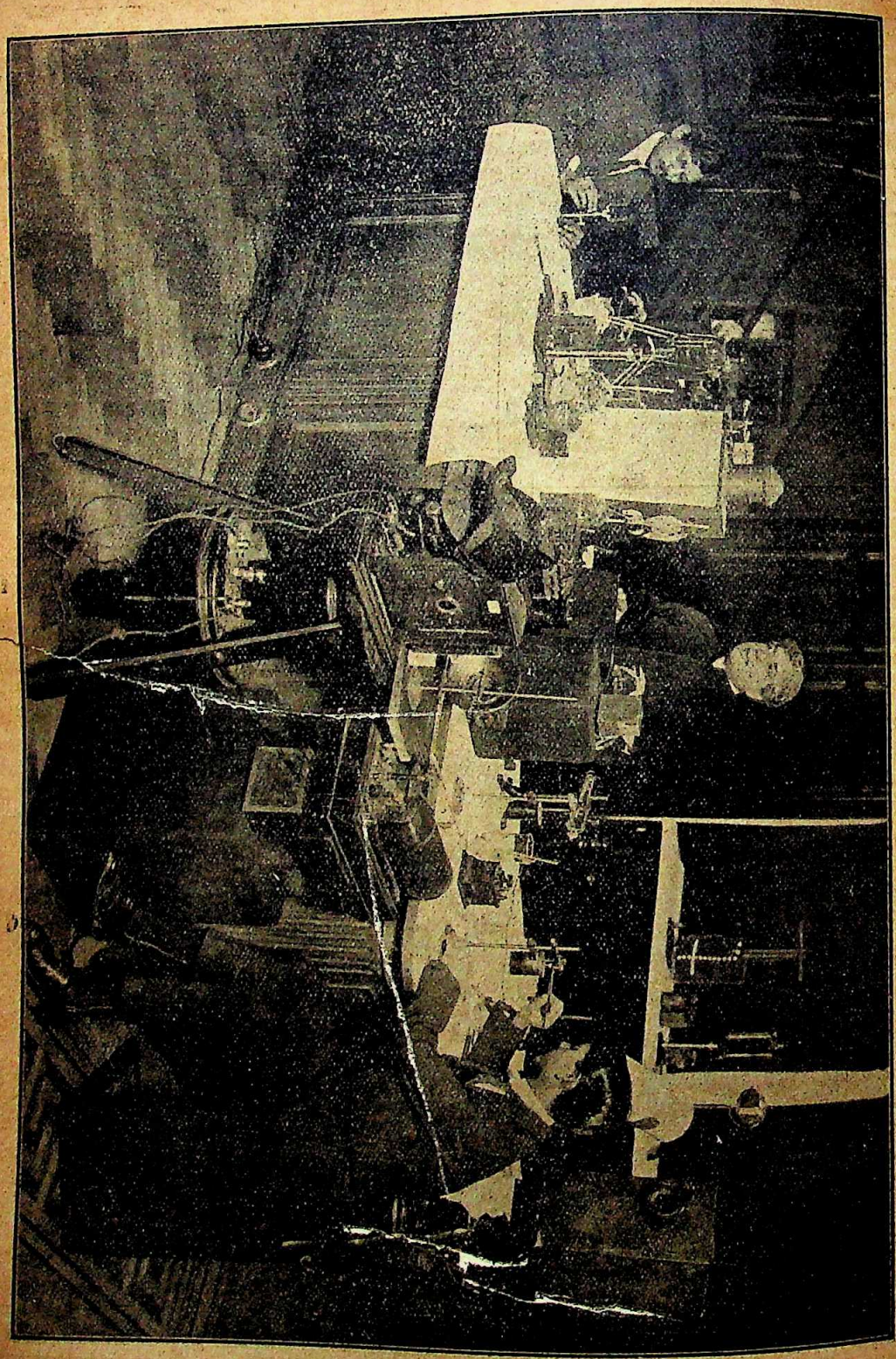

Dr J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1914.

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city are classical. It was his determination of the density of atmospheric nitrogen that led him to predict the discovery of Argon. The wide range of his scientific activities is well known in such works as Phenomena of Water Jets and Water Drops, Colours of Thin Plates, Diffraction of Sound, Interference Bands, Investigation on Argon, Limits of Audition, Foams, and Animal Flights.

SIR J. J. THOMSON has been working here since 1905 on Rays of Positive Electricity, on carriers of Positive Electricity, on Electric Striation, on a New Method of Chemical Analysis and the Results of the Application of Positive Rays to the Study of Chemical Problems.

SIR JAMES DEWAR has been the Fullerian Professor of Chemistry since 1877. His has been the great achievement of Liquifaction of Air, Researches on Liquid Air and Zero of Absolute Temperature, on Phosphorescence and Ozone, on the Scientific uses of Liquid Air, on Liquid Hydrogen, on Solid Hydrogen, on New Low Temperature Phenomenon, on the Nadir of Temperature and allied problems, on the problems of Helium and Radium, and on the coming age of the "Vacuum flask," which is one of the most important practical outcomes of his dicoveries.

Such is the great tradition of the Royal Institution, and no recognition could be greater than to be asked to lecture before this Institution. Here in addition to the regular series of lectures there is organised a special series known as the Friday Evening Discourses. At these Meetings a lecture of one hour is delivered by one of the recognised authorities upon a new discovery or the most recent development of some great scientific speculation. To be chosen to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse is regarded as an unique honour. The lecturer enters the historic Hall and stands at the identical place occupied by Davy and Faraday and commences his Discourse without any introduction; for one asked to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse must be already well known all over the scientific world and therefore requires no introduction. He begins his lecture abruptly without making any reference to the President or the audience. For it is understood that his message is to the world and not to any group of people. These innovations, at first, are startling to a visitor unaccustomed to the traditions of the Royal Institution. The audience at Albemarle Street is crowded by the aristocracy of intellect and culture. The street itself becomes almost impassable on account of the waiting carriages and motors. In order to avoid serious dislocation of traffic it is absolutely necessary that the lecture should begin at the stroke of nine and end with the stroke of ten. This tradition was, however, broken once when the enthusiastic audience at the Royal Institution demanded with one voice a longer continuation of my Master's Discourse.

MASTER'S DISCOURSE ON ELECTRIC WAVES.

The unique honour of being asked to address at the Royal Institution has on three different occasions been conferred on the Master. It was on January 29, 1897, that he, for the first time, delighted and astonished the audience at the Royal Institution by his Discourse on Electric Waves. The apparatus which he invented is so perfect that the most delicate and astonishing results were demonstrated with a precision that challenged belief. In fact Lord Rayleigh in coming forward to offer his heartiest congratulations remarked that to give this marvellous demonstration an air of reality it would have been better if one or two experiments had failed. No compliment could be greater than this at the very place which had witnessed the demonstration given by such experimenters as Faraday and Tyndall. Indeed the Master's unrivalled experimental dexterity so impressed the Western world that he has often been termed the Wizard from the East! The celebrated Hiram Maxim, perhaps one of the greatest inventors of the age, was so struck by my Master's experiments that after the lecture he came forward and introduced himself as Maxim the mechanician. He asked as a personal favour to feel his hands to realise for himself that tactile sensibility which could so unerringly feel the pulse of Nature. Not less significant than these experimental wonders were his theoretical insight by which many phenomena relating to the Electro-Molecular properties of matter were revealed for the first time. Sir Henry Roscoe in an address spoke of his methods as "opening out means of knowing the internal molecular structure of bodies perfectly opaque to the ordinary eye of which we have hitherto had no

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means of examination; these are now as open, as clear as the sky or day light." Another most important discovery announced at this lecture was the selective transparency of certain bodies in virtue of which an identical substance was perfectly transparent when held in one way and perfectly opaque when placed at right angles to the first position. When he was invited to repeat this lecture at Helmholtz's Laboratory in Berlin Prof. Warburg, who succeeded Helmholtz, led him to the lecture Hall and on the way pointed out his own research room and made a great mystery of some investigation in which he has been engaged for the last four years. This research was regarded of such importance that it was imperative to observe special secrecy. The door of the research room could therefore be opened for half an inch and then hastily closed. While the Master was arranging his exp riments in the lecture Hall something attracted Prof. Warburg's attention. This was a particular crystal which the master had discovered, having the remarkable property of selective transparency for electric waves which was demonstrated before the astonished Professor in the course of half a minute. To my Master's amazement the German Professor rushed out of the Hall only to return with his assistant Karl and to tell him that what they had failed to demonstrate after four years of laborious research was accomplished by this Indian visitor in the twinkling of an eye. Professor Warburg deservedly occupies the very front rank in physical science, and this brought to his laboratory a very celebrated American investigator, Professor Milikan, whose recent measurements of mass of sub-atoms have astonished the scientific world. At that time Mr. Milikan was interested in Electric Waves and asked Prof. Warburg to help him to carry out researches on this subject. "Ah!" said the German savant, "this subject has been taken up by a man in Calcutta called Bose. He is that sort of man who leaves nothing for other fellows to attempt."! And thus this American scientist was diverted to another subject which he has enriched by his contributions. In this Friday Evening Discourse, the success of the experiments was due to the absolute certainty and extraordinary delicacy of the wireless detector which my Master invented. Great commercial value was attached to a detector of this type and before the commencement of his lecture, he was approached by the President of a Syndicate to secure a patent for him for his invention. My Master, however, refused to commercialise his sci ntific contribution and the *Electrical Engineer* expressed its astonishment that

"No secret was at any time made of the wonderful apparatus, so that it has been open to all the world to adopt it for practical and m oney-making purposes."

The success of this lecture was so great that an important professorship at a well-known University was offered to him, if he chose to accept. Many of his friends urged him on international grounds to secure this recognised position in the world of European science, and the advantages offered for the prosecution of his researches. My Master thought, however, that the duty of every Indian was to share the disabilities of his countrymen and his true place was in India and to work for her and for the college which he entered when he was unknown. Nothing, therefore, gave him greater gratification than the tribute paid by the *Electrician* to his country and his college:

"The scientific world is immensely indebted to Dr. Bose for the researches he has already completed and presented to it—researches which redound greatly to the credit of India and more specially of the Presidency College, Calcutta, from which Dr. Bose is now on a visit to this country."

One is still haunted by the concluding portion of his address at the Royal Institution when he asked his audience to imagine a gigantic electric organ provided with infinite number of stops, each stop giving rise to a particular ether note.

"Imagine an unseen hand pressing the different stops in rapid succession, producing higher and higher notes. The ether note will thus rise in frequency from one vibration in a second, to tens, to hundreds, to thousands, to hundreds of thousands, to millions, to millions of millions! While the ethereal sea in which we are all immersed is being thus agitated by these multitudinous waves, we shall remain entirely unaffected, for we possess no organs of perception to respond to these waves. As the ether note rises still higher in pitch, we shall for a brief moment perceive a sensation of warmth. This will be the case when the ether vibration reaches a frequency of several billions of times in a second. As the note rises still higher our eye will begin to be affected, a red glimmer of light would be the first to make its appearance. From this point the few colours we see are comprised within a single octave of vibration—from 400 to 800 billions in one second. As the frequency of vibration rises still higher, our organs of perception fail us completely; a great gap in our consciousness obliterates the rest. The brief flash of light is succeeded by unbroken darkness."

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Discourse on Universal Sensitiveness of Matter.

The next time when he was asked to address the Royal Institution was to announce his great discovery of the Universal Sensitiveness of Matter, when he demonstrated by means of automatic records the common history of stress and strain in the Living and the Non-Living. We are still thrilled by his peroration on that memorable day, May 10, 1901:

"It was when I came upon the mute witness of these self-made records and perceived in them one phase of a pervading unity that bears within it all things—the note that quivers in ripples of light, the teeming life upon our earth and the radiant suns that shine above us—it was then that I understood for the first time a little of that message proclaimed by my ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago.—

"'They who see but one in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs Eternal Truth—unto none else, unto none else!'"

Now the Master was asked on this the third occasion to deliver a Discourse on his recent discoveries in the unvoiced world of plants. Lord Rayleigh, who always takes great interest in my Master's work, realising the extreme delicacy of the experiment the success of which depended on uncertain conditions of the weather, sent word advising him not to attempt more than one or two experiments. The duration of the lecture being strictly limited to one hour, any untoward failure would seriously affect the success of the lecture. Such a veteran experimentalist as Sir Michael Foster was completely nonplussed at the beginning of one of his lectures before the Royal Institution by the sudden stoppage of the heart-beat of the frog which was the subject of demonstration. No physiological experiment could be simpler than this, yet one of the greatest physiologists of the age found himself unable to repeat it at the critical moment. So the advice of every one about performing difficult experiments was the emphatic "Don't." A very striking experiment was specially devised for my Master's lecture on chromatic effects and its wonderful variation exhibited by the reflection from a soap film demonstrating the principle of sympathetic vibration. Mr. Heath, who was the special assistant of Tyndall, now in charge of the Royal Institution Laboratory, dissuaded us from attempting it. Taking me into his confidence he said that it was only last week when he was demonstrating certain experiments on soap film given by one of the eminent physicists that the "wretched film took all the conceit out of them by suddenly bursting at the very psychological moment!" And he told us off many other instances.

Discourse on Plant Autographs.

On the other hand the Master realised the fact that his theories had already been for several years before the public; it was blank incredulity that stood in the way of their wide acceptance and nothing short of visual demonstration could bring conviction to all. He, therefore, took the bolder step and risked failure on the chance of success. The assistants of the Royal Institution kindly offered their services to help him in these demonstrations, but he was determined that this was purely to be a contribution from India in every detail. He took us to the Royal Institution early in the morning where we could arrange our experiments in the preparation room on a table the top of which could be transferred to the Hall immediately before the lecture. I had for my comrade Jyoti Prokash Sircar. The Master looked after every detail and made us follow the order in strict sequence. All this time we were tense with anxiety but as the hour approached he asked us to throw away all fear. Everything that could be foreseen had been done and nothing further need worry us. We now felt a great quiet and were not a bit afraid for the results. The Master's address was on Plant Autographs and their Revelations. Almost next door to this great Institution of learning there were flourishing establishments in Bond Street of crystal-gazers and other exponents of the occult art. He commenced his Discourse by referring to these professors of sciences bordering on the mystical who claimed to read a man's character and antecedents by mere inspection of his handwriting. As to the authenticity of such claims scepticism might be allowed. But there was no doubt that one's handwritings are profoundly modified by conditions mental and physical. At this moment there was thrown on the screen photographs of signatures of Guy Fawkes, of Gun Powder celebrity, before his trial and after his conviction. The sinister variations in these signatures were at once evident. The crabbed and distorted character of the last words that Guy Fawkes wrote on

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earth as in the dark hours of the morning on which he was executed he set his hand to the written confession of his crime, told their own tale of what had transpired in the solitary imprisonment of that fateful night. Such is the history that unfolded itself to the critical eye by the lines and curves of a human autograph. Under a placid exterior, there is also a hidden history of the life of the plant. Storm and sunshine, warmth of summer and frost of winter, drought and rain, all these and many more influences come and go about the plant. What coercion do they exercise upon it, what subtle impress do they leave behind? Then after raising these questions he explained how the plants could be made to reveal their inner history by means of scripts in answer to questioning shocks. Now began a series of experiments each more startling than the previous one. The soap film that reflected the light did not burst but was thrown into sympathetic vibrations in answer to a cry from a distance. The colour pattern hitherto quiescent was converted into a whirlpool of peacock green and molten gold. The *Mimosa* seen on the table, automatically recorded the speed of its nervous impulse. Our *Bon Chandal* or the Telegraph plant recorded its throbbing pulsations and the plant under the shock of death recorded its death-spasm. All these experiments were repeated with the utmost success without a moment's loss of time, each experiment being punctuated by the enthusiastic applause of an audience of appreciative European savants. And there was almost a hush of awe when the Master concluded the story of these our mute companions silently growing beside our door and of the pathos of life that is unvoiced.

(*To be continued*).

ADDENDUM

The following lines were inadvertently omitted from the article entitled Two PANJABI PLAYS, page 80, 2nd column of the January number after the lines ' "My dolls, my dolls! Let me play with my dolls!" Kauran mad with grief follows.'—

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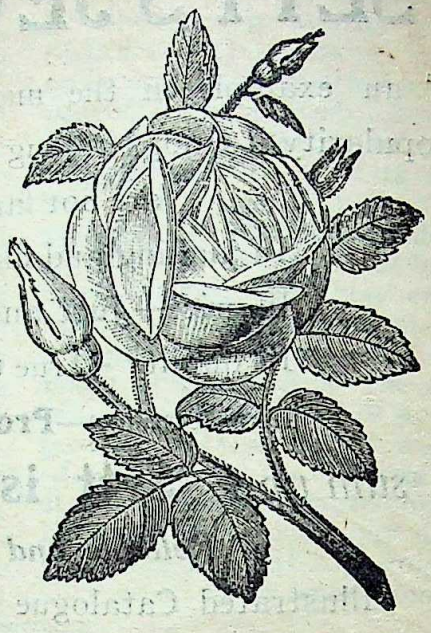

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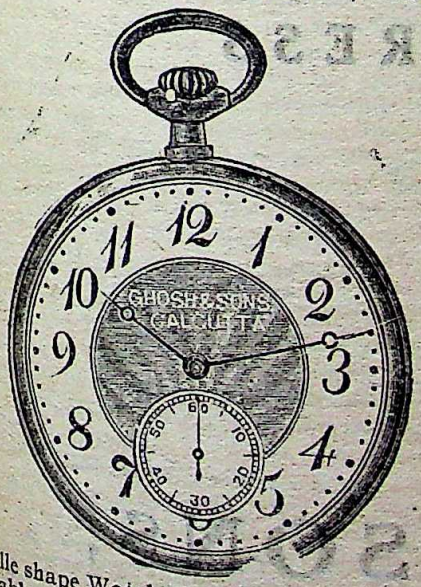

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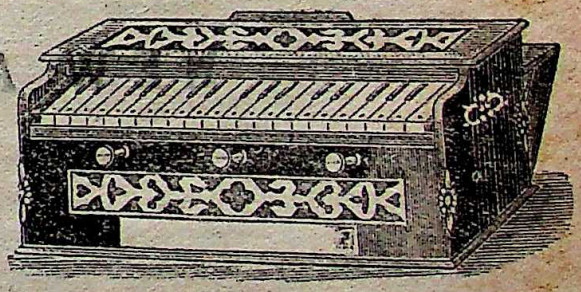

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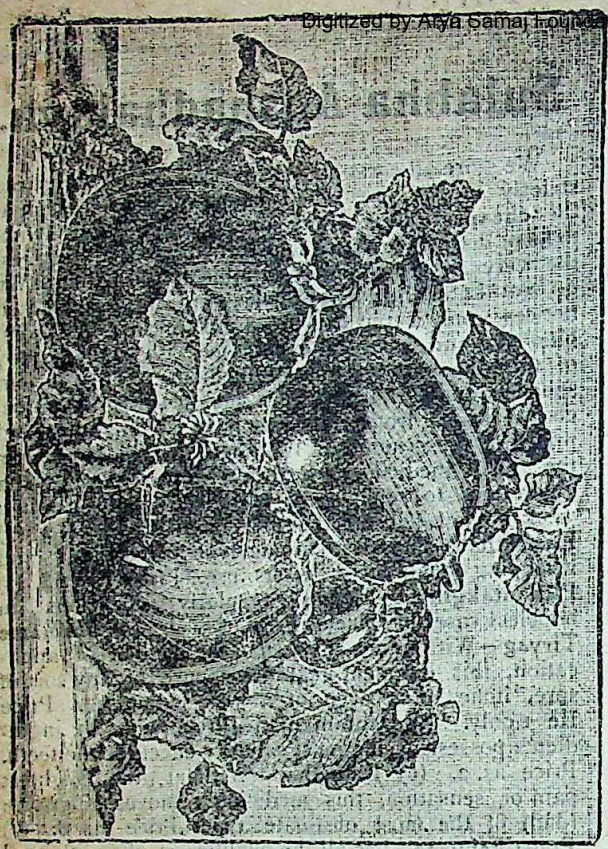

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

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Contents :

Page

Frontispiece—SPRING (in colors) BY CHARUCHANDRA ROY ... ...
My Reminiscences (Illustrated)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND SURENDRANATH TAGORE, B.A. 361
The Progressive Ruler of Nabha (Illustrated)—SAINT NIHAL SINGH 367
The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History—NIMROD 372
The Woodsman's Battle-Axe (A poem)—FLORENCE AND AGNES BARKER 376
Mashi (Short story)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND W. W. PEARSON 377
Satnamis and Sikhs : 17th century—PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M. A., P. R. S. 383
Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji—C. F. ANDREWS AND W. W. PEARSON 392
The Badagas : A Tribe of the Nilgiris (Illustrated)—M. TURNER 403
The Hindu Purohit Act—CHANDULAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, B. A., LL. B. 406
A Visit to the Hospice of the Great St Bernard (Illustrated)—C. C. DAS 409
Teachers as Researchers—MANIKLAL DEY, M.SC. ... 414
Indian Students and Western Teachers—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE 416
The Irish Renaissance—JAMES H. COUSINS ... 423
Reviews and Notices of Books—G. S. MONGIA, JNANENDRA NARAYAN BAGCHI, VIDUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, K. M. JHAVERI, AND OTHERS ... 426

Page

Applied History—DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D. 432
The Andhra Movement—K. S. RAMCHANDRA ROW 433
A Hindu Professor of an American University (Illustrated)— 438
Gleanings (Illustrated) :
The Chin as the Critical Factor in Human Character 440
Literature's need of a "Shock" 442
Indian Periodicals :
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on Dr. Spooner's Zoroastrian Theory 443
Hindu Art-Consciousness 445
Slums and Town Nuisances 443
The Education of the Senses 446
Swadeshi 446
Fiscal Autonomy for India and Its Effects on Colonial Problems 448
The Study of Indian Art 448
Foreign Periodicals :
Prof. Keith on Dr. Spooner's Persian Theory ... 449
The Debt of Civilisation to the Arabs ... 451
Religion and Music 452
Indian India and Its Rajas : Their Relations with the British 452
Robert Browning and the Vedanta 454
Notes (Illustrated) 456

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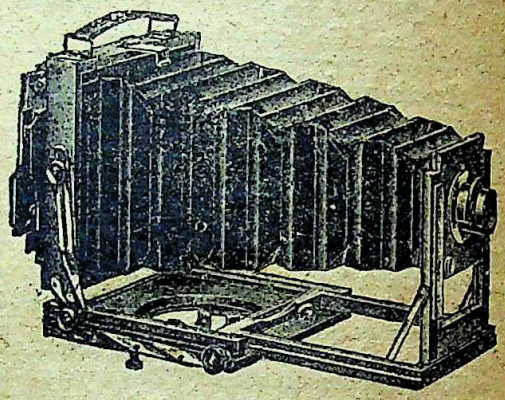

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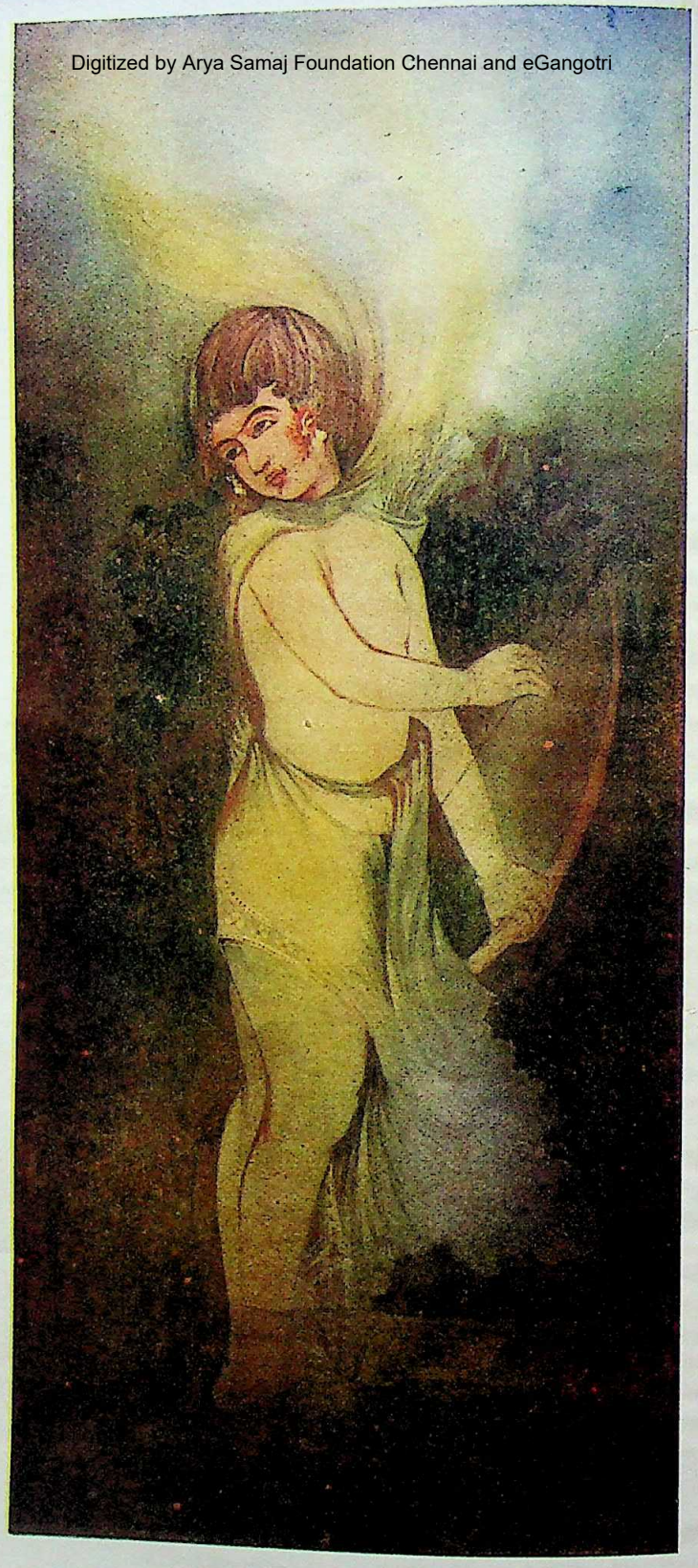

SPRING

"You come as a soldier boy winning life at death's gate.
O the wonder of it !
We listen amazed at the music of your young voice.
Your light mantle is blown in the wind like the odour of spring blossoms.
You have a spray of KRISHNACHURA flower in your ear."

— *Phalguni.*

By the courtesy of the artist Babu Charu Chandra Ray.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XIX No. 4 APRIL, 1916 WHOLE No 112

MY REMINISCENCES

By Rabindranath Tagore.

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(13) *My Father.*

SHORTLY after my birth my father took to constantly travelling about. So it is no exaggeration to say that in my early childhood I hardly knew him. He would now and then come back home all of a sudden, and with him came foreign servants with whom I felt extremely eager to make friends. Once there came in this way a young Panjabi servant named Lenu. The cordiality of the reception he got from us would have been worthy of Ranjit Singh himself. Not only was he a foreigner, but a Panjabi to boot,—what wonder he stole our hearts away? We had the same reverence for the whole Panjabi nation as for Bhima and Arjuna of the Mahabharata. They were warriors; and if they had sometimes fought and lost, that was clearly the enemy's fault. It was glorious to have Lenu, of the Panjab, in our very home. My sister-in-law had a model war-ship under a glass case, which, when wound up, rocked on blue-painted silken waves to the tinkling of a musical box. I would beg hard for the loan of this to display its marvels to the admiring Lenu. Caged in the house as we were, anything savouring of foreign parts had a peculiar charm for me. This was one of the reasons why I made so much of Lenu. This was also the reason why Gabriel, the Jew, with his embroidered gaberdine, who came to sell *attars* and scented oils, stirred me so; and the huge Kabulis, with their dusty, baggy trousers and knapsacks and bundles, brought to my young mind a fearfully fascination.

Anyhow, when my father came, we would be content with wandering round about his entourage and in the company of his servants. We did not reach his immediate presence.

Once while my father was away in the Himalayas, that old bogey of the British Government, the Russian invasion, came to be a subject of agitated conversation among the people. Some well-meaning lady friend had enlarged on the impending danger to my mother with all the circumstance of a prolific imagination. How could a body tell from which of the Tibetan passes the Russian host might suddenly flash forth like a baleful comet? My mother was seriously alarmed. Possibly the other members of the family did not share her misgivings; so, despairing of grown-up sympathy, she sought my boyish support.

"Won't you write to your father about the Russians?" she asked.

That letter, carrying the tidings of my mother's anxieties, was my first one to my father. I did not know how to begin or end a letter, or anything at all about it. I went to Mahananda, the estate munshi.* The resulting style of address was doubtless correct enough, but the sentiments could not have escaped the musty flavour inseparable from literature emanating from an state office.

I got a reply to my letter. My father asked me not to be afraid; if the Russians came he would drive them away himself. This confident assurance did not seem to have the effect of relieving my mother's fears, but it served to free me from

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all timidity as regards my father. After that I wanted to write to him every day and pestered Mahananda accordingly. Unable to withstand my importunity he would make out drafts for me to copy. But I did not know that there was the postage to be paid for. I had an idea that letters placed in Mahananda's hands got to their destination without any need for further worry. It is hardly necessary to mention that, Mahananda being considerably older than myself, these letters never reached the Himalayan hill-tops.

When, after his long absences, my father came home even for a few days, the whole house seemed filled with the weight of his presence. We would see our elders at certain hours, formally robed in their *chogas*, passing to his rooms with restrained gait and sobered mien, casting away any *pan* * they might have been chewing. Everyone seemed on the alert. To make sure of nothing going wrong, my mother would superintend the cooking herself. The old mace-bearer, Kinu, with his white livery and crested turban, on guard at my father's door, would warn us not to be boisterous in the verandah in front of his rooms during his midday siesta. We had to walk past quietly, talking in whispers, and dared not even take a peep inside.

On one occasion my father came home to invest the three of us with the sacred thread. With the help of Pandit Vedantavagish he had collected the old Vedic rites for the purpose. For days together we were taught to chant in correct accents the selections from the Upanishads, arranged by my father under the name of "Brahma Dharma," seated in the prayer hall with Becharam Babu. Finally, with shaven heads and gold rings in our ears, we three budding Brahmins went into a three-days' retreat in a portion of the third storey. It was great fun. The earrings gave us a good handle to pull each other's ears with. We found a little drum lying in one of the rooms with which we would stand out in the verandah, and, when we caught sight of any servant passing along in the storey below, we would rap a tattoo on it. This would make the man look up, only to beat a hasty retreat the next moment with averted eyes.† In short we cannot claim that these days of our retirement were passed in ascetic meditation. I am however persuaded that boys like ourselves could not have been rare in the hermitages of old. And if some ancient document has it that the ten or twelve-year old Saradwata or Sarngarava* is spending the whole of the days of his boyhood offering oblations and chanting *mantras*, we are not compelled to put unquestioning faith in the statement; because the book of Boy Nature is even older and also more authentic.

After we had attained full brahminhood I became very keen on repeating the *gayatri* †. I would meditate on it with great concentration. It is hardly a text the full meaning of which I could have grasped at that age. I well remember, what efforts I made to extend the range of my consciousness with the help of the initial invocation of "Earth, firmament and heaven." How I felt or thought it difficult to express clearly, but this much is certain that to be clear about the meaning of words is not the most important function of the human understanding. The main object of teaching is not to explain meanings, but to knock at the door of the mind. If any boy is asked to give an account of what is awakened in him at such knocking, he will probably say something very silly. For what happens within is much bigger than what he can express in words. Those who pin their faith on University examinations as a test of all educational results take no account of this fact.

I can recollect many things which I did not understand, but which stirred me deeply. Once, on the roof terrace of our river-side villa, my eldest brother, at the sudden gathering of clouds, repeated aloud some stanzas from Kalidas's "Cloud Messenger." I could not, nor had I the need to, understand a word of the Sanskrit. His ecstatic declamation of the sonorous rhythm was enough for me. Then again, before I could properly understand English, a profusely illustrated edition of "The Old Curiosity Shop" fell into my hands. I went through the whole of it, though at least nine-tenths of the words were unknown to me. Yet, with the vague ideas I conjured up

* Spices wrapped in betel leaf.

† It is considered sinful for non-brahmins to cast glances on neophytes during the process of their sacred-thread investiture, before the ceremony is complete.

* Two novices in the hermitage of the sage Kanva, mentioned in the Sanskrit drama, Sakuntala.

† The text for self-realisation.

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from the rest, I spun out a variously coloured thread on which to string the illustrations. Any university examiner would have given me a great big zero, but the reading of the book had not proved for me quite so empty as all that.

Another time I had accompanied my father on a trip on the Ganges in his house-boat. Among the books he had with him was an old Fort William edition of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*. It was in the Bengali character. The verses were not printed in separate lines, but ran on like prose. I did not then know anything of Sanskrit, yet because of my knowledge of Bengali many of the words were familiar. I cannot tell how often I read that *Gita-Govinda*. I can well remember this line :

'The night that was passed in the lonely forest cottage.'

It spread an atmosphere of vague beauty over my mind. That one Sanskrit word,

'Nibhrita-nikunja-griham'

meaning 'the lonely forest cottage' was quite enough for me. I had to discover for myself the intricate metre of Jayadeva, because the division of metre was lost in the clumsy prose form in which the book was printed. And this discovery gave me very great delight. Of course I did not fully comprehend Jayadeva's meaning. It would hardly be correct to aver that I had got it even partly. But the sound of the words and the lilt of the metre filled my mind with pictures of wonderful beauty, which impelled me to copy out the whole of the book for my own use.

The same thing happened, when I was a little older, with a verse from Kalidas's "Birth of the War God." The verse moved me greatly, though the only words, of which I gathered the sense, were 'the breeze carrying the spray-mist of the falling waters of the sacred Mandakini and shaking the deodar leaves.' These left me pining to taste the beauties of the whole. When, later, a Pandit explained to me that in the next two lines the breeze went out "splitting the feathers of the peacock plume on the head of the eager deer-hunter," the thinness of this last conceit disappointed me. I was much better off when I had relied only upon my imagination to complete the verse.

Whoever goes back to his early childhood will agree that his greatest gains were not in proportion to the completeness of his understanding. Our Kathakas* know this truth well. So their narratives always have a good proportion of ear-filling Sanskrit words and abstruse remarks not calculated to be fully understood by their simple hearers, but only to be suggestive.

The value of such suggestion is by no means to be despised by those who measure education in terms of material gains and losses. These insist on trying to sum up the account and find out exactly how much of the lesson imparted has been understood. But children, and those who are not over-educated dwell in that primal paradise of knowledge where men acquire knowledge without going through the process of understanding. And only when that paradise is lost comes the evil day when they must understand everything. The road which leads to knowledge, without going through the dreary process of understanding, that is the royal road. If that be barred, though the world's marketing may yet go on as usual, the open sea and the mountain top cease to be possible of access.

So, as I was saying, though at that age I could not realise the full meaning of the *Gayatri*, there is something in us which can do without a complete understanding. I am reminded of a day when, as I was seated on the cemented floor in a corner of our schoolroom meditating on the text, my eyes overflowed with tears. Why those tears came I knew not; and to a strict cross-questioner I would probably have given some explanation having nothing to do with the *Gayatri*. The fact of the matter is that what is going on in the inner recesses of consciousness is not always known to the dweller on the surface.

(14) *A journey with my Father.*

My shaven head after the sacred thread ceremony caused me one great anxiety. However partial Eurasian lads may be to things appertaining to the Cow, their reverence for the Brahmin† is notoriously lacking. So that, apart from other missiles, our shaven heads were sure to be pelted with jeers. While I was worrying over this possibility I was one day summoned upstairs to my father. How would I like

* Bards or reciters.

† The Cow and the Brahmin are watchwords of modern Hindu orthodoxy.

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to go with him to the Himalayas, I was asked. Away from the Bengal Academy and off to the Himalayas! Would I like it? Could I have rent the skies with a shout, that might have given some idea of the How!

On the day of our leaving home my father, as was his habit, assembled the whole family in the prayer hall for divine service. After I had taken the dust of the feet of my elders I got into the carriage with my father. This was the first time in my life that I had a full suit of clothes made for me. My father himself had selected the pattern and colour. A gold embroidered velvet cap completed my costume. This I carried in my hand, being assailed with misgivings as to its effect in juxtaposition to my hairless head. As I got into the carriage my father insisted on my wearing it, so I had to put it on. Every time he looked another way I took it off. Every time I caught his eye it had to resume its proper place.

My father was very particular in all his arrangements and orderings. He disliked leaving things vague or undetermined and never allowed slovenliness or makeshifts. He had a well-defined code to regulate his relations with others and theirs with him. In this he was different from the generality of his countrymen. With the rest of us a little carelessness this way or that did not signify; so in our dealings with him we had to be anxiously careful. It was not so much the little less or more that he objected to as the failure to be up to the standard. My father had also a way of picturing to himself every detail of what he wanted done. On the occasion of any ceremonial gathering, at which he could not be present, he would think out and assign the place for each thing, the duty for each member of the family, the seat for each guest; nothing would escape him. After it was all over he would ask each one for a separate account and thus gain a complete impression of the whole for himself. So, while I was with him on his travels, though nothing would induce him to put obstacles in the way of my amusing myself as I pleased, he left no loophole in the strict rules of conduct which he prescribed for me in other respects.

Our first halt was to be for a few days at Bolpur. Satya had been there a short while ago with his parents. No self-respecting nineteenth century tourist would have credited the account of his travels which he gave us on his return. But we were different, and had had no opportunity of learning to determine the line between the possible and the impossible. Our Mahabharata and Ramayana gave us no clue to it. Nor had we then any children's illustrated books to guide us in the way a child should go. All the hard and fast laws which govern the world we learnt by knocking up against them.

Satya had told us that, unless one was very very expert, getting into a railway carriage was a terribly dangerous affair—the least slip, and it was all up. Then, again, a fellow had to hold on to his seat with all his might, otherwise the jolt at starting was so tremendous there was no telling where one would get thrown off to. So when we got to the railway station I was all a-quiver. So easily did we get into our compartment, however, that I felt sure the worst was yet to come. And when, at length, we made an absurdly smooth start, without any semblance of adventure, I felt woefully disappointed.

The train sped on; the broad fields with their blue-green border trees, and the villages nestling in their shade flew past in a stream of pictures which melted away like a flood of mirages. It was evening when we reached Bolpur. As I got into the palanquin I closed my eyes. I wanted to preserve the whole of the wonderful vision to be unfolded before my waking eyes in the morning light. The freshness of the experience would be spoilt, I feared, by incomplete glimpses caught in the vagueness of the dusk.

When I woke at dawn my heart was thrilling tremulously as I stepped outside. My predecessor had told me that Bolpur had one feature which was to be found nowhere else in the world. This was the path leading from the main buildings to the servants' quarters which, though not covered over in any way, did not allow a ray of the sun or a drop of rain to touch anybody passing along it. I started to hunt for this wonderful path, but the reader will perhaps not wonder at my failure to find it to this day.

Town bred as I was, I had never seen a rice-field, and I had a charming portrait of the cowherd boy, of whom we had read, pictured on the canvas of my imagination. I had heard from Satya that the Bolpur house was surrounded by fields of ripening

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"WE ARRIVED AT BOLPUR IN THE EVENING."
(From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.)

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rice, and that playing in these with cowherd boys was an everyday affair, of which the plucking, cooking and eating of the rice was the crowning feature. I eagerly looked about me. But where, oh where was the rice-field on all that barren heath? Cowherd boys there might have been somewhere about, yet how to distinguish them from any other boys, that was the question!

However it did not take me long to get over what I could not see,—what I did see was quite enough. There was no servant rule here, and the only ring which encircled me was the blue of the horizon which the presiding goddess of these solitudes had drawn round them. Within this I was free to move about as I chose.

Though I was yet a mere child my father did not place any restriction on my wanderings. In the hollows of the sandy soil the rainwater had ploughed deep furrows, carving out miniature mountain ranges full of red gravel and pebbles of various shapes through which ran tiny streams, revealing the geography of Liliput. From this region I would gather in the lap of my tunic many curious pieces of stone and take the collection to my father. He never made light of my labours. On the contrary he waxed enthusiastic.

"How wonderful!" he exclaimed. "Wherever did you get all these?"

"There are many many more, thousands and thousands!" I burst out. "I could bring as many every day."

"That *would* be nice!" he replied. "Why not decorate my little hill with them?"

An attempt had been made to dig a tank in the garden, but the subsoil water proving too low, it had been abandoned, unfinished, with the excavated earth left piled up into a hillock. On the top of this height my father used to sit for his morning prayer, and as he sat the sun would rise at the edge of the undulating expanse which stretched away to the eastern horizon in front of him. This was the hill he asked me to decorate. I was very troubled, on leaving Bolpur, that I could not carry away with me my store of stones. It is still difficult for me to realise that I have no absolute claim to keep up a close relationship with things, merely because I have gathered them together. If my fate had granted me the prayer, which I had pressed with such insistence and under taken that I should carry this load of stones about with me for ever, then I should scarcely have had the hardihood to laugh at it to-day.

In one of the ravines I came upon a hollow full of spring water which overflowed as a little rivulet, where sported tiny fish battling their way up the current.

"I've found such a lovely spring," I told my father. "Couldn't we get our bathing and drinking water from there?"

"The very thing," he agreed, sharing my rapture, and gave orders for our water supply to be drawn from that spring.

I was never tired of roaming about among those miniature hills and dales in hopes of lighting on something never known before. I was the Livingstone of this undiscovered land which looked as if seen through the wrong end of a telescope. Everything there, the dwarf date palms, the scrubby wild plums and the stunted jambolans, was in keeping with the miniature mountain ranges, the little rivulet and the tiny fish I had discovered.

Probably in order to teach me to be careful my father placed a little small change in my charge and required me to keep an account of it. He also entrusted me with the duty of winding his valuable gold watch for him. He overlooked the risk of damage in his desire to train me to a sense of responsibility. When we went out together for our morning walk he would ask me to give alms to any beggars we came across. But I never could render him a proper account at the end of it. One day my balance was larger than the account warranted.

"I really must make you my cashier," observed my father. "Money seems to have a way of growing in your hands!"

That watch of his I wound up with such indefatigable zeal that it had very soon to be sent to the watchmaker's in Calcutta.

I am reminded of the time when, later in life, I was appointed to manage the estate and had to lay before my father, owing to his failing eyesight, a statement of accounts on the second or third of every month. I had first to read out the totals under each head, and if he had any doubts on any point he would ask for the details. If I made any attempt to slur over or keep out of sight any item which I feared he would not like, it was sure to come out. So these first few days of the month were very anxious ones for me.

As I have said, my father had the habit of keeping everything clearly before his mind,

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—whether figures of accounts, or ceremonial arrangements, or additions or alterations to property. He had never seen the new prayer hall built at Bolpur, and yet he was familiar with every detail of it from questioning those who came to see him after a visit to Bolpur. He had an extraordinary memory, and when once he got hold of a fact it never escaped him.

My father had marked his favourite verses in his copy of the *Bhagavadgita*. He asked me to copy these out, with their translation, for him. At home, I had been a boy of no account, but here, when these important functions were entrusted to me, I felt the glory of the situation.

By this time I was rid of my blue manuscript book and had got hold of a bound volume of one of Lett's diaries. I now saw to it that my poetising should not lack any of the dignity of outward circumstance. It was not only a case of writing poems, but of holding myself forth as a poet before my own imagination. So when I wrote poetry at Bolpur I loved to do it sprawling under a young cocoanut palm. This seemed to me the true poetic way. Resting thus on the hard unturfed gravel in the burning heat of the day I composed a martial ballad on the "Defeat of King Prithwi.' In spite of the superabundance of its martial spirit, it could not escape an early death. That bound volume of Lett's diary has now followed the way of its elder sister, the blue manuscript, leaving no address behind.

We left Bolpur and making short halts on the way at Sahebganj, Dinapore, Allahabad and Cawnpore we stopped at last at Amritsar.

An incident on the way remains engraved on my memory. The train had stopped at some big station. The ticket examiner came and punched our tickets. He looked at me curiously as if he had some doubt which he did not care to express. He went off and came back with a companion. Both of them fidgetted about for a time near the door of our compartment and then again retired. At last came the station-master himself. He looked at my half-ticket and then asked,—

"Is not the boy over twelve?"

"No," said my father.

I was then only eleven, but looked older than my age.

"You must pay the full fare for him," said the station master.

My father's eyes flashed as, without a word, he took out a currency note from his box and handed it to the station master. When they brought my father his change he flung it disdainfully back at them, while the station master stood abashed at this exposure of the meanness of his implied doubt.

The golden temple of Amritsar comes back to me like a dream. Many a morning have I accompanied my father to this *Gurudarbar* of the Sikhs in the middle of the lake. There the sacred chanting resounds continually. My father, seated amidst the throng of worshippers, would sometimes add his voice to the hymn of praise, and finding a stranger joining in their devotions they would wax enthusiastically cordial, and we would return loaded with the sanctified offerings of sugar crystals and other sweets.

One day my father invited one of the chanting choir to our place and got him to sing us some of their sacred songs. The man went away probably more than satisfied with the reward he received. The result was that we had to take stern measures of self-defence,—such an insistent army of singers invaded us. When they found our house impregnable, the musicians began to waylay us in the streets. And as we went out for our walk in the morning, every now and then would appear a *Tambura*,* slung over a shoulder, at which we felt like game birds at the sight of the muzzle of the hunter's gun. Indeed, so wary did we become that the twang of the *Tambura*, from a distance, scared us away and utterly failed to bagus.

When evening fell, my father would sit out in the verandah facing the garden. I would then be summoned to sing to him. The moon has risen; its beams, passing through the trees, have fallen on the verandah floor; I am singing in the Vehaga mode:

"O Companion in the darkest passage of life....."

My father with bowed head and clasped hands is intently listening. I can recall this evening scene even now.

I have told of my father's amusement on hearing from Srikantha Babu my maiden attempt at a devotional poem. I am reminded how, later, I had my recompense.

* An instrument on which the keynote is strumed while singing.

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IN THE EVENING FATHER WOULD SIT IN THE VERANDAH IN FRONT OF THE GARDEN. I WOULD SING TO HIM THE HYMN:—

"You are my friend in all difficulty and doubt
And companion in the darkest passage of life."

(From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.)

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By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore

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On the occasion of one of our *Magh* festivals several of the hymns were my composition. One of them was :

"The eye sees thee not, who art in the pupil of every eye....."

My father was then bed-ridden at Chinsurah. He sent for me and my brother Jyoti. He asked my brother to accompany me on the harmonium and got me to sing all my hymns one after the other,—some of them I had to sing twice over. When I had finished he said :

"If the king of the country had known the language and could appreciate its literature, he would doubtless have rewarded the poet. Since that is not so, I suppose I must do it." With which he handed me a cheque.

My father had brought with him some volumes of the Peter Parley series from which to teach me. He selected the life of Benjamin Franklin to begin with. He thought it would read like a story book and be both entertaining and instructive. But he found out his mistake soon after we had started. Benjamin Franklin was much too business-like a person. The narrowness of his calculated morality disgusted my father. In some cases he would get so impatient at the worldly prudence of Franklin that he could not help using strong words of denunciation.

Before this I had nothing to do with Sanskrit beyond getting some rules of grammar by rote. My father started me on the second Sanskrit reader at one bound leaving me to learn the declensions as we went on. The advance I had made in Bengali* stood me in good stead. My father also encouraged me to try Sanskrit composition from the very outset. With the vocabulary acquired from my Sanskrit reader I built up grandiose compound words with a profuse sprinkling of sonorous 'm's and 'n's making altogether a most diabolical medley of the language of the gods. But my father never scoffed at my temerity.

Then there were the readings from Proctor's Popular Astronomy which my father explained to me in easy language and which I then rendered into Bengali.

Among the books which my father had brought for his own use, my attention would be mostly attracted by a ten or twelve volume edition of Gibbon's Rome. They looked remarkably dry. "Being a boy," I thought, "I am helpless and read many books because I have to. But why should a grown up person, who need not read unless he pleases, bother himself so?"

* A large proportion of words in the literary Bengali are derived unchanged from the Sanskrit. Tr.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE PROGRESSIVE RULER OF NABHA

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

NABHA—one of the important Indian States in the Punjab—shows how a few years of rule by a modernised Maharaja can result in increased administrative efficiency. During the four years that the present Ruler, His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh *Malvendar Bahadur*, has been in power, the executive machinery has been remodelled, the intervention of the Maharaja in judicial matters has ceased, primary education has been made free, and steps are being taken to introduce compulsory education. All persons who are interested in the advance ment of India by Indians should know of the influences that have moulded the character of the Maharaja Sahib, and of the policies that he is pursuing.

Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was born in 1883. His father, His Highness Maharaja Hira Singh *Malvendar Bahadur*, was 40 years old at the time and hailed the arrival of his heir with great joy.

Maharaja Hira Singh was, in his own way, a great man. He had not troubled to learn any Western language, nor had he adopted alien ways of life. He knew *Granth* and had made a study of Sikh

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and other Punjabi literature as few persons have done. He also had spent much time and taken great pains to acquire wisdom from Hindi and Sanskrit literature. The casual references that he made, in private conversation, to episodes that occurred in our Motherland in ancient days amazed me more than once, and showed to all who came in personal contact with him that his mind was a repository of the precious heritage that our forefathers have left us.

His Highness was a great patron of learning. A large number of scholars, especially those versed in sacred literature and astrology, and poets, received regular stipends or handsome presents from him. I am sure that without his generous assistance Max A. Macauliffe would not have been able to complete "The Sikh Religion" —the invaluable work that he left us. The Maharaja Sahib asked me, in 1910—not long before he died—to undertake to write in English a history of the Sikhs, and said he would meet all expenses incurred in connection with it if I would take up the work—an offer I could not accept at the time, owing to my other commitments.

Maharaja Hira Singh knew how to preserve peace throughout his State, which, according to the Census of India, 1911, had an area of 928 square miles, and a population of 248,887 persons. He looked upon his subjects as his children, and ruled them like a patriarch.

If he learned that some one was misbehaving, he would at once send for him, ask him what he meant by his misconduct, and reprimand him as severely as the circumstances required. People knew that His Highness could punish as well as give stipends and presents: and censure from him was nearly always sufficient to bring an erring individual to his senses. Whenever it came to his notice that a husband and wife were having domestic difficulties, he would make them come to him and bring about a reconciliation on the spot.

He did not believe in permitting litigation to be expensive, or justice to be delayed. He would often send for a file and the persons involved in the case, and settle the matter in the course of a few minutes. He told me that he lived near the court-house primarily so that he could see to it that justice was dealt out speedily.

His Highness was a great builder. Architects were constantly at work putting up new structures and remodelling old ones. There used to be a story current relating to him to the effect that a designing contractor had bribed an astrologer to predict that the Maharaja Sahib would die the moment he stopped building. I once committed the *faux pas* of repeating this tale to His Highness. He laughed heartily and dismissed the subject, thereby furnishing me with the true measure of the man. Why do foreigners allege that our Rajas do not possess a sense of humour?

Whatever he may have spent upon building dharmsalas, sinking wells, and constructing other public works, and whatever he may have given to scholars and saints, His Highness spent very little upon himself. He lived very simply—far more so than many of our landed magnates and "educated Indians" do. His fare was plain, and not much varied. His every-day dress was inexpensive. His favourite fabric was white muslin: and his one extravagance was that his garments should always be snow-white. Foreigners who talk of the pomp of Maharajas in season and out of season, surely display their ignorance of the real facts.

Living so simply as he did himself, His Highness could not bear to see any one rioting in luxury. As a necessary corollary to this, he paid his highest officials small salaries. The administration of Nabha, as conducted by Maharaja Hira Singh, was inexpensive, and the tax-payer bore a light burden. As His Highness's eye saw all, and his ears heard all, the officials did not dare to oppress his subjects by exacting bribes from them. Nabha, in consequence, was a happy State—though from the modern point of view its administration was old fashioned in the extreme.

Such was the man and the Ruler who brought up the present Maharaja of Nabha. As can be imagined, the Tikka Sahib (Heir Apparent), as he was then called, learned to love purity of character, knowledge, and simple living from his infancy upwards. His father's example and precept taught the future Maharaja that his whole aim should be to devote all his time, talents, and energy to promoting the good of those among whom he was born and over whom he would rule in the fulness of time.

The time in which the Tikka Sahib first opened his eyes upon the world was far different from that in which his father had been born. The Punjab had not yet been

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Maharaja Hira Singh Malvendar Bahadur, the late Maharaja of Nabha.

H. H. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendar Bahadur, Maharaja of Nabha.

annexed by the British when Raja Hira Singh came into the world, and Western ideas had not penetrated into that part of India. When the present Maharaja was born, however, the Punjab had been a part of British India for more than a generation. The Punjab University had been established, and many Punjabis had graduated from schools and colleges. Western books and papers were being read by persons who could decipher them, and Occidental notions were influencing even those who did not know English, through translations of English books and by other means. As a consequence of these changes, the Tikka Sahib of Nabha enjoyed educational advantages which his father never had.

The Tikka Sahib showed a great desire to assimilate both Eastern and Western culture, and a great capacity for acquiring useful knowledge. In the course of a few years he learned to write well in Punjabi and English. He had acquired such a grasp of the Indian situation that in 1906 the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab had him appointed as an Additional Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Many readers will remember how this appointment was considered at the time to be a device on the part of a Local Government to appoint an Indian who would be an echo of the British-Indian bureaucracy. The Tikka Sahib had not been long in the Council when all unprejudiced persons were compelled to change such views. He at once showed the desire to represent Indians. He exerted his influence to advance Indian interests in every manner possible. He associated with men like the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, instead of cliquing with aristocrats. I shall quote here what he recently wrote about his companionship with Mr. Gokhale in and out of the Council :

"I had the privilege of counting the late lamented Mr. G. K. Gokhale among my personal friends and of being associated with him for some time as a colleague in the Imperial Legislative Council. I thus often came in touch with his charming and brilliant personality and had the opportunity of observing the

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great powers of head and heart which, in his comparatively short public career, so thoroughly won for him the confidence and affection of his countrymen. India has, indeed, suffered an irreparable loss in his premature death, and it is but fit and proper that the memory of that true and great patriot be perpetuated in a suitable manner by his grateful countrymen."

The Tikka Sahib's term in the Legislative Council, extending from 1906 to 1908, enabled him to extend his knowledge and to come in close contact with Indian leaders of thought and progressive movements.

The Tikka Sahib left India for a tour in Europe shortly after his work in the Council had ended. His residence in England, during which he had personal audience of His Majesty the King-Emperor and met many eminent men and women, and investigated numerous institutions, helped to widen his intellectual horizon.

He had gone to Europe accompanied by his wife. It is not realized by many persons that the Maharani Sahiba is a most cultured woman, and has had a great influence upon her husband. I know, through personal knowledge, how her father, Sardar Gurdial Singh Man, took pains to educate Her Highness. A relative of mine acted as her tutor for some time, many years ago, and I had the opportunity of seeing her at her work more than once. Her Highness speaks English fluently, and is very fond of reading Eastern and Western books. Her stay in England enabled her to see much of Western life, and made her a most congenial companion to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib.

Every one who had come in contact with the Tikka Sahib confidently expected that he would modernize the administration of Nabha as soon as he came into power. What has happened since his elevation to the throne of his fathers on December 25, 1911, has justified such hopes. His Highness has refrained from making violent changes—and quite wisely. He, however, has been steadily modifying the State organization.

His Highness has been aiming at making the public services of Nabha efficient by appointing duly qualified men to hold the various posts, remunerating them adequately, and assuring their future. He wishes to employ his own subjects, as far as is practicable; and is taking measures to enable promising young men to fit themselves to occupy positions of responsibility.

The administrative exigencies of Nabha required not only men with higher qualifications than those who had been employed before, but also necessitated an increase in the number of officials. His Highness has considerably strengthened the revenue service by increasing the number of Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars. This much needed reform has had the effect of saving the peasant-proprietors from taking long journeys to the headquarters of Tehsils.

Every department of the State shows the effect of His Highness's personal interest in it. Take, for instance, the one that controls finance. Great changes have been inaugurated in this department. A qualified official has been appointed Accountant General and placed in charge of the State Treasuries. In order to make the system of checking accounts effective, the Accountant General has been given an independent status.

The judicial department also has been greatly improved. A High Court has been established. Men versed in law are being appointed to act as judges, and are left alone by His Highness to make systematic inquiries into civil and criminal cases, carefully to weigh evidence, and to arrive at an impartial decision. The policy of arresting procedure at any stage has been completely abandoned. The Maharaja Sahib limits his judicial work to revision of the judgments passed by the High Court in important cases, or where an appeal is peferred.

The laws of the State are being codified by an experienced officer who holds the degree of Bachelor of Law.

A qualified engineer has been placed in charge of the Public Works. Irrigation canals and wells are being constructed. Schemes for water works are under consideration. The Maharaja Sahib is especially anxious to promote sanitation, agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Nothing is so dear to the heart of the Maharaja Sahib as the education of his people. He deplores the illiteracy of his subjects—only 7,143 out of the 248,88 inhabitants of the State could read and write in 1911; and he longs for the day when it will have entirely disappeared. He made primary education free in 1913. Speaking, some time after taking this action, to a party of students who had presented him with an address, His Highness said that he intended to make elementary

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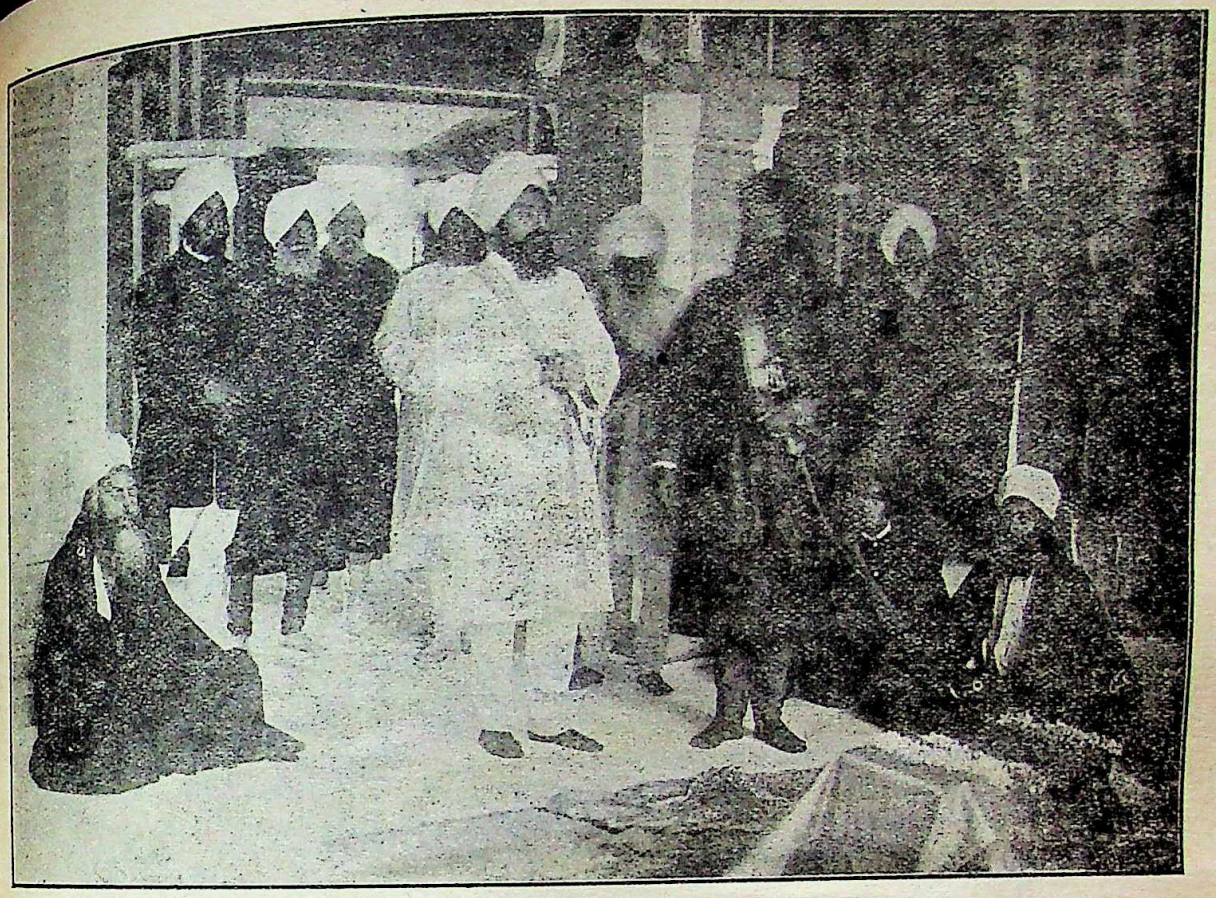

Installation Ceremony, according to Sikh rites, of H. H. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendar Bahadur, Maharaja of Nabha.

instruction compulsory. I quote the following from the speech that he made on this occasion, as it shows his ideas on education and kindred matters :

"It gave me great pleasure to make elementary instruction free in my State the other day and it is my aim to make it compulsory as well in due course. In advanced foreign countries the duty of the State in the matter of providing education has been realized, and in India progressive States, like Baroda and Mysore, are following this noble example.

But we are bound to one another by reciprocal duties. If your parents and the State have certain duties towards you, you also owe something in return to your parents and the State. I view you with special interest because you have latent powers which if properly developed and carefully applied are sure to bring about great results, and I hope you will prove an honour to your country and the Government when it comes your turn to play your part in the affairs of this world: I assure you that every reasonable help which you may deserve by your merits will be readily given to you by the State....."

His Highness attaches special importance to the education of girls, believing that the diffusion of knowledge among women prepares them intelligently to discharge the functions of motherhood, and thereby exerts an enlightening influence upon the rising generation. He has recently established a girls' school at his capital, and has set apart scholarships for girls.

The Maharaja Sahib is also interested in giving higher education to his subjects. He has inaugurated a scheme of awarding scholarships to promising young men to enable them to pursue studies at various colleges in the Punjab. I understood, some years ago, that he had in mind a scheme for sending students abroad, which I have no doubt he will put into operation shortly.

The Maharaja Sahib, like his father, encourages learning outside the State. Both gave large benefactions to the Girls' School at Ferozepur founded by Bhai Takht Singh and Bibi Harnam Kour, the latter dying some years ago after working indefatigably for the advancement of Punjabi women. The present Maharaja also gave a liberal donation to the Girls' School at Bhasaur (Punjab).

His Highness's patronage of learning is of a catholic character. This was evidenced by the lakh of Rupees that he gave, some time ago, to the Hindu University.

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The remarks that he made at the time show his enlightened policy. He said in effect that he would have donated a larger sum if the educational needs of his subjects had not had a prior claim upon the State Treasury.

In order to educate his subjects in the science of self-government, the Maharaja Sahib has constituted District and Advisory Committees. The District Committees are elected by the people. It is their duty to help the District Officers (Nazims) to perform their administrative work. They send representatives to the Central Committee. His Highness expects to develop these bodies into real self-governing institutions in course of time.

Maharaja Ripudaman Singh does not believe in intervening in the administration of his State except in cases of flagrant mismanagement. He considers that carefully selected officials should be given scope for exercising their initiative and bearing responsibility, their powers, privileges, and limitations being strictly defined. He thinks that the functions of a Maharaja should be to keep a watchful eye on the work of his officials, to counsel them in times of doubt and difficulty, to guide them when occasion arises, and to decide issues of the greatest importance involving the establishment of new principles and precedents.

His Highness has abandoned the policy that prevailed before his accession of departments requiring the Maharaja's sanction to items of expenditure that had been incorporated in the Budget. I may note, *en passant*, that he has given increased powers to the Executive Council which consists of two Members, Khan Sahib Mohamed Munawar Ali Khan and Sardar Hazara Singh. The Executive Council does not interfere in judicial matters.

In order to insure against oppression by officials, His Highness makes frequent tours through different parts of his State, and gives every opportunity to persons with grievances to tell him their troubles. Anyone who has a complaint to make can write to him and be sure that his letter will be opened and read by the Maharaja himself, and inquiry immediately made, and such redress given as circumstances may justify.

So far I have spoken of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh as an administrator. To what has been written must be added a few sentences showing his work as a man. His Highness lives a simple and useful life, and is a total abstainer. An example such as his cannot but uplift those amongst whom he moves. From his early manhood he has been a social reformer. This was amply acknowledged when the Indian Social Conference invited him to preside over their deliberations at their Lahore session in 1909. His Highness wants to do away with caste prejudices, the purdah system, early marriage, enforced widowhood, polygamy, and like social abuses. Though he has no son and heir, he has refused to use that pretext to marry a second wife.

It is fortunate for Nabha that it has so progressive a Ruler as His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh.

"THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY"

I.

SO reads the title of a paper read before a learned society and published in their literary organ, noted for the originality of the articles which find place therein. And above all, proceeding as it does from the pen of a scholar who had been trained by the dons of three of the foremost nations of the modern world, Japan, America and Germany, it has created an unique interest among scholars.

The author of the paper, Dr. D. Brainerd Spooner, has already made a name by the discovery of the Kanishka Chaitya and the relics of Buddha at Peshawar*. Students

* His excavations at Sahri-Bahlol have been on the whole successful and at present he has the unique distinction of being the only Sanskrit scholar among the European members of the Archaeological Department. Dr. Spooner is the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Department and one of the Secretaries of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

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of Indian history are familiar with such a conventional division as the Indo-Greek or the Scythian period; but a Zoroastrian period, I dare say, opens up a new vista of research and speculation. Those who have wandered far and wide in the unknown wilds of Indian antiquity might, perhaps, have come across some stray specimens reminding them of the ancient Persian civilisation of the Achaemenidaean period. But these are being commonly taken as evidences of the Persian occupation of the north-western regions of India. Their scarcity, hithertofore, has prevented Orientalists from making any serious attempt at building up any sort of theoretical speculation. Dr. Spooner's exposition of this new period has therefore been awaited with great interest by the majority of serious students; and it was surmised that his discoveries would, at last, link Indian history with the general history of the Ancient East. So far Indian history had been an isolated study and India could not be assigned a proper place in the history and chronology of the great Oriental nations of antiquity. It was as Elphinstone had put it nearly a century ago, "no date of Indian history could be determined with exactitude before Alexander's invasion."

Dr. Spooner's learned paper has been printed in two instalments in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, for 1915. Beyond a general outburst of journalistic feeling any serious attempt does not seem to have been made either in this country or in Europe to consider calmly the conclusions of the learned author, or to examine the facts and methods, discovered and employed by him to arrive at these conclusions. We know from the inscriptions of the emperors of the Achaemenidaean dynasty of Persia as well as from the sober statements of the Hellenic historians that a portion of the north-western regions of India was included in the Persian Empire down to the conquest of Alexander the Great. These regions were divided into a number of Satrapies;* the subject races of Indians paid their taxes in coined silver money and the Indian regiments fought under Persian Generals in the Greco-Persian Wars.† These facts have been put beyond doubt by the corroborating statements of foreign historians and epigraphical evidences. And perhaps we may safely point to the history of this period as a real and a tangible beginning. But for all that, it is the darkest period of Indian history. A discussion of the materials available for the historical study—nay, for the reconstruction of the history itself—cannot fail to be of passing interest to all those who are labouring under immense difficulties to throw light on this obscure period. A fresh interest has also gathered round this topic by the excavation of the historic site of Pataliputra under the supervision of the author of the paper. The accounts published from time to time in the daily papers of the numerous and valuable finds unearthed in the excavated area and mostly assigned by the author of the paper to the period under discussion are partly responsible for the great sensation which the theory has created among the scholarly public.

As Dr. Spooner's theory is entirely based on the results of the Pataliputra excavations, we should examine them thoroughly before proceeding to discuss his modes and methods. About a quarter of a century ago the ruins of Pataliputra were excavated by Lieut-Col. L. A. Waddell and the late Mr. Purna Chandra Mukherji. In opening the discussion, Dr. Spooner very gracefully introduces Dr. Waddell's name but omits to mention the part played by Mr. Mukherji. It is well-known that the first excavations of Pataliputra were mainly conducted by Mr. Mukherji and Dr. Waddell's share in it was very little.

Dr. Waddell found some "fragments of polished stone with a curving surface, which he rightly judged to be portions of Maurya pillars." We know from the statements of the Chinese pilgrims "that Asoka erected at least two inscribed pillars in his capital." Dr. Waddell thought that he had discovered some fragments of the one or the other of those pillars. Dr. Spooner says that when the excavations were begun "the Department was not without hope of proving that Colonel Waddell was right."

The second excavation of Pataliputra was begun on the 6th of January, 1913. Numerous fragments of sandstone with curved and polished surface were found in the excavated spot, a field lying between "two tanks in the immediate neighbourhood of Kumrahar, a village

* Herodotus : Rawlinson ii, 487.
† Ibid, iv, 63, 347, 398.

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south of the modern city." The conclusion to which Dr. Spooner has been led by the number of these fragments is stated in the following terms :—

'It soon became apparent, then, from the multiplicity, varied texture and small diameter of our pillar fragments that they could not have emanated from an edict column. I, therefore, assumed that some Mauryan building must have been situated here and altered my method of work to suit this changed hypothesis.'

This was the first false step that he took. The learned excavator should not have altered the method of his work to suit a mere hypothesis. Pre-conceived notion and hypothetical assumption, I am afraid, have no place in sober archæology. Day-dreams are for poets and not for archæologists to indulge in. A thorough antiquarian should have imprinted in his mind the words of Lord Acton and of Mr. Flinders Petrie. What one would believe is that the learned excavator of Pataliputra in a fit of forgetfulness was thrown off his guard. The glamour of the ancient city distorted the vision of the learned Doctor and so his further observations became incapable of being accepted *in toto* by the scientific students of history.

I had the good fortune of visiting the site along with hundreds of other laymen. I find no reason whatsoever in support of the learned Doctor's theory. The first year's excavation had yielded a number of fragments of polished sandstone pillars, which had been piled up at regular distances with a wooden or bamboo rod over each pile. The fragments were certainly not discovered in that state. They have been put together at these places with some object. One of the assistants at work kindly pointed out to me that these little piles marked the spots where the pillars of the columnar hall were supposed originally to stand. The absence of the columnar hall or any indication of it left the visitor non-plussed. But the gentleman's explanation of the next object of interest cleared his vision. It was a section of the virgin soil, mostly Gangetic alluvium, in which there was a solid column of blackish grey ash. The section of the column of ash is very neat. It appeared as if somebody had sunk a well and filled it up with ashes. Here and there were found one or two pieces of brick or of polished fragments of a stone column. This was all that I saw. On the border of the excavated ground there were some tents, and a few fragments of stone carving were found lying scattered round it. I found no clear evidence which pointed undoubtedly to the existence of a pillared hall on the excavated spot. I had better quote Dr. Spooner's explanation of the columns of ashes. In the first place he begins by saying that "the actual structure of the Mauryan hall has almost, if not entirely, disappeared."*

Then he goes on to say that it is at all events certain that the Mauryan building was buried with 8 feet of earth over its floor before the fire occurred which finally destroyed it. This refers to the alluvial soil in which the columns of the ash have been found. Then comes the explanation of these circular ash columns.†

"It is certain that the tubular funnels of ash which we now find descending vertically from the ash stratum are nothing more than the holes left by the pillars which originally stood at these points."

It should be noted here that a belt of grey ash covers the entire surface of the ground above the level of the vertical columns of ash in question. Dr. Spooner's theory is explained by a diagram at the bottom of p. 46 of the Report of the Archaeological Survey, E. C., 1913-14. It seems quite clear from Dr. Spooner's statements that his theory about the pillared hall rests more on these circular wells filled with ashes and less on the number of fragments with curved sides. His idea is that the pillars have sunk below leaving these cylindrical holes in the soil which have been immediately filled up with ashes. Dr. Spooner has already conjured up a vision of the Mauryan pillared hall and attempted to reconstruct its plan.

"It should be noted furthermore that for purposes of tracing and reconstructing the Mauryan pillared hall it is really not a matter of vital importance whether the columns have sunk or not. So long as we can be perfectly sure that in any event these vertical ash funnels are the equivalents of Mauryan stone pillars, all that is necessary for a reconstruction of ground-plan of these pillars is to note and record the position of these ash funnels."‡

Now let us go back in our argument. Dr. Spooner was led by the number of fragments of polished stone discovered at this place to assume that a Mauryan building

* An. Rep., Arch. Surv. of Ind., E. C., for 1913-14, p. 45.

† *Ibid.* p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 48.

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existed here. The fragments do not come from a monolithic obelisk.*

The learned author of the paper says that these fragments could not have emanated from an edict column, in total disregard of the fact that such columns have been mentioned by the Chinese travellers.

This minor discrepancy should be disregarded as the fragments found had been thought to have come from more than two columns. According to the hypothesis of the excavator, here stood a hall with several rows of pillars, the position of which are indicated by circular shafts in the soil filled with ashes. It should be noted here that besides these fragments Dr. Spooner has discovered only a half or a third of one of these entire columns. The discovery of this larger fragment is important, as it proves that one at least of the columns was not led by its weight to sink so deep as to make it impossible to recover it at present. Dr. Spooner is perhaps right in thinking that the columns were not in position when the Gupta builders cleared the ground for building purposes.† In 1913-14 his idea was that the upper parts of these pillars were destroyed by the expansion of the copper-bolts when the fire occurred. The lower parts were encased in the alluvial muddy soil and escaped destruction.‡

"When the wooden foundations decayed, the great weight of these pillars forced them to sink vertically." In 1915 when the excavations had spread over a considerable extent Dr. Spooner changed his opinion about this alluvial soil. The excavation has proved that this alluvial soil was not spread over the entire surface and consequently it could not be a deposit of river mud due to a flood. Moreover, careful examination had disclosed particles of straw (*bhusa*) mixed up with clay. So Dr. Spooner's second opinion is that this alluvial soil was the remain of a kutcha brickwork with which the hollow space enclosed by the high plinth or stylobate was filled. Perhaps it did not occur to the learned gentleman that a field of grass when flooded and covered with silt may exhibit traces or particles of straw even hundreds of decades afterwards. But even if we accept his explanation and take it for granted that the level of the "blue clay" is really the ground level, that there was a high plinth in the construction of the supposed column or hall as in many Persian buildings of the Achaemenidaean period, though the Hall of a Hundred Columns had none, and that the mass of the alluvial clay is really the remains of a kutcha brickwork laid above the wooden foundations, to fill in the hollow space between the plinths on all sides, even then one question remains unanswered; namely, that whether these pillars were originally set up by being inserted partially into this mass of *kutcha* brickwork. This the learned excavator does not seem to have tackled. The polished surface of the pillars were certainly not intended to have been left underground. The evidence of other Asoka monoliths is against this. The lower ends of other monoliths which were intended to be covered with earth or brickwork are rough and unpolished. Therefore all these columns must have been unprotected by this belt of clay at the time of the occurrence of the fire and must have been destroyed totally. Dr. Spooner admits the original position of the columns. He says, "originally the columns and sculptures stood on the top of the stylobate."*

But even then he does not give up his theory of the sinkage of the columns. He says: "It will be observed that incidentally the theory of sinkage is confirmed." The learned gentleman admits that originally the columns stood upon the plinth or stylobate and were not imbedded in its clayey core. Therefore it must be admitted that the clay did not protect any portion of the polished shafts at the time of the fire, which must have split these columns into fragments. Therefore it is legitimate to conclude that they could not have been inserted into the circular clayey shafts now filled by the superimposed belt of ashes. It may also be observed that Dr. Spooner has not yet succeeded in recovering any of these columns below the ground level (the original ground level which according to him is the line of "blue clay"), and has offered various explanations for their non-recovery. It seems clear, therefore, even to the unini-

* Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., 1915, p. 64.
† An. Rep. Arch, Surv, Ind, 1913-14, p. 50.
‡ *Ibid.*

* An. Rep. of Arch. Surv. E. C. 1914-15. p. 46.

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tiated that the circular horizontal shafts can have no possible connection with the position of the columns of the hall, if there had been, as the learned Doctor admits, a high stylobate filled with kutcha bricks and the columns stood above it. Hence the position of the columns in the supposed hall cannot be determined from those shafts. It would not at all be safe to determine the position of the columns from the position of the neatly stacked piles of polished fragments which, Dr. Spooner says, are found above each of these shafts. When a pillar of stone is split by fire or the action of intense heat, the fragments do not fall in neat piles. They would be scattered far and wide and would be thrown with great force. I would invite the learned scholar to test the truth of this statement by a practical demonstration. "It is not easy to believe," he says, "that vandals would have had the courtesy, not only to dig and refill these cavities with the nicety now observable, but further to collect the fallen fragments of their ravished pillars and stack them in such neat piles, precisely above their pits, as to admit of our tracing the building from a measurement of these accumulations."* Whoever they might have been, whether vandals or not, it is certain that somebody kept the fragments arranged in piles above these ash-pits. None would dare admit that the action of fire led these fragments to pile themselves so neatly for the benefit of a twentieth-century excavator. We owe the solution of the problems of these stacks and the ash-pits to the ingenuity of the learned excavator of Pataliputra. It is certain that the excavations of Pataliputra have not revealed either the plan or the indication of a "pillared hall" and I believe that the charm and the glamour of Asoka's name and his ancient capital added to personal enthusiasm carried to excess have affected the judgment of the unemotional archaeologist. The excavations at Pataliputra have failed. They have failed to produce any important result like those of Sarnath or of Taxila. It has failed like other excavations carried on by the Archaeological Department in Bihar, whether at Rajgir, at Bosarh or at Patna.

NIMROD.

* An. Rep. A. S. R., E. C., 1913-14, p. 48.

THE WOODSMAN'S BATTLE-AXE

A MARATHA MOTHER'S BALLAD

VERSIFIED BY FLORENCE AND AGNES BARKER.

Victorious stand the foemen bold
On conflict's bloody field;
Deserting the Maratha cause,
Must their own Peshwa yield.
While fast the news spreads o'er the land,
And all bemoan the gallant band.

Hear on the wooded Diva Ghauts
The aged mother's cry:
"Would that my long-dead lord were here!
This were the time to die,
And with the heroes fall and bleed
To help his country in her need."

Restless and sad, with tottering step
She seeks the forest glade,
Where plies her son the woodman's axe,
In manhood's strength array'd.
"Come forth, nor stay to fell yon tree;
Thy country's cause hath need of thee.

"Thick as the trees in Diva's wood
The foes around thee stand.
Arise! for now their traitor heads
Must fall beneath thy hand.
And long the minstrels' songs shall tell
Of the hero who served his country well!"

Forthwith towards the battle-field
The woodman's thoughts were turn'd,
And, kindled by his mother's words,
A fire within him burn'd;
"With this axe for thy sword and spear
No foeman's *hatyar* needs I fear."

Once more victorious on the field
The gallant foemen stand;
And Ashta's plain is strewn with dead,
The flower of all the land.
While sorrowing *Gondhalis* tell the tale
Of sad Maratha mothers' wail.

See o'er the dismal battle-field
The aged mother bends,
Scanning each face, to which the night
A gruesome terror lends.
Behold! at length she finds him lain
Amongst the foes his axe has slain.

For one brief space a mother's grief
Has overwhelmed her heart;
Then "God be praised" she cries, "My son
Has nobly played his part!
His country needs no braver men
To bring her to her own again!

"Go, woodsman-warrior, valiant son,
And live among the blest;
This bloodstain'd axe thou wieldst so well
Shall in *Devara* rest;
That evermore its blade may tell
Of the hero who served his country well!"

(*N. B.* According to the *Gondhali* song, the descendants of the hero's mother were reduced to such straits in time of famine in the Maratha country that they were obliged to sell the axe by auction; the valuable heirloom realized only one and a half annas!)

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MASHI

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI OF SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

BY W. W. PEARSON.

"MASHI!" *

"Try to sleep, Jotin, it is getting late."

"Never mind if it is. I have not many days left. I was suggesting that Mani should go to her father's house.—I forget where he is now."

"Sitarampur."

"Oh, yes! Sitarampur. Send her there. She should not remain any longer near a sick man. She herself is not strong."

"Just listen to him! How can she bear to leave you in this condition?"

"Does she know what the doctors—?"

"But she can see for herself! The other day she cried her eyes out at the merest hint of having to go to her father's house."

It is necessary to explain here that in this statement there was a slight distortion of truth, to say the least of it. The actual conversation that took place with Mani was as follows.

"I suppose, my child, you have got some news from your father? For I thought I saw your cousin Anath here."

"Yes! Next Friday will be my little sister's *annaprashan* † ceremony. So I'm thinking—"

"All right, my dear. Send her a gold necklace. It will please your mother."

"I'm thinking of going myself. I've never seen my little sister and I want to ever so much."

"Whatever do you mean? You surely don't think of leaving Jotin alone? Haven't you heard what the doctor says about him?"

"But he said that just now there's no special cause for—"

"Even if he did, you can see his condition."

"This is the first girl after three brothers, and she's a great pet.—I have heard that it's going to be a grand affair. If I don't go, mother will be very—"

"Yes, yes! I don't understand your mother. But I know very well that your father will be angry enough if you leave Jotin just now."

"You'll have to write a line to him saying that there is no special cause for anxiety, and that even if I go, there will be no—"

"You're right there; it will certainly be no great loss if you do go. But mind, if I write to your father, I'll tell him plainly what is in my mind."

"Then you needn't write. I shall ask my husband and he will surely—"

"Look here, child, I've borne a good deal from you, but if you do that, I won't stand it for a moment. Your father knows you well enough, so you won't be able to deceive him."

When Mashi had left her, Mani lay down on her bed in a pet.

Her neighbour and friend came and asked what was the matter.

"Look here! What a shame it is! Here's my only sister's annaprashan coming and they don't want to let me go to it!"

"Why! Surely you're never thinking of going, are you, with your husband so ill?"

"I don't do anything for him, and I couldn't if I tried. It's so deadly dull in this house, that I tell you frankly, I simply can't bear it."

"You are an extraordinary woman!"

"But I can't pretend (as you people do) and look glum lest anyone should think ill of me."

"Well, tell me your plan."

"I must go. Nobody can prevent me."

"Isss! What an imperious young woman you are!"

2

Hearing that Mani had wept at the mere suggestion of going to her father's

* The maternal aunt is addressed as Mashi.

† The Annaprashan ceremony takes place when a child is first given rice. Usually it receives its name on that day.

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house, Jotin was so excited that he sat up in bed. Pulling his pillow towards him he leaned back and said, "Mashi open this window a little and take that lamp away."

The still night, like a pilgrim of eternity, stood silently at the window; while the stars, witness through untold ages of countless death scenes, gazed in.

Jotin saw his Mani's face traced on the background of the dark night, and saw those two big dark eyes brimming over with tears, as it were for all eternity.

Mashi felt relieved when she saw him so quiet, thinking he was asleep.

Suddenly he started up and said, "Mashi, you all thought that Mani was too frivolous ever to be happy in our house. But you see now——"

"Yes, I see now, my Baba,* I was mistaken——but trial tests a person."

"Mashi!"

"Do try to sleep, dear!"

"Let me think a little, let me talk. Don't be vexed, Mashi!"

"Very well."

"Once, when I used to think I could not win Mani's heart, I bore it silently. But you——"

"No dear, I won't allow you to say that; I also bore it."

"Our minds, you know, are not clods of earth which you can possess by merely picking up. I felt that Mani did not know her own mind and that one day at some great shock——"

"Yes! Jotin, you are right."

"Therefore I never took much notice of her waywardness."

Mashi remained silent, suppressing a sigh. Not once, but often she had noticed Jotin spending the night on the verandah wet with the splashing rain, yet not caring to go into his bedroom. Many a day he lay with a throbbing head, longing, she knew, that Mani would come and soothe his brow, while Mani was getting ready to go to the theatre. Yet when Mashi went to fan him, he sent her away petulantly. She alone knew what pain lay hidden in that vexation. Again and again she had wanted to say to Jotin, "Don't pay so much attention to that silly child, my dear, let her learn to want,——to cry for things." But these things cannot be said and are apt to be misunderstood. Jotin had in his heart a shrine set up to the goddess Woman and there Mani had her throne. It was hard for him to imagine that his own fate was to be denied his share of the wine of love poured out by that divinity. Therefore the worship went on, the sacrifice was offered and the expectation of a boon never ceased.

Mashi imagined once more that Jotin was sleeping, when he suddenly cried out,

"I know you thought that I was not happy with Mani and therefore you were angry with her. But, Mashi, happiness is like those stars. They don't cover all the darkness, there are gaps between. We make mistakes in life and we misunderstand, and yet there remain gaps through which truth shines. I do not know whence comes this gladness that fills my heart to-night."

Mashi began gently to soothe Jotin's brow, her tears unseen in the dark.

"I was thinking, Mashi, she's so young! how will she occupy herself when I am—?"

"Young, Jotin? She's old enough. I too was young when I lost the idol of my life, only to find him in my heart for ever. Was that any loss do you think? Besides, is happiness so absolutely necessary?"

"Mashi, it seems, as if just when Mani's heart shows signs of awakening, I have to—"

"Don't you worry about that, Jotin. Isn't it enough if her heart awakes?"

Suddenly Jotin recollected the words of a village minstrel's song which he had heard long before

"Oh my heart! you woke not when the man of my heart came to my door.

At the sound of his departing steps you woke up.

Oh you woke up in the dark!"

"Mashi, what is the time now?"

"About nine."

"So early as that! Why, I thought it must be at least two or three o'clock. My midnight, you know, commences from sundown. But why were you so anxious for me to sleep, then?"

"Why, you know, how late last night you kept awake talking; so to-day you must get to sleep early."

"Is Mani asleep?"

* Baba literally means Father, but is often used by elders as a term of endearment. In the same way "Ma" is used.

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"Oh, no, she's busy making some soup for you."

"You don't mean to say so, Mashi? Does she——?"

"Certainly! Why, she prepares all your diet, the busy little woman."

"I thought perhaps Mani could not——"

"It doesn't take long for a woman to learn such things. When the need arises it comes of itself."

"The fish soup, that I had in the morning, had such a delicate flavour, I thought it was your preparation."

"Dear me, no! Surely you don't think Mani would let me do anything for you? You know she does all your washing herself. She knows you can't bear anything dirty about you. If only you could see your sitting-room, how spick and span she keeps it! If I were to let her haunt your sick-room, she would wear herself out. But that's what she really wants to do."

"Is Mani's health, then——?"

"The Doctors think she should not be allowed to visit the sick-room too often. She's too tender-hearted."

"But Mashi, how do you prevent her from coming?"

"Because she obeys me so implicitly. But still I have constantly to be giving her news of you."

The stars glistened in the sky like tear-drops. Jotin bowed his head in gratitude to his life that was about to depart, and when Death extended his right hand towards him through the darkness, he took it in perfect trust.

Jotin sighed, and, with a slight gesture of impatience, said:

"Mashi! If Mani is still awake, then, could I—if only for a——?"

"Very well! I'll go and call her."

"I won't keep her long, only for five minutes. I have something particular to tell her."

Mashi sighing, went out to call Mani. Meanwhile Jotin's pulse began to beat fast. He knew too well that he had never been able to have an intimate talk with Mani. The two instruments were tuned differently and it was not easy to play them in unison. Again and again Jotin had felt pangs of jealousy on hearing Mani chattering and laughing merrily with her girl companions. Jotin blamed only himself—why couldn't he talk irrelevant trifles as they did? Not that he was unable to do so, for with his men friends he often had to chat on all sorts of trivialities. But the small talk that suits men is not suitable for women. You can hold a philosophical discourse in monologue, ignoring your inattentive audience altogether, but small talk requires the co-operation of at least two. The bagpipes can be played singly, but there must be a pair of cymbals. How often in the evenings had Jotin, when sitting on the open verandah with Mani, made some strained attempts at conversation, only to feel the thread snap. And the very silence of the evening felt ashamed. Jotin was certain that Mani longed to get away. He had even wished earnestly that a third person would come. For talking is easy with three, when it is hard for two.

He began to think what he should say when Mani came. But such manufactured talk would not satisfy him. Jotin felt afraid that this five minutes of to-night would be wasted. Yet, for him, there are but few moments left for intimate talk.

3.

"What's this child, you're not going anywhere, are you?"

"Of course, I'm going to Sitarampur."

"What do you mean? Who is going to take you?"

"Anath."

"Not to-day my child, some other day."

"But the compartment has already been reserved."

"What does that matter? That loss can easily be borne. Go to-morrow, early morning."

"Mashi, I don't hold by your inauspicious days. What harm if I do go to-day?"

"Jotin wants to have a talk with you."

"All right! there's still some time. I'll just go and see him."

"But you mustn't say that you are going."

"Very well, I won't tell him, but I shan't be able to stay long. To-morrow is my sister's annaprashan and I simply must go to-day."

"Oh my child! I beg you to listen to me this once. Quiet your mind for a while and sit by him. Don't let him see your hurry."

"What can I do? The train won't wait

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for me. Anath will be back in ten minutes. I can sit by him till then."

"No, that won't do. I shall never let you go to him in that frame of mind. Oh you wretch! the man you are torturing is soon to leave this world; but I warn you, you shall have to remember this day till the end of your days! That there is a God! there is a God! you will some day understand!"

"Mashi! You mustn't curse me like that."

"Oh, my darling boy! My darling! Why do you go on living longer? There is no end to this sin, yet I cannot check it!"

Mashi after delaying a little returned to the sick-room, hoping by that time Jotin would be asleep. But Jotin moved in his bed when she entered. Mashi exclaimed:

"Just look what she has done!"

"What's happened? Hasn't Mani come? Why have you been so long, Mashi?"

"I found her weeping bitterly because she had allowed the milk for your soup to get burnt! I tried to console her, saying, 'Why there's more milk to be had!' But that she could be so careless about the preparation of *your* soup made her wild. With great trouble I managed to pacify her and put her to bed. So I haven't brought her to-day. Let her sleep it off."

Though Jotin was pained when Mani didn't come, yet he felt a certain amount of relief. He had half eared that Mani's bodily presence would do violence to his heart's image of her. Such things had happened before in his life. And the gladness of the idea that Mani was miserable at burning *his* milk filled his heart to overflowing.

"Mashi!"

"What is it, Baba?"

"I feel quite certain that my days are drawing to a close. But I have no regrets. Don't grieve for me."

"No dear, I won't grieve. I don't believe that only life is good and not death."

"Mashi! I tell you truly that death seems sweet."

Jotin, gazing at the dark sky, felt that it was Mani herself who was coming to him in Death's guise. She has immortal youth and the stars are flowers of blessing showered upon her dark tresses by the hand of the World-Mother. It seemed as if once more he had his first sight of his bride under the veil of darkness.* The immense night became filled with the loving gaze of Mani's dark eyes. Mani, the bride of this house, the wee little girl, became transformed into a world-image,—her throne on the altar of the stars at the confluence of life and death. Jotin said to himself with clasped hands, "At last the veil is raised, the covering is rent in this deep darkness. Ah! beautiful one, how often have you wrung my heart, but no longer shall you forsake me!"

4.

"I'm suffering Mashi, but nothing like you imagine. It seems to me as if my pain were gradually separating itself from my life. Like a laden boat it was so long being towed behind, but the rope has snapped and now it floats away with all my burdens. Still I can see it, but it is no longer mine, ...But, Mashi, I've not seen Mani even once for the last two days!"

"Jotin, let me give you another pillow."

"It almost seems to me, Mashi, that Mani also has left me like that laden boat of sorrow which drifts away."

"Just sip some pomegranate juice, dear! Your throat must be getting dry."

"I wrote my will yesterday; did I show it to you? I can't recollect."

"There's no need to show it me, Jotin."

"When mother died, I had nothing of my own. You fed me and brought me up. Therefore I was saying———."

"Nonsense child! I had only this house and a little property. You earned the rest."

"But this house———?"

"That's nothing. Why you've added to it so much that it's difficult to find out where my house was!"

"I'm sure Mani's love for you is really—"

"Yes, yes! I know that Jotin. Now you try to sleep."

"Though I have bequeathed all my property to Mani, it is practically yours, Mashi. She will never disobey you."

"Why are you worrying so much about that, dear?"

"All I have, I owe to you. When you see my will, don't think for a moment that—"

"What do you mean Jotin? Do you think I shall mind for a moment because

* The bride and the bridegroom see each other's face for the first time at the marriage ceremony under a veil thrown over their heads.

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you give to Mani what belongs to you? Surely I'm not so mean as that?"

"But you also will have———."

"Look here Jotin, I shall get angry with you. You want to console me with money!"

"Oh Mashi! How I wish I could give you something better than money!"

"That you have done, Jotin!—more than enough. Haven't I had you to fill my lonely house? I must have acquired that great good fortune in many previous births! You have given me so much that now, if my destiny's due is exhausted, I shall not complain. Yes, yes! Give away everything in Mani's name—your house, your money, your carriage and your land—such burdens are too heavy for me!"

"Of course I know you have lost your taste for the enjoyments of life, but Mani is so young, that—"

"No! you mustn't say that. If you want to leave her your property, it is all right, but as for enjoyment—"

"What harm if she does enjoy herself, Mashi?"

"No, no, it will be impossible. Her throat will become parched and it will be dust and ashes to her."

Jotin remained silent. He could not decide whether it was true or not, and whether it was a matter of regret or otherwise, that the world would become distasteful to Mani for want of him. The stars seemed to whisper in his heart:

"Indeed it is true. We have been watching for thousands of years and know that all these great preparations for enjoyment are but vanity."

Jotin sighed and said: "We cannot leave behind us what is really worth giving."

"It's no trifle you are giving, dearest. I only pray she may have the power to know the value of what is given her."

"Give me a little more of that pomegranate juice. Mashi, I'm thirsty. Did Mani come to me yesterday, I wonder?"

"Yes she came, but you were asleep. She sat by your head, fanning you for a long time, and then went away to get your clothes washed."

"How wonderful! I believe I was dreaming that very moment that Mani was trying to enter my room. The door was slightly open and she was pushing against it, but it wouldn't open. But Mashi, you're going too far—you ought to let her see that I am dying, otherwise my death will be a terrible shock to her."

"Baba! Let me put this shawl over your feet, they are getting cold."

"No, Mashi! I can't bear anything over me like that."

"Do you know, Jotin, Mani made this shawl for you. When she ought to have been asleep, she was busy at it. It was finished only yesterday."

Jotin took the shawl and touched it tenderly with his hands. It seemed to him that the softness of the wool was Mani's own. Her loving thoughts have been woven night after night with its threads. It is not made merely of wool, but also of her touch. Therefore, when Mashi drew that shawl over his feet, it seemed as if, night after night, Mani had been caressing his tired limbs.

"But Mashi! I thought Mani did'nt know how to knit,—at any rate she never liked it."

"It doesn't take long to learn a thing. Of course I had to teach her. Then it contains a good many mistakes."

"Let there be mistakes; we're not going to send it to the Paris Exhibition. It will keep my feet warm in spite of its mistakes."

Jotin's mind began to picture Mani at her task, blundering and struggling and yet patiently going on night after night. How sweetly pathetic it was! And again he went over the shawl with his caressing fingers.

"Mashi! Is the doctor downstairs?"

"Yes, he will stay here to-night."

"But tell him it's useless for him to give me a sleeping draught. It doesn't give me real rest and only adds to my pain. Let me remain properly awake. Do you know, Mashi, that my wedding took place on the night of the full moon in the month of Baisakh? To-morrow will be that day, and the stars of that very night will be shining in the sky. Mani perhaps has forgotten. I want to remind her of it to-day; just call her to me for a minute or two....Why do you keep silent? I suppose the doctor has told you I am so weak that any excitement will——but I tell you truly, Mashi, to-night if I can have only a few minutes' talk with her there will be no need for any sleeping draughts. Mashi, don't cry like that! I am quite well, to-day my heart is full as it has never been in my life before. That's why I want to see Mani. No, no,

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Mashi! I can't bear to see you crying! You have been so quiet all these last days, why are you so troubled to-night?"

"Oh Jotin, I thought that I had exhausted all my tears, but I find there are plenty left. I can't bear it any longer."

"Call Mani. I'll remind her of our wedding night so that to-morrow she may——"

"I'm going, dear. Shombhu will wait at the door. If you want anything, call him."

Mashi went to Mani's bedroom and sat down on the floor crying,—"Oh come, come once, you heartless wretch! Keep his last request who has given you his all! Don't kill him who is already dying!"

Jotin hearing the sound of footsteps started up, saying, "Mani!"

"I am Shombhu. Did you call me?"

"Ask your mistress to come?"

"Ask whom?"

"Your mistress."

"She has not yet returned."

"Returned? From where?"

"From Sitarampur."

"When did she go?"

"Three days ago."

For a moment Jotin felt numb all over and his head began to swim. He slipped down from the pillows, on which he was reclining, and kicked off the woollen shawl that was over his feet.

When Mashi came back after a long time, Jotin didn't mention Mani's name and Mashi thought he had forgotten all about her.

Suddenly Jotin cried out, "Mashi, did I tell you about the dream I had the other night?"

"Which dream?

"That in which Mani was pushing the door and the door wouldn't open more than an inch. She stood outside unable to enter. Now I know that Mani has to stand outside my door till the last."

Mashi kept silent. She realised that the heaven she had been building for Jotin out of falsehood had toppled down at last. When sorrow comes, it is best to acknowledge it.——When God strikes, it is no use trying to dodge the blow.

"Mashi! The love I have got from you will last through all my births. I have filled this life with it to carry it with me. In the next birth, I am sure you will be born as my daughter, and I shall tend you with all my love."

"What are you saying, Jotin? Do you mean to say I shall be born again as a woman? Why can't you pray that I should come to your arms as a son?"

"No, no, not a son! You will come to my house in that wonderful beauty which you had when you were young. I can even imagine how I shall dress you."

"Don't talk so much, Jotin, but try to sleep."

"I shall name you 'Lakshmi.'"

"But that is an old-fashioned name, Jotin!"

"Yes, but you are my old-fashioned Mashi. Come to my house again with those beautiful old-fashioned manners."

"I can't wish that I should come and burden your home with the misfortune of a girl-child!"

"Mashi, you think me weak and are wanting to save me all trouble."

"My child, I am a woman, so I have my weakness. Therefore I have tried all my life to save you from all sorts of trouble,—only to fail."

"Mashi! I have not had time in this life to apply the lessons I have learnt. But they will keep for my next birth. I shall show then what a man is able to do. I have learnt how false it is to be always looking after oneself."

"Whatever you may say, darling, you have never grasped anything for yourself but given everything to others."

"Mashi, I can brag of one thing at any rate. I have never been a tyrant in my happiness, or tried to enforce my claims by violence. Because lies could not content me, I have had to wait long. Perhaps truth will be kind to me at last.——Who is that Mashi, who is that?"

"Where? There's no one there, Jotin!"

"Mashi, just go and see in the other room. I thought I——"

"No, dear! I don't see anybody."

"But it seemed quite clear to me that——"

"No, Jotin it's nothing. So keep quiet. The doctor is coming now."

"Look here, you mustn't stay near the patient so much, you excite him. You go to bed and my assistant will remain with him."

"No, Mashi, I can't let you go."

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"All right, Baba! I will sit quietly in that corner."

"No, no! you must sit by my side. I can't let go your hand, not till the very end. I have been made by your hand and only from your hand shall God take me."

"All right, you can remain there. But Jotin Babu, you must not talk to her. It's time for you to take that medicine."

"Time for my medicine? Humbug! The time for that is over. To give medicine now is merely to deceive; besides I am not afraid to die. Mashi! Death is busy with his physic, why do you add another nuisance in the shape of a doctor? Send him away, send him away! It is you alone I need now! No one else, none whatever! No more falsehood!"

"I protest, as a doctor, this excitement is doing you harm."

"Then go, doctor, don't excite me any more!—Mashi, has he gone?...That's good! Now come and take my head in your lap."

"All right dear! Now Baba, try to sleep!"

"No, Mashi! Don't ask me to sleep. If I sleep, I shall never awake. I still need to keep awake a little longer. Do'nt you hear a sound? Somebody is coming."

5.

"Jotin, dear, just open your eyes a little. She has come. Look once and see!"

"Who has come? A dream?"

"Not a dream, darling, Mani has come with her father."

"Who are you?"

"Can't you see? This is your Mani!"

"Mani? Has that door opened?"

"Yes, Baba, it is wide open."

"No, Mashi! Not that shawl! Not *that* shawl! That shawl is a fraud!"

"It is not a shawl, Jotin! It is our Mani, who has flung herself on your feet. Put your hand on her head and bless her. Don't cry like that, Mani! There will be time enough for that. Keep quiet now for a little."

SATNAMIS AND SIKHS : 17th CENTURY

SUCH open attacks on Hinduism by all the forces of Government as marked the reign of Aurangzib naturally produced great discontent among the persecuted sect. Some frantic attempts were made on the Emperor's life, but they were childish and ended in failure. The wandering Hindu saint Uddhav Bairagi was imprisoned in the police station "as a punishment for his seduction of men to falsehood." In June 1669, two of his Rajput disciples stabbed to death Qazi Abul Mukaram, by way of revenge. Aurangzib put to death not only the two murderers but also their innocent spiritual guide.—(*M. A.* 84.)

Early in 1669 a most formidable popular rising took place in the Mathura district. The Indian peasant, especially in Agra, Mathura and Oudh, was a bad tax-payer in Muslim times, and the collection of revenue often required the use of force. Akbar's wise regulations for giving fixity to the State demand and protecting the ryots from illegal exactions had disappeared with him. Under his successors, no doubt, a revenue collector was removed from his post when his oppression became intolerable and the public outcry against him repeatedly reached the Emperor's ears. But such cases were exceptional. In the Mathura district in particular, nothing was done by Government to win the love and willing obedience of the peasantry, but rather a policy was followed which left behind it a legacy of undying hatred.

For instance, we read how a local faujdar named Murshid Quli Khan Turkman (who died 1638) took advantage of his campaigns against refractory tenants to gratify his lust. When the villagers were defeated he seized all their most beautiful women and placed them in his harem. Another practice of this licentious officer is thus described in the *Masir-ul-umara* (*iii, 422*).

On the birthday of Krishna, a vast

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gathering of Hindu men and women takes place at Govardhan on the Jamuna opposite Mathura. The Khan, painting his forehead and wearing a *dhoti* like a Hindu, used to walk up and down in the crowd. Whenever he saw a woman whose beauty filled even the Moon with envy, he snatched her away like a wolf pouncing upon a flock, and placing her in the boat which his men had kept ready on the bank, he sped to Agra. The Hindu [for shame] never divulged what had happened to his daughter."

Abdun Nabi Khan who was faujdar of Mathura from August 1660 to May 1669, was free from such vices. But he gave the people equally strong provocation in another way. He had started life as an officer of Sadullah Khan, the famous *wazir*. His able and honest management of his master's private estates greatly improved their income and prosperity. It attracted Shah Jahan's attention. One day he smilingly asked his *wazir*, "How is it that you have a Philosopher's stone but do not show it to me ?" Sadullah understood his meaning and replied, "Yes, your Majesty, Abdun Nabi is a man in outward form, but he has the property of creating gold." Passing on to the imperial service, Abdun Nabi occupied trusted though subordinate positions and rose to the rank of a commander of Two Thousand before his death. He amassed property worth more than 30 lakhs of Rupees, besides building a grand mosque at his own expense.

Aurangzib chose him as faujdar of Mathura probably because he, being "a religious man" (as the Court history calls him), was expected to enter heartily into the Emperor's policy of "rooting out idolatry." Soon after joining this post Abdun Nabi built a Jama Masjid in the heart of the city of Mathura (1661-1662) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. Later, in 1666, he forcibly removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh to Kesav Rai's temple. When in 1669 the Jat peasantry rose under the leadership of Gokla, the zamindar of Tilpat, Abdun Nabi * marched out to attack them in the village of Bashara, but was shot dead during the encounter (about 10th May).

* Abdun Nabi, *Ruqat* No. 34 ('Philosopher's stone), *A. N.* 573, 966, *M. A.* 75, 83 (death). *N. W. Gaz.* viii. Pt. 1. 93, *Akhbarat*, 9/7. There is a village named after Abdun Nabi on the left bank of the Jamuna, opposite Mathura and south of Gokul.

Gokla, flushed with victory, looted the parganah of Sadabad, and the disorder spread to the Agra district.

At this Aurangzib sent a strong force under Radandaz Khan to quell the rebellion, while high officers like Saf Shikan Khan and Hassan Ali Khan were successively appointed faujdars of Mathura. Throughout the year 1669 lawlessness reigned in the district. An attempt in September to make terms with Gokla by granting him a pardon on condition of the restitution of all his booty, failed. By the end of November the situation had become so serious that the Emperor had to march from Delhi to the affected area. On the 4th December Hassan Ali Khan attacked the rebel villagers of Rewarah, Chandar-kalan, and Sarkhud. They fought till noon, when being unable to resist any longer, many of them slaughtered their women and rushed upon the swords of the Mughals, fighting with the recklessness of despair. The loss of the imperialists was heavy, while the rebels had 300 killed and 250 (both men and women) taken captive. During the campaign the Emperor very humanely detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them or taking any child prisoner.*

Next month Hassan Ali Khan with his lieutenant Shaikh Razi-uddin of Bhagalpur (who was a rare combination of soldier, theologian, traveller and business man in one) defeated Gokla. The rebels, who mustered 20,000 strong, mostly Jats and other stalwart peasants, encountered the imperial forces at a place 20 miles from Tilpat, and charged most gallantly. But after a very long and bloody contest they gave way before the superior discipline and artillery of the Mughals, and fled to Tilpat, which was besieged for three days and at last stormed at the point of the sword. The havoc was terrible. On the victors' side 4,000 men fell and on the rebels' 5000, while 7000 persons, including Gokla and his family, were taken prisoner. The Jat leader's limbs were hacked off one by one on the platform of the police office of Agra, his family was forcibly converted to Islam, and his followers were kept in prison in charge of the provost of the Imperial camp.

* Peasant risings in Mathura and Agra districts: *M. A.* 83, 92-94, 110; Ishwardas, 53 (fall of Gokla). *Akhbarat*, $\frac{12}{5}$, $\frac{13}{15}$, $\frac{13}{7}$, $\frac{14}{3}$.

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innocent strangers who had been arrested along with the rebels, were ordered to be set free after proper inquiries, while the old men and children were handed over to an eunuch of the Court.

But the trouble did not die out with the loss of one leader. We read that even as late as March of that year (1670), Hassan Ali Khan was "engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, extirpating their families, and dismantling their strong [mud] forts." These measures had the desired effect, and in a short time peace was restored to the district.

But the peace did not last more than ten years. In June 1681, the faujdar of the environs of Agra had to lead an expedition against some villagers and was mortally wounded by them. This was a purely agrarian revolt, and was probably soon ended. In 1688, when the Emperor was engaged with his many enemies in the Deccan, the second great Jat rising began, under the leadership of Rajah Ram, and though Rajah Ram was soon slain, his brother Churaman Jat with his headquarters at Sansani, carried on an intermittent war till the end of Aurangzib's life, and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decadent successors.

The revolt of the Satnami faqirs in May 1672 has gained a place in the history of Aurangzib out of all proportion to its size or political importance. Unlike other popular disturbances of the reign it appealed to the vulgar craze for the supernatural and sent a short thrill of fear to the capital itself. Hence, men greatly marvelled at it and it became the talk of the age.*

The Satnamis are a Hindu sect so called from their devotion to the *name* of the *true* God (Satya *nam*). The people nicknamed them *Mundiyas* or Shavelings from their practice of shaving off all the hair,—even the eye-brows, from their heads. The sect is scattered all over Upper India, and has monasteries in many places, but its stronghold in that century was the district of Narnol, 75 miles south-west of Delhi. The religious mysteries practised by these sectaries were abominable, and a contemporary Hindu historian, Ishwardas Nagar, thus describes the repulsion which they excited: "The Satnamis are extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it! In sin and immorality they see no blame." (61*b*.)

But evidently their esoteric doctrines and rites did not make them bad citizens or men. Khafi Khan (ii. 252) gives them a good character as an honest and manly brotherhood, saying, "Though they dress like faqirs, most of them follow agriculture or trade on a small capital. Following the path of their own faith they wish to live with a good name and never attempt to obtain money by any dishonest or unlawful means. If any one tries to oppress them, they cannot endure it. Most of them carry arms."

These people came into conflict with the forces of Government from a purely temporal cause. "One day a Satnami cultivator near Narnol had a hot dispute with a foot soldier (*piada*) who was watching a field, and the soldier broke his head with his thick stick. A party of Satnamis beat the assailant till he seemed dead. The *shiqqadar* (petty revenue collector), hearing of it, sent a body of *piadas* to arrest the men; but the Satnamis assembled in force, beat the *piadas*, wounded some of them, and snatched away their arms. Their number and tumult increased every hour."

The quarrel soon took on a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzib himself. An old prophetess appeared among them and declared that her spells could raise an invisible army at night, that the Satnamis fighting under her banner would be invulnerable to the enemy's weapons, and that if one of them fell eighty others would spring up in his place. The movement spread like wild fire and the Government was completely taken by surprise. The rising looked like a sudden "irruption of ants out of the ground or of locusts from the sky." Soon some five thousand Satnamis were up in arms. The local officers underrated the danger and sent out troops in small parties who were successively defeated. These initial victories only raised the confidence of

* Satnamis.—*M. A.* 115, *K. K.* ii. 252—254, Ishwardas' 61*b*; *Storia*, ii. 167—168. Akshay K. Datta's *Bharat-barshiya Upasaka Sampradaya*, i. 260—270, and Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, evidently describe another sect bearing the same name but founded about 1775.

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the rebels and confirmed the tale of their magical power. They plundered many villages in the district and when, at last, the faujdar of Narnol came out to meet them, they routed him with heavy loss and seized the town.

The danger now assumed threatening proportions. The victorious rebels plundered Narnol, demolished its mosques, and established their own administration in the district, holding it by means of outposts and collecting the revenue from the peasants. "The zamindars of the neighbourhood and some foolish Rajputs seized the opportunity to rebel and withhold the payment of revenue to the state. The disturbance daily grew worse." "The rebels marched to Bairat Singhana, looting the villages. The noise of their tumult reached Delhi, where grain became scanty and the citizens were greatly alarmed and distracted." Superstitious terror demoralised the imperial army. "Magical powers were ascribed to the Satnamies.... Great Rajahs and experienced generals with large armies were appointed against them, but refused to face them, though they had arrived within 32 or 34 miles of Delhi."

Aurangzib was now fully roused. On 15th March he sent a large force, 10,000 strong, under Radandaz Khan and many other high officers with artillery and a detachment from the Emperor's bodyguard against the rebels. To counteract the spells of the Satnamis, the Emperor, who had the reputation of a living saint (*Alamgir zinda pir*), wrote out prayers and magical figures with his own hand and ordered the papers to be sewed on to the banners of his army and displayed before the enemy. The encounter was terrible. "The rebels advanced to the attack. In spite of their poverty in materials of war, they enacted the scenes of the great war of the *Mahabharat*. The Muslim heroes reddened their pitiless swords in the blood of the wretches." After a most obstinate battle, two thousand of the Satnamis fell on the field, while many more were slain during the pursuit. "Very few of them escaped; and the tract of country was cleared of the infidels." In the imperial ranks 200 were killed, and Rajah Bishnu Singh Kachhwah, who had fought most gallantly, had his elephant wounded in seven places. The victors were richly rewarded. Radandaz Khan was given the title of Shujaet Khan, and all the officers, high and low alike, received promotion and robes of honour. The artillery planted outside Delhi to command the approaches to the city stood there for some time after as an eloquent memorial of the panic created by the Satnami advance at the capital.

Towards the close of the 15th century, when the first wave of Muslim immigration into India had worn itself out, leaving the country in political disruption, social disorder and moral decadence, there arose in the extreme east and the extreme west of India two Hindu reformers who called upon the people to prefer the essence to the form of religion, a living faith to a dead mechanical ritual, and the spirit to the letter of their scriptures. Both of them insisted on the unity of the Godhead underlying the multitude of the idols of popular worship. Both taught that God can be realised only by means of a love as ardent and exclusive as the conjugal passion. Both urged on their hearers to work out their salvation personally by strenuous holy living and not to imagine that it can be won through any other man's exertions or the mechanical repetition of any other man's words. Both invited earnest believers to their folds without distinction of caste or creed, and tried to form a brotherhood of the elect. Both attempts, after glorious success for three generations, ended in failure, and their only result has been to add two more names to the long list of the religious sects of the Hindus. The goal of Chaitanya* was lost when his church passed under the control of Brahman Goswamis who developed a very subtle and esoteric theology in which the brain has suppressed the heart, and his Vaishnava followers now form two sharply divided sections,—an emotional but morally undisciplined rabble at the base, and a keenly intellectual but cold and fastidious priesthood at the top, without any link between them. The aims of Nanak were abandoned when his successors in the leadership of the Sikhs set up a temporal dominion for themselves and made military drill take the place of moral self-reform and spiritual growth.

"The liberation which Baba Nanak realised in his heart was not political liberty, but spiritual freedom. Nanak had called upon his disciples to free themselves from selfishness, from narrow bigotry, from spiritual lethargy. Guru Gobind organised the Sikhs to such a special purpose. He called in the human energy

* For the teachings of Chaitanya, see my work *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*.

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of the Sikhs from all other sides and made it flow in one particular channel only; they ceased to be full, free men. He converted the spiritual unity of the Sikhs into a means of worldly success; he dwarfed the unity of a religious sect into an instrument of political advancement. Hence, the Sikhs who had been advancing for centuries to be true *men*, now suddenly stopped short and became mere *soldiers!* The end of Sikh history looks very sad. When a river, which had left the pure, snowy, cloud-kissing hill-tops to reach the ocean, disappears in a sandy plain, losing its motion, losing its song, a sorry sight is its failure. Even so, when the pure white stream of energy which issued from a *bhakta's* heart to cleanse and fertilise the earth ends in the red mire of a military cantonment, men can see no glory, no joy in it.....Today there is no spirit of progress among the Sikhs. They have crystallised into a small sect. Centuries have failed to produce new spiritual teacher from among them."*

Nanak, a Hindu of the small trader caste (Khatri), was born in 1469 at Talwandi, a place 35 miles S. W. of Lahor. In early youth he began to consort with holy men and wandering friars and have ecstatic visions, and then throwing up his post under Daulat Khan Lodi he took to a life of religious travel and preaching. The essence of his creed was belief in the one true living God, and the shaping of every man's conduct in such a way as to realise that God. In his moments of inspiration he held communion with his Maker and sang of Him in the very language of the Song of Songs. Like Kabir and other Indian saints before him, he preached against the hollowness of conventional beliefs and mechanical rites, and urged his hearers to go back to the very spring-head of a personal and living faith. It was only natural that such a teacher should denounce the Hindus and Muhammadans of the age as false to their creeds and that his insistence on the common truth of all religions should make all spiritual-minded men among both sects accept him as their master and guide, even as Kabir had been accepted. But the vulgar people and the selfish priests raised the cry that Nanak had condemned their Scriptures as ineffacious for salvation, that he was saying "There is no Hindu and there is no Musalman," and even that he had "become a Turk!"†

Indeed, there was much in Nanak's speech and conduct to lend colour to such a charge. His dress was as eclectic as his doctrines.

"The Guru set out towards the east, having arrayed himself in a strange motley of Hindu and Muhammadan religious habiliments.....He wore a necklace of bones, and imprinted a saffron mark on his forehead in the style of Hindus." (Mac. i. 58.)

His devotion to one God, "the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Pure, the Invisible," made him reject incarnations and idols as abominations, while his insistence on right conduct cut away the basis of ritualistic practices and set prayers. As he said, repeating the words of Kabir, "O brethren, the Veds and the Quran are false, and free not the mind from anxiety...God can be obtained by humility and prayer, self-restraint, searching of the heart, and fixed gaze on Him." (Mac. i. 177).

Nanak (who lived till 1538) drew round himself a band of earnest worshippers, and in time they solidified into a sect. But his original intention was to save all souls without distinction, and not to found a narrow brotherhood with its peculiar dress, marks, doctrines, form of worship and scripture. He acknowledged no *guru* save God and no worship except the practice of virtue. Even his hymns were mostly adapted from the sacred songs left behind by the monotheistic reformers of the past, and had nothing distinctive, nothing sectarian about them.

This liberality of mind, devotion to the essence of religion, and contempt for wealth and power continued to mark the Sikh gurus throughout the 16th century, from Nanak to Arjun the 5th guru. Their saintly lives won the reverence of the Mughal Emperors and they had no quarrel either with Islam or the State.

Before the reign of Aurangzib the Sikhs were never persecuted on *religious* grounds, and their collision with the Mughal Government, which began in Jahangir's time, was due entirely to *secular* causes, and the change in the character of the gurus was solely responsible for it.

Nanak had no guru save God, and his two immediate successors were chosen for superior character only. But after the

* Rabindranath Tagore, as translated by me in *Modern Review*, April, 1911, 334-338.

† Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. I.; Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, 583—594 (article by F. Pincott), *Dabistan-ul-mazahib* (Bombay lithographed text) 178-193 and Sujan Rai Khatri's *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh* as translated by me in *India of Aurangzib*, 88-91, are our original sources of information about the Sikh gurus. I shall in future refer to the first of these works as 'Mac.'

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3rd guru the headship of the Church became hereditary. The guru was credited with superhuman powers; he was invested with royal pomp, and man-worship began to infect the Sikhs. When boys of nine and even five years (like Govind Rai and Har Kishan respectively) were accepted as spiritual leaders, it was clear that the Guru had ceased to be regarded as a human teacher and was held to be born with supernatural powers like an incarnation of God, whose acts could not be judged by the standard of human reason.*

Under Arjun, the 5th Guru (1581—1606) the number of Sikh converts greatly increased and with them the guru's income. As a contemporary remarked, "The Emperor [Akbar] and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him." (Mac. iii. 28) "The royal state and retinue" of this guru were so great that even a Chancellor (*diwan*) of the empire considered the guru's son a desirable match for his daughter, but the guru scornfully declined the alliance. With the business instincts of a Khatri (petty trader), Guru Arjun organized a permanent source of income. A band of agents called *masands* were stationed in every city from Kabul to Dacca where there was a Sikh, to collect the tithes and offerings of the faithful; and this spiritual tribute, so far as it escaped peculation by the agents, reached the central treasury at Amritsar. The guru was treated as a temporal king and girt round by a body of courtiers and ministers called *masands*, which is the Hindi corruption of the title *masnad-i-ala* borne by nobles under the Pathan sultans of Delhi. Like the Muslim kings, too, the gurus took several wives. †

The effects of this conversion of a spiritual guide into an earthly ruler began to show themselves clearly after the death of Arjun. That guru was a lover of peace and humility, and devoted himself to consolidating the Church. He completed the two sacred tanks at Amritsar, built the first temple for enshrining the Holy Book (*Granth*) on the site of the present Golden Temple, drew up a scheme of daily religious services for the Sikhs, and gave the final shape to their Scriptures by compiling a volume of hymns selected from those composed by his four predecessors as well as those current among "the followers of the principal Indian saints, Hindu and Muhammadan, since the days of Jaider." (Mac. iii. 60.)

At the very end of his career, Arjun made the sole mistake of his life. Moved by compassion and entreaty, he in a weak moment blessed the banners of Khasrau, the rival of Jahangir for the Mughal throne, and even gave money help to that prince. On the defeat of the pretender, Jahangir fined the guru two lakhs of Rupees for his disloyalty to the king de *jure*. The Sikhs were willing to subscribe the amount; but the man of God forbade them, saying "Whatever money I have, is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger." (iii. 92.) He regarded the fine as an unjust imposition, refused to pay it, and stoically endured imprisonment and torture, which were the usual punishments of revenue defaulters in those days. Worn out by being forced to sit in the burning sand of Lahor, he died in June 1606. This was clearly not a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary punishment of a political offender.

With his son Har Govind (1606-1645), a new era began. He was a man of a less spiritual fibre than Arjun. "Unlike his father, Har Govind constantly trained himself in martial exercises and systematically turned his attention to the chase." Early in his pontificate, he began to enlist men and increase his bodyguard of 52 warriors till it became a small army. When the saintly old Sikh, Bhai Budha, remonstrated against this unspiritual passion, Har Govind replied, "I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and *worldly enjoyment* shall be combined." His retinue during his tours to places of pilgrimage was large enough to scare away holy men by suggesting that some Rajah had arrived! (Mac. iv. 4-5,53.)

Under the easy and good-natured Jahangir, Har Govind was fairly well treated by the imperial family, though he had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior fort to make him pay the balance of his father's fine. But the

* So, too, Babu Atal, the son of Hara Gobind, though only 8 years old, conveyed "a profound meaning in whatever he said even jestingly" (Mac. IV, 130) and was believed to be "a treasury of miraculous power." (131.)

† Har Rai, 7th guru, when a mere boy of nine was "wedded collectively" to all the daughters of a follower named Daya Ram. (Mac. iii. 225.)

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growing military strength and royal pomp of the guru and his worldly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the government of the country inevitable, and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession. When that emperor was hawking near Amritsar, the guru entered the same area in pursuit of game, and his Sikhs quarrelled with the servants of the imperial hunt about a bird. The two parties came to blows, and in the end the imperialists were beaten off with slaughter. An army was sent against the audacious rebel, but it was routed with heavy loss, at Sangrana, near Amritsar, 1628. (Mac. iv. 80-98.)

The victor's fame spread far and wide. "Many men came to enlist under the guru's banner. They said that no one else had power to contend with the Emperor."* Such an open defiance of imperial authority could not be tolerated near Lahor. Larger and larger armies were sent against the guru, and though he gained some successes at first, his house and property at Amritsar were, in the end, seized, and he was forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kashmir hills beyond the reach of Mughal arms.†

Here he died in 1645, after investing his younger grandson, Har Rai, a boy of fourteen, as his successor. An elder grandson, named Dhir Mal, set up as guru in the Panjab plains, in alliance with the imperial government, and kept possession of the original copy of the *Granth*, which had already attained to the veneration of a tutelary idol.

Har Rai's pontificate (1645-1661) was uneventful. But Dara Shukoh had paid him visits of respect in the course of his general devotion to *sadhus*, and the guru had blessed the Prince when a fugitive in the Punjab after the battle of Samugarh. Aurangzib summoned Har Rai to answer for his conduct. The guru sent his eldest son Ram Rai to Court, but that young man temporised and ingratiated himself with the Mughal, for which his father disinherited him. Har Rai died in 1661 after investing his second son, Har Kishan, as his successor. Ram Rai immediately proclaimed himself guru and claimed his father's heritage. Taking advantage of the disputed succession to the leadership of the Church, "the masands collected and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves." (Mac. iv. 314-317).

Aurangzib summoned Har Kishan to Delhi to decide the suit. But before it could be done, the boy guru died of small-pox (1664), and the same scene of disorder and rapacity again broke out among the Sikhs. "Twenty-two [men] of Bakala claimed the right to succeed him. These self-made gurus forcibly took the offerings of the Sikhs." (iv. 332). After a time Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind, succeeded in being recognised as guru by most of the Sikhs. With his personal followers he accompanied Rajah Ram Singh (the son of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh) to the Assam War (1668) and fought in the Mughal ranks ; but he came back to Upper India in a few years, and took up his residence at Anandpur.

From this place he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzib had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places desecrated.* He encouraged the resistance of the Hindus of Kashmir to forcible conversion and openly defied the Emperor. Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor.

Now at last open war broke out between the Sikhs and Islam. The murdered guru's followers were furious; one of them threw bricks at the Emperor (27th Oct. 1676) when he was alighting from his boat on his return from the Jama Masjid. (*M.A.* 154). But such attempts at retaliation were futile. Soon a leader appeared among the Sikhs who organised the sect into the most efficient and implacable enemy of the Mughal Empire and the Muslim faith. Govind Rai, the tenth and last guru (1676—1708) and the only son

* He had so completely sunk the character of a religious reformer in that of a conquering general, that he had no scruple in enlisting large bands of Afghan mercenaries. These afterwards deserted him, joined the imperial general, and attacked the guru.

† *Dabistan*, 188. The Sikh accounts disguise the guru's defeat, but they can offer no explanation of his flight to the hills if he had been, as they allege, always victorious over the imperialists.

* Khafi Khan (ii. 652) says, "Aurangzib ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the guru's agents (*masands*) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities." Life of Tegh Bahadur in Mac. iv. 331-387. The Persian histories are silent about him.

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of Tegh Bahadur, was a man of whom it had been prophesied before his birth that "he would convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks." He was not the person to leave his father's death unavenged. All his thoughts were directed to turning the Sikhs into soldiers, to the exclusion of every other aim.

We have by this time travelled very far indeed from Baba Nanak's ideal,* and we may here pause to consider what causes made the success of Guru Govind possible. The first was the gradual elevation of the guru to a superhuman position. Nanak, like every other Hindu religious preacher, had laid stress on the help which a true teacher (*guru*) can give in leading a man to the path of virtue; the guidance of one experienced in such things saves the disciple much difficulty, chance of error, and loss of time. "The object of the guruship is to save the world, to give instruction in the true Name, and to blend men with their Creator" (iv. 316). Such being the guru's function, he was to be implicitly obeyed. As Bhai Gurudas, who lived in the late 16th century, says in his exposition of the essence of the Sikh religion :

"The Sikh who receiveth the guru's instruction is really a Sikh. To become a disciple is, as it were, to become dead. A disciple must be like a purchased slave, fit to be yoked to any work which may serve his guru. Love none but the guru; all other love is false." (Mac. IV. 244-263.)

A natural consequence of such teaching was the blind unquestioning devotion of the Sikhs to their spiritual head. The author of *Dabistan*, who had frequent friendly intercourse with Har Govind, narrates a story (p. 193) how a certain guru praised a parrot and a Sikh immediately went to its owner and offered to barter his wife and daughter for the bird! In other words, he had no hesitation in dooming his wife and daughter to a life of infamy simply to gratify a passing fancy of his guru. The perversion of moral judgment and ignorance of the relative value of things illustrated by this anecdote and another† that I have omitted for the sake of decency, are extreme; but so too is the spirit of devotion among the followers of the gurus.

This implicit faith in a common superior knit the Sikhs together like the soldiers of a regiment. As Har Govind told his disciples, "Deem the Sikh who comes to you with the guru's name on his lips as your guru." (iv. 219.) The Sikhs were famous in the 17th century for their sense of brotherhood and love for each other.* This was quite natural, as the Sikhs felt themselves to be a chosen people, the Lord's elect. We again quote the language of Bhai Gurudas : "Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs. . . . Where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints; where there are five Sikhs, there is God!" (iv. 272 and 243). The unity due to sameness of religion was further cemented by the abolition of caste distinctions under orders of Govind. All restrictions about food and drink, so prevalent in Hindu society, had already been discarded, and to be a Sikh was to be "as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Musalman." (iv. 219).

Everything was, therefore, ready for converting the sect into a military body obedient to its chief to the death, and what is even more difficult, ever ready to surrender the individual conscience to that of the guru. If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Jesuits' unquestioning acceptance of their Superior's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the result would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine.

Govind steadily drilled his followers, gave them a distinctive dress and a new oath of baptism, and began a policy of open hostility to Islam. He harangued the Hindus to rise against Muslim persecution, and imposed a fine of Rs 125 on his followers for saluting any Muhammadan saint's tomb. His aims were frankly material. "Mother dear, I have been considering how I may *confer empire* on the Khalsa." And, again, "I shall make men of all four castes lions and destroy the Mughals." (Mac. v. 109 and 99.)

* As Har Rai once said, "The vessel which Baba Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world, had almost foundered." (Mac., V. 151.)

† *Dabistan*, 192. It shows that the Sikhs of the middle 17th century held the same views about women as the Anabaptists of Munster did. Macauliffe considers this author's testimony about the guru as "of the highest importance" (iv. 217.)

* Sujan Rai of Batala wrote in 1695, "The reliance which this sect has on its leader is seldom seen in other sects. If a wayfarer arrives at midnight and takes the name of Baba Nanak, he is treated as a brother." (*India of Aur.*, 91.) Mac. V. 90-92.

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Clearly Nanak's ideal of the kingdom of heaven to be won by holy living and holy dying, by humility and prayer, self-restraint and meditation,—had been entirely abandoned. Guru Govind lived in princely state, kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His bodyguards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs 16 each; and he had a big war drum made in imitation of the Mughal imperial band, while his troops insulted and robbed the subjects of his host, the Bilaspur hill-Rajah, like the liveried retainers of the barons of mediæval England. (v. 59,111,5.137.)

In the hills of north Panjab, Govind passed most of his life, constantly fighting with the hill-Rajahs from Jammu to Srinagar in Garhwal, who were disgusted with his follower's violence and scared by his own ambition,—or with the Mughal officers and independent local Muslim chiefs who raided the hills in quest of tribute and plunder. Large imperial forces were sent from Sarhind to co-operate with the quotas of the hill-Rajahs and suppress the guru; but they were usually worsted. He was once defeated and expelled from Anandpur, but recovered the town on the retreat of the imperialists. His army went on increasing, as recruits from the Panjab *doabs* flocked to him and received baptism. Even Muslims were enlisted. Anandpur was five times invested. In the last attack, after undergoing great hardship and loss, with his followers and family threatening to desert if he prolonged the resistance, the guru evacuated the fort, and then went to Kiratpur, Nirmoh and Rupar, closely pursued by the Mughals. At Chamkaur with only 40 Sikhs he stood a siege in a Jat cultivator's house; but two of his sons were slain and he fled. Next he passed through many adventures and hair breadth escapes, changing his place of shelter repeatedly like a hunted animal. His two remaining sons were arrested by the governor of Sarhind and put to death (1705). The Mughal officers plundered parties of Sikhs going to make offerings to their Guru. (Mac. V. 121-222.) Then Govind with his small but faithful guards undertook a journey to Southern India by way of Bikanir and Baghaur; but returned to Northern India on hearing of Aurangzib's death (1707). He is said to have assisted Bahadur Shah I. in securing the throne, and that Emperor made much of him at Agra and induced him to accompany him on the march to Rajputana and the Deccan. The guru reached Nander on the Godavari, 150 miles N. W. of Haidarabad in August 1707 at the head of some infantry and 2 to 3 hundred cavalry, and there after a stay of more than a year he was stabbed to death by an Afghan (1708.) With him the line of gurus ended. (v. 226-246).

The guru was gone, but not the Sikh people. In the hour of his final defeat at Chamkaur, Govind's parting instructions had been to make the Sikhs independent of a supreme guide and to turn them into a military democracy. "He seated near him the five Sikhs who alone remained of the army, and proceeded to entrust the guruship to them. He said, 'I shall ever be among five Sikhs. Wherever there are five Sikhs of mine assembled, they shall be priests of all priests.' "

Even in the darkest days of Guru Govind's life, bands of his followers, each acting under an independent leader, used to harass the Mughal officers and raid parts of the Panjab. Of one such band the fate is thus described in a letter of Aurangzib (written about 1701-1705): "I learn from the news-letter of Shah Alam's camp sent by Khwajah Mubarak that nearly 20,000 Hindus, who call themselves the Khalsa of Govind the follower of Nanak, had assembled and gone to the country of the Barakzai under the escort of the Yusufzai Afghans, and that the men of the escort and other Afghans of the neighbourhood of the Nilab river had fallen on them, so that the party had been killed or drowned. The Emperor orders that the Prince should imprison these misbelievers, and expel them from that district." *

Thus we see that the Mughal government under Aurangzib did succeed in breaking up the guru's power. It robbed the Sikhs of a common leader and a rallying centre. Thereafter the Sikhs continued to disturb public peace, but only in isolated bands. They were no longer an army fighting under one chief, with a definite political aim, but merely moving bodies of brigands,—extremely brave, enthusiastic, and hardy, but essentially plunderers uninspired by any ambition to build up an

* Inayatullah's, *Ahkam* 2a. Readers of Kipling will remember the story of "The Lost Legion" in this connection.

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organised government in the land. If Aurangzib had been followed by worthy successors, these Sikh bands would have been hunted down as surely as the Mirzas and Champat Bundela had been in the past, and Dhundhia Waug and Tantia Topi were to be under British rule.

If Ranjit Singh had not risen, there would have been no large and united State under Sikh dominion, but a number of petty principalities in the Panjab with a ruling aristocracy of Sikh soldiers; and these would have been silently absorbed in the expanding British empire. The Persian and not the Sikh gave the death-blow to the Mughal empire, and it was not from the heirs of Aurangzib but from the Afghan inheritors of Nadir Shah that the Sikhs conquered the Panjab.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

REPORT ON INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI

BY C. F. ANDREWS AND W. W. PEARSON.

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THE facts which have hitherto been stated, for the most part in general terms, may be illustrated and made more clear to the reader in India by the following specific cases. They are a few out of a very large number of instances which have come under our special notice.

1. A respectable woman, who told us that she had been on a pilgrimage to Benares and had become confused in the strange crowd and separated from her relations. A man had seen her crying and had promised to bring her to her own people. He had taken her instead to the Depot. When she had found out her true plight, she had been too frightened to resist. Asked why she had answered the Magistrate's questions, she said that she was too frightened to do anything else. Asked whether she was told that she was to go on board ship and settle across the sea, she said 'No'.

Very many circumstantial narratives of this kind were told us. It was noticeable to us how very large a proportion of the women, whom we questioned, were recruited at the pilgrim centres.

2. A well educated, delicate lad from a village near Delhi, who spoke English fluently. He had been promised clerk's work by the recruiting agent. He was told nothing about being obliged to live in the coolie 'lines.' When we met him he was very unhappy. He had saved a little money and wished to buy himself out, but was not allowed at the time to do so. His employer had been kind to him and put him on light work, but nothing could remove the depression he felt at being forced to live as a coolie in the coolie 'lines'.

3. A Kayastha, who was met at Allahabad by a man wearing a sacred thread. The man pretended to be a Brahman, and promised the Kayastha work as a Teacher in a school at Puri. He was taken instead to the Calcutta Depot. This man was now out of indenture, and he was doing all he could in Fiji to help those who were still in the coolie 'lines'. He gave us a great deal of help, and we found his information accurate on the whole. Though educated in his own vernacular and quite above the 'coolie' class in average intelligence, he was very deaf and at times appeared almost stupid. He was thus one who could have been easily deceived in the first instance. He told us, that he had actually found out his mistake, when in the Depot, but he had been too fearful to run away. From all we saw of him, we were convinced that his own narrative was substantially true.

4. A low caste Hindu, who was brought out under indenture for 'agicultural work' and was set to cut up meat in a butchery. When asked by us how he, a Hindu, could engage in such work, he replied that he could not help it, as he was ordered to do

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it. He seemed much ashamed of himself, and hung down his head while he answered our questions. His companions in the butchery were Musalmans.

5. A Kabir-Panthi, now out of indenture, who had been originally obliged to do the same kind of work. He told us that he had continually refused and had been imprisoned. We looked up his record on the estate and found he had been given 692 days' imprisonment while under indenture. When he came to see us, he had clearly lost his moral character, and his record in the Colony, since he had become a free Indian, was a bad one. He had even been charged with biting a man's nose in a sordid quarrel and had been found guilty. But, in spite of this, we found a simple and true side to his character. It was not altogether undermined. It is not unlikely that he became a moral wreck through being compelled to do a work which was against his instincts and his conscience.

[We found some Madrasis of low caste who actually preferred to do this kind of butcher's work. But it is quite clear that the Government of India never contemplated such an occupation as butchery under the head of 'agriculture' in the agreement. We therefore gave our own personal opinion to the Fiji authorities, that Hindus, however low in caste, should not be set to do the work of slaughtering animals.]

6. A Brahman boy, aged about 15, who came out in 1915. He had been deceived by the recruiting agent as to the nature of the work which he would be required to do. He was told when in India that he would have garden work given him in Fiji. His hands were quite unhardened, and he was very miserable, and seemed to be quite a child still in every way. He begged very pitiably to be allowed to go home to India.

[We found many cases of mere boys being indentured in India and brought out to Fiji. In one case a child came to us, who was under indenture. He declared that he was only twelve when he was recruited. He had been out nearly a year, and from his appearance we should regard it as doubtful, if he could have been more than fourteen when we saw him. It is surely open to question, whether a boy of such tender age can legally enter into a complicated agreement which binds him for five years and in most cases settles his whole future. When we looked at random into the books of the Immigration Department, we found the following recent cases,

51500. Akkaru——Ganges I——1913.——aged 15.
51954. Thalary Nagadu——Ganges I——1913.——aged 16.
56449. Kuda Baksh——Mutlah I——1915.——aged 17.
56296. Bacha——Mutlah I——1915.——aged 17.

It should be noted that some of these ages are probably given on the higher side. We found, for instance, a boy who could hardly be more than 15 entered in Fiji as aged 17. When we had the Calcutta register examined, we found that he was entered there as 20 years of age. The Fiji official told us that he had seen how impossible the age of 20 was for a mere boy, and had put down the age of 17 in the Fiji register as nearer the mark.

7. An intelligent coolie, labouring in the Mill, told us that he was obliged to work on twelve hour shifts, and on alternate weeks had to go on night work from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. without extra pay. There is no mention of night work in the agreement. We found out, still further, that a large amount of highly skilled labour was being performed by the indentured coolies at an absurdly low rate of pay. Among the coolies who had been thus engaged in looking after the machinery of the Mills were some who had been discarded because of some accident. In one Mill, three men came up to us who had each lost a limb and were crippled for life. Yet no compensation had been made to them for this life-long injury. We only heard of one case in the whole Colony, where such compensation had been given by an employer for serious injury to a coolie; and in that case the compensation was extracted by Government pressure. Thus the mill-owners so used their labour under the cover of the indenture system, that they obtained skilled work from the more intelligent of the coolies at a rate of a quarter the market value, and, when these coolies met with an accident in the performance of their duty, refused to pay any compensation whatever except under pressure.

8. A Madrasi; came out in 1913 on Sutlej IV aged 18. Laughed as he narrated to us how he had been deceived by the recruiting agent. Described to us his

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appearance before the Magistrate in India and how he hurried through the performance of question and answer. His parents did not know anything about where he had gone, till he wrote from Fiji; because he thought he was only going to get employment a short way from home and then to return.

[A very large number of coolies told us that their relations knew nothing of their whereabouts. Some told us they had never sent any letter home out of shame. Others told us that there was great difficulty in getting letters written and posted. Many again informed us that they had never heard from home though they had written again and again. This was not unlikely; because when we went into a central post office in the interior of the main island and mentioned a coolie's name (whose widow-mother had written to us on our arrival in Fiji asking for news of her son), we found that a letter from the mother, properly addressed, had been waiting for three months undelivered. The postal arrangements are very bad in the Colony outside Suva, the Capital. There must be an incalculable amount of misery amongst the relatives left behind in India, owing to the bad postal arrangements in Fiji and to the evils of fraudulent recruiting in India itself.]

9. A respectable married man who came out with his wife and two children finding the struggle for existence very hard in India and hoping to get on better in Fiji. But he found by experience that living was so expensive in the Colony, that it was even more difficult than in India to keep his family and himself supplied with proper food and clothing. When his wife was nursing her child (she was the only woman with children in the coolie 'lines') they were nearly starving. The average cost of food alone for one person in Fiji is not less than 3 rupees per week, and at that time he was earning 4 rupees 2 annas per week. This man was very anxious to return home to Fyzabad in the United Provinces, where he had been earning six annas a day. He told us that he could manage to keep his wife and children better there than in Fiji.

[Even in this war time, with higher prices for every commodity in Fiji, there has been no substantive advance made in coolies' wages. Some employers have done a little to help out the earnings of the indentured coolies by issuing tickets which can purchase rice and sharps at pre-war rates. We were told by one employer that purchase by means of such "tickets" saved the coolie six annas in every three rupees. But the "ticket" process is very cumbrous; and very few coolies took advantage of it. When we asked the general manager of the C. S. R. Co., why the company did not give the coolie an advance in actual wages, he replied that when wages once rise, they have a tendency to keep up and not come down again. The company, therefore, had devised the "ticket" system. It was obvious to us, from this, that as far as wages are concerned the indenture system places the coolie completely at the mercy of his employers.]

10. Two young Telugus were interviewed by us in the coolie 'lines'. They came out in 1915. What attracted them was the promise of twelve annas a day. They were earning four annas a day in India. They told us that they were no better off in their cost of living in Fiji. In hours of work, their condition was far worse than in India. In Madras their days' work was always over by noon; in Fiji they had to go on up to five or six o'clock in order to complete their task. In Fiji they were very unhappy because no one in the coolie 'lines' could speak their own language, and they often could not understand the manager's or the sardar's orders. They were very anxious to get back to India.

The hours of labour mentioned were borne out by what we saw elsewhere. Late one evening a boy came over to the house where we were staying, about 3 miles away from some coolie 'lines,' which we had visited about 5. 30 p. m. that same afternoon. When we asked him next morning why we did not see him in the 'lines' he said that he had been out in the field when we came, because he had not completed his task. We were away when he came to see us that evening but the Missionary with whom we were staying told us that he arrived in a very exhausted condition. It was one of those cases of boy labour which troubled us so much in Fiji. The Planter was in every way a good man, but this case had escaped his notice. We asked for the boy to be put on three quarter task with full pay and this was done.

11. A Madrasi of very low caste and low features came to us for protection against a sardar who had locked him up

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(so he told us) and beaten and starved him. The Inspector, to whom we brought the case, was inclined to disbelieve the coolie, because he had already obtained convictions against two sardars quite recently in the same coolie 'lines' for doing the same thing. We suggested that a bad tradition having been once established in the coolie 'lines' it would be difficult to get rid of it. At our express wish, therefore, the Inspector took up the case; and it resulted in the man's story being found true. One sardar was convicted in the Magistrate's court, another Sardar was acquitted on a technical point of law, but an appeal to the Supreme Court has been lodged by the Inspector. The English overseer through whose neglect the cruelties were allowed to go on has been dismissed, owing to the firm action of the Agent General of Immigration. The case was a striking testimony to us of the genuine desire on the part of the Government authorities to obtain justice for the 'coolie'. At the same time it also revealed to us the extraordinary difficulty under which coolies labour whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani. It was, literally, a matter of hours before we could get from this coolie the plain facts of his story; and the feeling that he was not understood made him nervous and excited, and this gave us a false impression. The Inspector was in the same difficulty as ourselves.

[The recent immigration of Madrasi coolies, who speak Telugu Tamil Malayalam and Canarese, has led to the greatest possible confusion. In a trial for murder before the Chief Justice, held while we were in Suva, the accused prisoner only knew Malayalam. The Court Interpreter only knew Tamil and English. A third party, therefore, had to be called in who knew Malayalam. The Chief Justice was, in this way, twice removed by language barriers from the prisoner at the bar. Yet, in these faulty circumstances, he was obliged to try the Madrasi for his life, and actually to condemn him to death.]

12. A Hindustani girl of good caste and respectable Hindu parentage had been enjoyed from her father's home by a neighbouring woman in her village. The pretext was that a telegram had been received from her husband, who was ill and wanted her to go to him at once. Her father, not being on good terms with her husband's father, had separated her from her husband. She went, therefore, with this woman without letting her father know. Too late she found out how she had been deceived. On board ship her honour was assailed and only with the greatest possible difficulty had she been able to retain it. Now her only hope is that her father and mother will think that she is dead, because she feels that she has brought disgrace to her family. Though she has been nearly two years in Fiji she has not yet recovered from her first despair. She is afraid even to let her parents know where she is, because of the sense of degradation at her present lot in life.

13. A Rajput who came out on the distinct understanding that he would be able to join a regiment if he went to Fiji. He spoke under great excitement when we saw him, as he was in prison and condemned to death. His words were not easy to follow at one point, but we gathered that when signing, a Sahib had assured him that this would be his lot. He said with great emphasis that a Sahib could not tell a lie. He and his brother had been soldiers in India in Rajputana. They were a military family. Then his brother inherited some land and left his regiment and became a Zamindar. He joined his brother for a time, but was hankering to get back to his old military life when the recruiting agent came and deceived him. When he arrived in Fiji, he was told that he would have to enter the coolie 'lines' and serve with the sweepers—as he expressed it. In such compulsory degradation, as he thought it, his life went utterly to pieces. He told us that the insults he received in the coolie 'lines' had been unbearable. "They pulled my moustache" he said, and suited the action to the word. His offence had been an act of murder in a quarrel with a Muhammadan over an abandoned woman. The woman had slapped the Rajput's face and he had stabbed her. In spite of his crime, there was a great nobility in his bearing when we saw him. He only broke down, when one of us asked him if he would like his parents to be visited and told about him; or if he would wish to send them any message. We were both more deeply affected by his whole story, and by the fortitude with which he spoke to us, than it is possible to express in words. He was condemned to be hanged, but owing to the clemency of the Governor the sentence was commuted

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to penal servitude. We were very anxious about this Rajput's fate, when we left the Islands. The Governor had not yet consulted his Executive Council. But he was good enough to cable to us, on his own initiative, when our ship reached New Zealand, the news of the reprieve.

In connexion with this case an extract may be given from a petition very fully signed by Indians in Fiji and endorsed by many Europeans.

Respectfully showeth

That under the existing system of Indian labour immigration there is a great disproportion between the number of males and females.

That this disproportion is mostly responsible for the abnormal number of murders and kindred crimes among Indians.

That the majority of those found guilty of such crimes are otherwise quiet and law-abiding; and the murders, for which they are condemned to death, are not due to any murderous instinct in them, but really to sexual jealousy.

That the proportion of crimes relative to the same class of people in India is, by far, much lower than in this Colony.

That in the Colony of Mauritius, for over five years past, there has not been a single trial of murder by Indians, who, as a mass, belong to the same class as those in Fiji.

That the death sentence does not, as a matter of fact, seem to deter Indians from crime in this Colony, since the whole cause of the trouble here is sexual jealousy.....

This petition was very favourably reported in the Fiji newspapers, and leading Europeans in the Islands very warmly took up the matter of abolishing the death sentence in these murder cases. Many Planters informed us that it was invariably the finest and best Indian coolies who committed these murders, never the worst. This was, to us, very striking news: its significance will be seen, when the criminal statistics are examined later on in the Report.

14. A Muhammadan Munshi, a cultured man and very intelligent. He had been brought out under the promise that he would be given work in a *madrasa*. He had been appointed Sardar in the coolie 'lines' and shewed us his notes which he had kept. He told us that the custom was general of a commission being paid to the Sardar by each coolie. Otherwise the Sardar was able to bring petty tyranny to bear on the coolie who did not pay. A much worse information, which he gave, was that the Sardar arranged according to payment, the location of women with certain favoured men. We had further accounts of this at other centres, and from what we saw with our own eyes, within the 'lines', concerning the relation of the Sardar to the coolies, it seemed to us not improbable. This Munshi had married by Muhammadan rites a wife, while still living in the coolie lines. But this wife would not, in the ordinary course of events, be set free, until two years after his own indenture had expired. We did our best to get her 'commuted,' as the situation appeared to us highly dangerous, and the Munshi was a very respectable man.

15. A Panjabi, who was a thorough gentleman in his general bearing. He had served for a considerable time in a Panjabi Regiment. He had been quartered at Delhi and gave us the names of his English officers and spoke of his Colonel with great warmth and affection. He had been brought out under the promise of regimental service abroad. The effect of military discipline in the past was noticeable. He had kept his respectability and neatness and good manners in the midst of the coolie 'lines.' He did not complain to us, but took it as his fate.

16. A young Madrasi who kept his good character. He spoke a little English and was fairly educated. This young lad was compelled by the Law of Indenture to live in the midst of grossly immoral surroundings for five years. There was a missionary near to these coolie 'lines' who wished to buy him out and employ him as a Catechist and Teacher. While we were there he was able to do so, and the boy is now free. He told us he had been recruited under entirely false information concerning the life to which he was coming out.

17. A young highly educated Indian, who could write and speak English well. He was soon recognised as unfit for agriculture, and was given important clerical work under Government. He was, however, kept strictly under indenture, and paid a lower salary than he would be entitled to, as a free Indian. Recently he applied for a rise in salary and asked also to be allowed to commute his indenture; for he had been able to save up enough money for that purpose. The increase of salary was refused. He was further warned that, unless he gave satisfaction to Government, not only would his request for commutation be disallowed, but he might be sent back to the plantations under the Law of Indenture.

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The fact that a responsible and well-disposed Government, whose actions were on the whole kindly and considerate (as this Report will show) could offer such a threat to a highly educated man, struck us very much indeed. It seemed to bear out our contention, that a five years' indenture with penal clauses attached is a bondage.

These examples may be sufficient to illustrate the fact that recruiting, as at present carried on in India, is frequently unscrupulous and that the indenture itself is neither a free nor an intelligent contract. So strongly did the fact about fraudulent recruiting come home to us that we felt the necessity to cable direct without delay to India, urging that such harmful practices should be stopped. We thought that this could only be accomplished by strong Indian public opinion expressing itself in vigorous action.

We were often asked, in Fiji, to explain how it was possible for the Indian coolies to pass through the examination of the Magistrate and Doctor and Emigration Agent in India, without ever coming fully to understand, what the exact conditions of labour in Fiji were. We have already pointed out the misleading character of the Government agreement itself; how it does not represent the true facts of life in Fiji. It is not unlikely that the Doctor and Magistrate in India are more ignorant of the whole truth than those who drew up that agreement. But, beyond this, it is also probable, that, in many cases, their official work is perfunctorily undertaken. How, otherwise should we find a mere child (who could hardly have been more than 14 or 15) registered as 20 years of age? How could educated high-caste boys, whose very hands would show that they were unused to hard field labour, be sent out to work at the sugar cane? We cannot avoid this inference from the actual cases that have been brought to our notice in Fiji. A conclusion still more serious, was this, that, in addition to collusion with the Police, there was collusion with the subordinate officials of the larger central Depots, in order to keep the hesitating coolies in a state of fear right up to the end. The stories about these subordinate officials, and their treatment of the coolies in the Depot, were too circumstantial to leave much doubt in our own minds about the matter. Free Indians who had no reason for telling us anything but the truth, were equally clear on this point with those who were still under indenture. Even if the evidence of this corrupt practice were not conclusive, yet it made us feel strongly the imperative need of opening the Depots much more freely than at present to the Indian public. We would also urge that, if recruiting still continues, a reference should be made to the village and family of each person, who is taken into the Depot, and that no one, under the age of twenty, should be recruited except as a member of a family.

There have been lamentable and tragic cases of Indians, both men and women, who have thrown themselves into the Hughli, in order to escape from the emigrant ships, and also of actual suicides, occurring in the high seas. It is difficult to give details of these, because 'deaths' are not separated from 'suicides' and 'desertions' on the ships' records. But we heard the account of one voyage in the year 1912 from an eye witness, who could be trusted. He stated to us that one Coolie had jumped overboard into the Hughli, and one woman had committed suicide at sea. We find in the Indian Immigration Report 1912, in a paragraph referring to the voyage of Ganges 1, the record that "Two male immigrants from Madras, missing at different dates, were supposed to have been lost overboard." This may possibly be the voyage referred to, though the statements do not exactly tally.

We found out, in Fiji, another side of the coolie's difficulties, when he is first brought to the Depot as a recruit. There is nearly always present among this class of Indian villagers (who rarely, if ever, in their lives come face to face with Englishmen) a very potent and peculiar fear of the Sahib. "Why did you not ask the Sahib to release you?" Was the question, which we very often used to put to individual coolies, who had told us about some pitiable fraud of the recruiting agent, practised upon them. The answer invariably came "On account of fear." In one case, a woman told us, how the recruiting agent had terrified her about the magistrate assuring her, that if she did not answer the magistrate's questions in a certain way, which he specified, the Sahib would put her into prison. We have discovered that a great fear comes over the coolies in the strange surroundings of the Depot, and they look

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with dread on the functions and powers of the Sahib. Their one bewildered, dominant idea seems to be, that they should try to please the Sahib at all costs. Sadly enough they have little idea when they answer, in the way the recruiting agent has instructed them, the Sahib's questions, that they are throwing away their last chance of release.

One further important point needs to be mentioned in order to make the picture complete. Besides the growth, when in the Depot, of all this fear, suspicion and alarm, there is also a sense of hopelessness, like that of an animal who has been caught in a trap and has given up the useless struggle to escape. Again and again, the indentured coolies explained to us this feeling, and there was a ring of truth about their utterance. It was their 'fate'; so they spoke of it to us; and, in that one word 'fate' all the despair and misery of the situation seemed to be summed up. Those among them, who were respectable women, had the overwhelming dread upon them, that they would never again be taken back into their homes. Indeed, the recruiting agent appeared to know only too well, that when once he had kept such a woman absent from her husband, even for a single night, the rest of his work would be comparatively easy. The woman would feel instinctively that her fate was sealed, and give up any further efforts to get free.

We found one strangely inaccurate idea current among the Planters in Fiji, namely, that a large proportion of those who have already been out once under indenture, return a second time. This erroneous statement was presented to us again and again as the basis of an argument. It was said that it would be quite impossible for the coolies in the various depots to remain unaware of the conditions of indentured labour in Fiji, (even though these were not stated clearly in the agreement) because so many were continually returning under indenture: and such a class of men would not be likely to resist the temptation of telling all they knew to the others. Also, a second argument was used with us, that the indenture system could not be so black as we painted it, because, in that case so many coolies would not be likely to return under a new indenture.

It will be well to examine these arguments in the light of facts. The figures are available for the years, 1912, 1913 and 1914.

In 1912, there were 3402 Indian immigrants landed in Fiji, of whom 5 men, 5 women and 4 children had previously served or resided, in Fiji, *i.e.*, 10 adults out of a total of 3402.

In 1913, there were 3289 Indian immigrants who landed in Fiji, of whom 8 men, 2 women and 5 children had previously served, or resided, in Fiji, *i.e.*, 10 adults out of a total of 3289.

In 1914, there were 1572 Indian immigrants who landed in Fiji, of whom 19 men, 9 women and 4 children had previously served or resided, in Fiji, *i.e.*, 28 adults out of a total of 1572.

Taking the year 1912, as a test of the worth of the first argument (viz., that all the coolies in the various depots would be told the exact labour conditions in Fiji by returning immigrants) it will be seen how very unlikely it would be that five men (some of whom might have decided to go back at the last moment before the ship sailed) could have communicated detailed information about indentured labour in Fiji to 3402 persons scattered over the depots of North India and Madras Presidency.

Considering the second argument, namely, that the conditions of indentured labour are so popular with those who have once experienced it, that large numbers go out a second time, the figures seem to prove the very opposite. For although the Indian coolies find by bitter experience, that they are outcaste and homeless on their return to India, they scarcely ever decide to go back again to Fiji. In the three years for which statistics are available only 32 men out of 8261 immigrants made up their minds to return under indenture.

We met one such, a Natal coolie, who had come out as an indentured immigrant to Fiji. He told us that he had first gone back from Natal to his home in Madras, but had been outcasted. He wished to marry, and to settle down in his village, but no one would receive him or marry him because he had broken caste. He spent what little money he had brought back from Natal in trying to get back into caste, but all in vain. When all his money was spent, he came across a recruiting agent

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from Fiji, and in despair decided to go out again under indenture.

In the light of such an undoubtedly true narrative as this, it will be seen how little truth there is in the assumption, that all those, who come back to Fiji under indenture, do so because they are satisfied with the indenture system. This Natal coolie did not sign on again because he liked indentured labour, but because he had given up hope of being ever received back into his community in India. Among the almost infinitesimal proportion who do actually re-indenture in India, there must be some at least who have had that Natal coolie's experience.

As we have already stated, therefore, the facts, when examined, go against the very arguments which they are used to support. They tell the other way. And the assumptions are fallacious.

As, in a measure, a confirmation of this conclusion, that the indenture system is almost universally disliked by the coolies themselves, one of us, while talking with the overseer of a large estate in Fiji mentioned the word 'commutation', suggesting that this should be always permitted (i. e., that coolies should be allowed to commute their time of service by payment of a sum of money). The overseer said significantly "Why! The coolies in these lines would all commute tomorrow, if only they had the chance!"

There were many evidences in Fiji to show, that recruiting in North India had become more and more unscrupulous in recent years. The number of mere lads that were now being sent out was significant. Women, also, had apparently been more difficult than ever to obtain, and the number of women of abandoned character seemed to be on the increase. It was noticeable, also, that the proportion of Madrasis had grown in comparison with Hindustanis. The reason of this has been clearly the rise of wages in North India. While the minimum wage of the indentured coolie in Fiji has remained stationary for thirty-two years, the wages of unskilled labour in the north of India have gone up, sometimes as much as 200 per cent. It is becoming more and more unlikely that the Indian peasant will go, of his own accord, thousands of miles across the sea, to obtain a wage distinctly less, in actual value, than that which he can get near at hand in his own motherland.

Why, for instance, should an able-bodied villager, from Gurgaon or Rohtak, go out across the seas to Fiji, in order to get a mere four rupees per week in wages, when he could get more money by levelling the soil at New Delhi, with wheat selling there at less than half the Fiji price. Clearly the fraud and lying must be very deep indeed, which can induce people to go out to Fiji, at a time when labour is so needed and wages are so high. Yet we found coolies who had been taken from the Delhi district. Their story was that they had been deceived by false prospects. Almost the same figures and rates might be quoted for the price of hired labour in Behar. Yet we found men and women in Fiji who had been recently recruited from districts such as these. In each case which we enquired into, gross deception appeared to have been practised. The coolies complained, that they had not at all understood the kind of work which would be required of them, nor the price of food and clothing in Fiji, nor the penal clauses of indenture.

In South India there seems to be less evidence of fraudulent recruiting than in the North. Wages are much lower, and recruiters' work may be easier on that account. But it must be remembered also that we could only converse easily with those Madrasis who had picked up a little knowledge of Hindustani; and we had practically no opportunity of hearing from the lips of Madrasi women their own account of how they were recruited. It should be added, that the introduction of Madrasis into Fiji has been accompanied by a distinct rise in the rates of suicide and violent crime. This has led to the opinion, now widely held among the Planters in Fiji, that Madrasis are more prone to suicide and crimes of emotional violence than Hindustanis. We pointed out again and again, that this was not in accordance with the facts; because the suicide rate in the Madras Presidency was actually lower than that of the United Provinces and Behar. But the whole question of the suicide rate must be left over for the present. It will come up later in dealing with the proportion of the sexes.

Perhaps the most disconcerting effect of unscrupulous recruiting, in Fiji, is the distrust of Government which it has engendered among the indentured and free Indians alike. Government is regarded as

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having countenanced the deception of the rectuiter and, in consequence, State officials are both feared and suspected. It is painful to find that the authorities are not looked upon by the Indians as their friends. Even the Agent General of Immigration, whose duty it is to protect the interests of indentured Indians, is not exempt from this distrust. This is all the more discouraging, because the Agent himself, and his staff have every desire to do the Indians justice. Perhaps the most significant fact of all is, that the Indians who are on the staff, although full of sympathy towards their fellow countrymen, are regarded with something of the same distrust. They felt keenly the difficulty of this suspicious attitude, and spoke to us about it.

This distrust of Government has evidently started from the coolie 'lines.' But it has not by any means stopped there. It has continued to spread among the free Indians, even though there may be little occasion for it. The distrust is kept out of sight, or covered by outward complaisance, because the free Indian cannot get rid of his servile tradition quickly, and is suspicious and afraid. The servile feeling engendered in the coolie 'lines' remains deep down in the heart, and it is a menace to successful administration.

To illustrate this point,—we found invariably that whenever we went out with the Immigration officers, we could never get from the coolies any frank and open statements. It is impossible to describe in words their suspicious attitude—their sullen looks their muttered whisperings. And then, on the other hand, we could see their changed faces, when they were positively certain, at last, that we had nothing to do with Government at all.

One of us had occasion to visit a free settlement of free Indians, who were living on their own land. The visit was made in company with an immigration officer, who had shown his sympathy with these same Indians on more than one occasion. Yet the whole visit was a failure, simply because of his presence. The free Indians remained silent and uncommunicative. Very early next morning, however, they sent a deputation, privately, to ask for another visit—only the Government official should not be present. In that case they promised to talk freely.

Not only in the country areas, but also in Suva, the Capital, this suspicion lies very deep. It has already done untold injury to the contentment of the colony, and it will do far more unless it is speedily arrested.

The more carefully the whole question of recruitment is considered, the more clear it becomes, that to send out people of the coolie class from India as individuals instead of in families, is wrong in principle. For they have never been accustomed to live as individuals. They have been used to the communal life. Women in India are all married at a very early age, and they are bound up with their families and their homes. Men also, in India, are usually married early and their life is bound up with their community. To recruit a man here and a woman there, and to send them out to Fiji, away from all their communal and family ties, is certain to lead to misery in India and also to immorality in Fiji. We found pitiable cases of men, who had been living with one woman after another in Fiji, while their own truly married wives and their legitimate children were deserted in India. We found equally pitiable cases of Hindu and Muhammadan wives reduced to leading a life of shame, while their true husbands were still living in India. These cases were all the more pitiable because the poor ignorant coolies had apparently ceased to feel the moral degradation of it all.

The conclusion we reached on the whole subject was that men and women from India should either be recruited by families or not at all.

We obtained in Fiji a considerable body of evidence with regard to conditions of life on board the large emigrant vessels which carry the indentured coolies. After discounting a great deal, as probably due to exaggeration, the strong impression was still left in our minds, that little care is taken of the privacy of the women, and of the manner of cooking the emigrants' food. We ourselves saw something of these conditions on our way to and from South Africa, and we could understand what the coolies in Fiji told us. Many said that they had been obliged during the voyage out to give up their old Hindu habit of taking only vegetable food. Some who regarded it as a sin to take animal food went through tortures of fear; for even if meat were not actually present in the food they were afraid that animal fat might have been used while cooking it. The

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strict Hindu suffered accordingly. We were told in Fiji that a very large percentage of Hindus began to abandon their vegetarian habits from the time of the voyage out. It was a strange sight for us to see a butcher's shop in Suva, where beef as well as mutton was being sold, crowded with Hindus waiting eagerly to obtain their purchases of meat.

Even more serious, on board ship, as far as we could gather on enquiry, was the little care taken of the modesty of Indian women. Abandoned women were mixed up in the same quarters with those who were respectable. Temptation to evil was ever present. We had facts given to us on this point which were the plain records of eyewitnesses themselves, and not likely to be untrue.

Lastly, the number of deaths on board, among those who had quite recently been twice passed by the Doctor as medically sound, tells its own story. We were informed by trustworthy people in Fiji, who had themselves made the voyage out as free Indians, that the vice and misery on board the emigrant vessels were deplorable. The following are the statistics for the years 1912 to 1914 with regard to the deaths on the voyage out and in the Depot on arrival.

Out of 3,428 emigrants embarked in 1912, 27 "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage; 22 deaths (20 of which were children) occurred in the Depot at Suva, and 9 unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 58, or one immigrant in 60.

Out of 3,307 immigrants embarked in 1913, 21 "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage. Eleven deaths (six of which were children) occurred in the Depot at Suva, and 15 unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 47, or one in 70.

Out of 1,572 immigrants embarked in 1914, six "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage. Three deaths (all children) occurred in the Depot, and two unallotted immigrants, died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 11, or one in 143.

One of the persistent features, which has marked the indentured system from the beginning, has been the low proportion of adult women to adult men. There have been financial reasons to account for this. For although the cost of the voyage out is the same for woman as for a man, the amount of work which a woman can do is much less than that of a man. Where therefore, cheap labour is the first concern, it is inevitable that the employer should aim at getting the largest possible number of men.

Thus the low proportion of indentured women is not something accidental, which can be abandoned without modifying the system. Rather, it is an integral factor in the system itself, which, apart from this paucity of women, could not be run at the high profits required by the employers. The moment that we suggested to the planters in Fiji such reforms as would help to make a decent family life possible among the coolies, we were met on all sides with the word 'impossible.' The expense, they declared, would be prohibitive.

The Indian Government has been blamed for allowing such a low proportion, as that of forty adult women to every hundred men to continue for so long unaltered. But it should be remembered to Government's credit, that it, and it alone, has prevented the proportion from falling much lower still. If the employers as a body, had their own way in the past there can be little doubt that they would have brought the rate down long ago to twenty-five per cent, or even less. Even today, the temptation is a pressing one, to pass out the emigrant ships with something slightly less than the regulation number of women.

This introduces another important consideration, which shows still more clearly how the whole Indian indenture system in its practical working hangs together. With the method invariably adopted hitherto of recruiting individuals, rather than whole families, it has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain in India even as many as forty women for each hundred men, without drawing largely on the prostitute class. Out on the plantations, we have been told, it is this very class which is actually needed in order to make the indenture system work. It is utterly repugnant to us to be obliged to enter into details on such a subject, and we shall do so as sparingly as possible. But it will easily be seen, that when the stronger men on an estate have taken to their own possession an equal number of women, the remainder of the adult women find themselves still more unequally

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matched in number. The disproportion rises as high as one woman to four, or even to five, men. In these circumstances, the remark of one employer can be understood without comment.—When one of us spoke to him about recruiting no more abandoned women, he demurred and answered "Why! The system couldn't go on without them." We heard of one estate where the Overseer made the regular practice, in order to keep peace in the 'lines,' of allotting so many men to each single woman. This amounted to regulated prostitution.

We had both of us already witnessed in Natal the moral evils, in the coolie quarters, connected with this disproportion of men, to women. We had received, also, invaluable help from Mr. Gandhi, who was the first to make clear to us the far reaching effects of these evils upon the free Indians. But what we have now seen with our own eyes in Fiji, is far worse than anything we had ever seen before. The moral evil in Fiji appears to have gone much deeper.

We cannot forget our first sight of the coolie 'lines' in Fiji. The looks on the faces of the men and the women alike told one unmistakable tale of vice. The sight of young children in such surroundings was unbearable to us. And, again and again, as we went from one plantation to another, we saw the same unmistakable look. It told us of a moral disease which was eating into the heart and life of the people.

What else could be expected? Indian villagers, who have lived the communal life of their own Indian homes, are first taken away, one from here, and one from there, by the recruiting agents. They are completely separated from all their old ties and associations. Then they are crowded together on board the great emigrant ships, where decency can hardly be preserved, and every temptation is rife. Lastly in Fiji itself, they are crowded again into the coolie 'lines,' which are more like stables than human dwellings; and there they are forced by law to remain, away from every restraint of custom or religion, during a period of five years. What else could be expected? But, that little children should be born and brought up in this,—

Though we were no novices to conditions such as these, yet what we met with in Fiji was far worse than we had ever anticipated. There seemed to be some new and undefinable factor added,—some strange unaccountable epidemic of vice. We felt that vice was spreading, like a blight over the Indian population of Fiji. We began to fear that it would spread still further to the indigenous Fijian population; and we found that our fears were already shared by others.

The demand was made quite insistently by the Planters that we should explain to them the reason for the suicidal tendency among the indentured coolies in Fiji. The long, never-ending roll of these suicides had shocked the Government; and the Planters had felt it deeply also.

We were able to assure the Government on one point. As far as we could see, there was much less actual ill-treatment of indentured coolies than we had come across in Natal. The only reports that reached us, which approached the Natal plantations in this respect, were those that came from Navua.

Furthermore, we were both of us quite clear in our own minds, that the inspection of the plantations was much more carefully carried out by the Immigration Department in Fiji than in Natal.

Thirdly, much less racial feeling existed in Fiji than we had met in South Africa. There was more humanity towards the Indians. The race question did not come up with any great acuteness.

All these important things would have led us to expect, that the lot of Indians in Fiji would be happier, and therefore the temptation to commit suicide would be less marked. But as we have said, our actual experience led us to believe that the moral evil had gained a far stronger hold in the 'coolie' lines of Fiji than it had done in Natal. And, unfortunately, Government statistics only confirmed this impression.

(To be continued)

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THE BADAGAS : A TRIBE OF THE NILGIRIS

By. M. Turner.

THOUGH they are not so well-known as the famous Toda tribe, the Badagas of the Nilgiris are an interesting hill tribe, whose customs and social habits are of no little interest, and well repay the lover of ethnology for the time spent in gathering information regarding them. During the hot season hundreds of visitors to Ootacamund and Coonoor wander over the surrounding hills, but a comparatively small number interest themselves in the villages and the people of this tribe which constitutes a great proportion of the hill population. The occasions of their festivals, marriage and death ceremonies are times when the most elaborate and suggestive ceremonies are conducted, accompanied by considerable pomp and enthusiasm. These people are easily recognisable and are commonly to be seen in the streets of the hill stations as well as at work in the fields.

"Both sexes of the Badagas may be recognised at a glance. They are cheery people, of small stature and slightly built, fair-skinned and dressed always in white cloths with coloured borders of narrow stripes. The men generally use the usual waist-cloth, upper cloth and turban, but coats are becoming more popular than upper cloths, and bright yellow or red woollen knitted night caps are almost as often worn as turbans. The women's waistcloths are narrow, and leave a good deal of the calves exposed, and their upper cloths (which are quite separate) are worn in characteristic fashion, being passed straight across the breasts and under the arms, and not over one shoulder as is usual with the Tamils. Some of them wear a scarf round the head. Every woman of marriageable age is tattooed on the forehead and the upper arms in some simple design of dots and lines, the elaborate patterns in the plains being unknown."

The name Badaga (corrupted to Burgher by the early European visitors to the hills) signifies a Northerner, and points to the fact that these people originally came from the Mysore country on the North, from which place they migrated centuries ago. The knowledge available does not permit of any definite date for the immigration being fixed, but it is probable the event took place somewhere in the twelfth century. It has been suggested that a critical study of the language which resembles Kanarese, might aid in tracing their arrival on the Nilgiris. Concerning the origin of the Badagas the following legend is current...Seven brothers and their sisters resided on the Talamalai

A Badaga Temple.
Note the drawings on the walls.

Hills. But on account of the improper conduct of a Muhammadan ruler toward one of the girls they were obliged to flee. They settled down in the present village of Betheladha. The brothers soon after separated and settled down in different parts of the Nilgiris where they steadily increased in numbers. The second brother, Hethappa, hearing of the ill.treatment of

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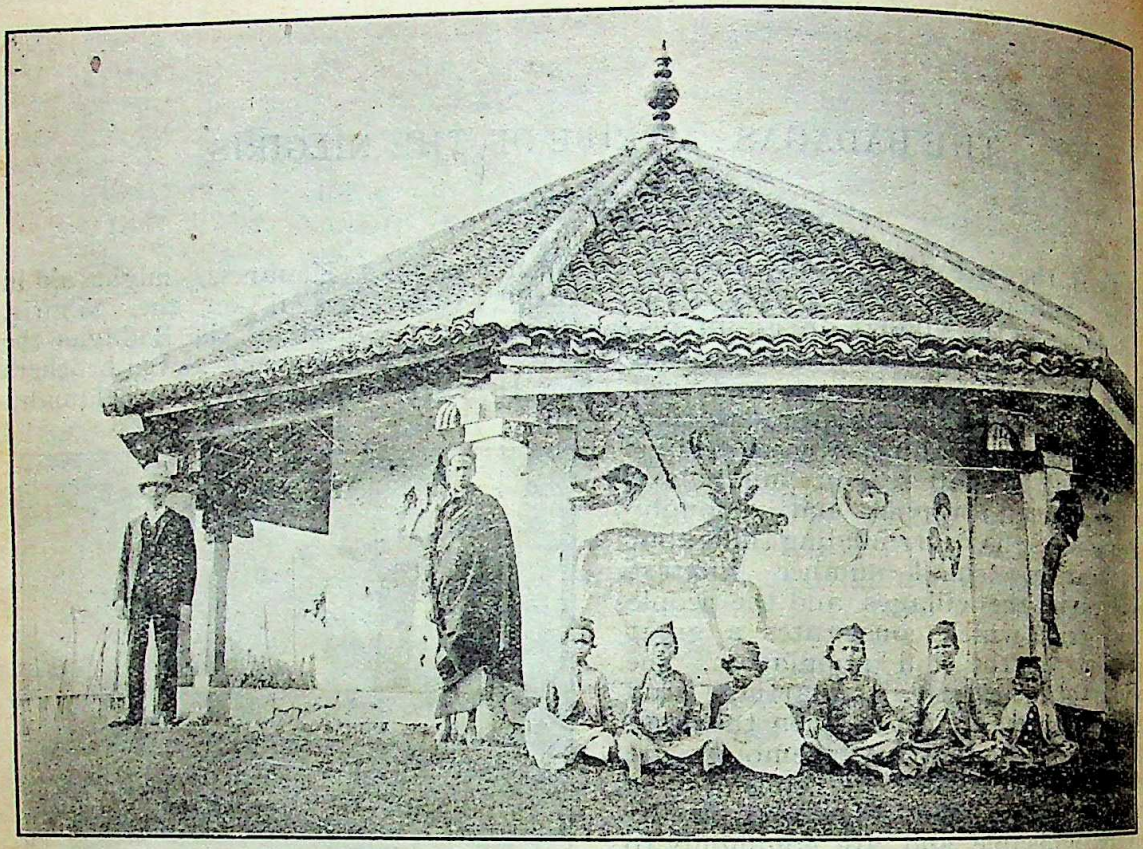

Badaga Village Temple. Note the drawings.

his wife by two Todas, sought the assistance of two Balyaru, and with their help was revenged on the Todas. The help was given on condition of Hethappa giving his two daughters in marriage to the Balyaru. The Todas were killed and the present inhabitants of Hilikallu are supposed to be the descendants of the Balyaru. The seven brothers are still worshipped under the name of Hethappa.

Their villages generally consist of one-storeyed houses, built in lines, and in these days, many are covered with red tiles, a mark of their increasing prosperity. As a rule the villages are situated on the summit of a low hillock. At the entrance of the village various stones are erected, all of which have a religious significance.

"The houses are not separate tenements, but a line of dwelling under one continuous roof, and divided by party walls. Sometimes there are two or three or more lines forming streets. Each house is partitioned off into an inner and outer apartment. If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding milk, a portion of the latter is converted into a milk-house, in which the milk is stored and into which no woman may enter. To some houses a loft made of bamboo posts, is added to serve a storehouse. In every Badaga village there is a raised platform composed of a single boulder or several stones with an erect stone set thereon. There is further, a platform made of bricks and mud whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village."

As to their ability as agriculturists, there is difference of opinion, some declaring it to be only casual, little effort being made to improve the yield of the soil. The work is chiefly done by women who spend long hours in the fields. A writer in the Pioneer in describing the pursuits of these people, says,

"Nobody can beat the Badagas at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be the Chinese gardener. Today we see a portion of the hill side, covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it in a few weeks to neat order. The unwieldy boulders having been rolled aside serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out the cattle. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface."

In connection with this means of livelihood it is not surprising that several ceremonies require to be performed to ensure success. The sowing and the har-

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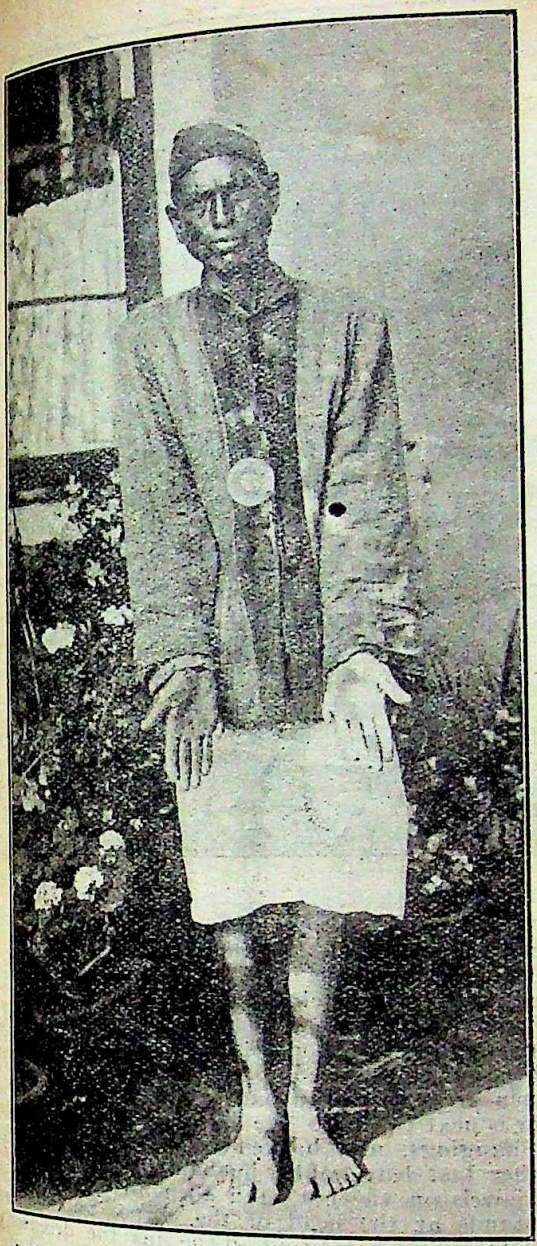
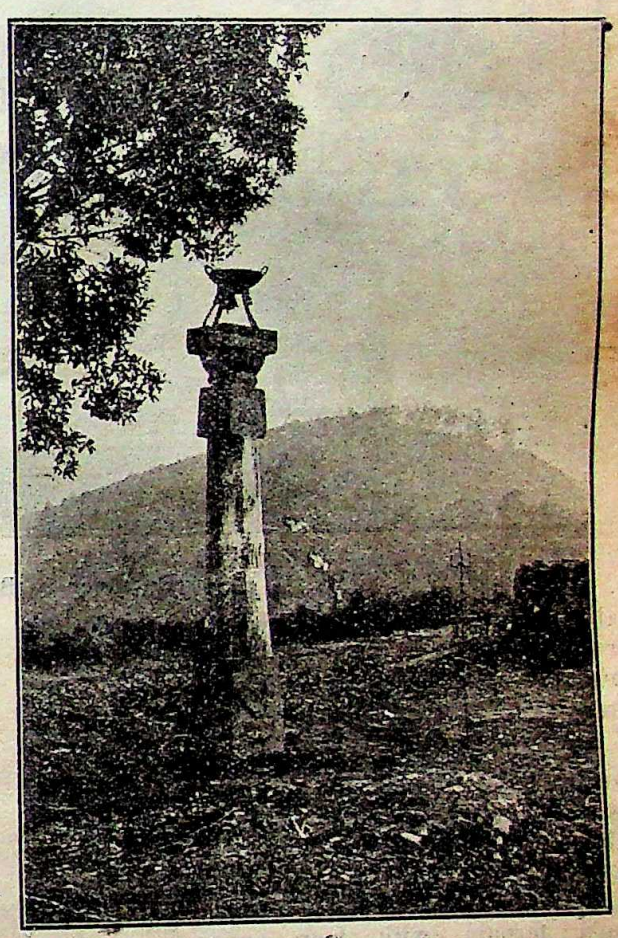


A Badaga with 6 fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot.

vest time are both inaugurated by interesting ceremonies. The following is an account given by Thurston in his Ethnological series in a description of these people.

"On an auspicious day, a Tuesday before a crescent, moon a pujari of the Devi Temple sets out several hours before dawn with five or seven kinds of grain in a basket, and sickle, accompanied by a Kurumba, and leading a pair of bullocks with a plough. On reaching the field selected, the pujari pours the grain into the cloth of the Kurumba, and yoking the animals to the plough, makes three furrows in the soil. The Kurumba, stopping the plough, kneels on the ground between the furrows, looking west. Removing his turban, he places it on the ground, and closing his ears with his palms, bawls out, "Dho, Dho" thrice. He then rises, and scatters the grain on the soil thrice. The pujari and the Kurumba then return to the village, and the former deposits what remains of the grain in the store room. A new pot of water is placed in the milk house, and the pujari dips his right hand therein, saying "Nerathubitta" (it is full). After this the sowing commences.

Their temples are most interesting structures, not because of elaborately architectural features, but by reason of



A Badaga Burning Ground.

the interesting drawings of animals, birds, etc., to be found on the walls. The two accompanying illustrations are good examples of the style of art to be found in these buldings, and some of them are very creditable representations. They are usually painted in glowing colours. On the occasion of the feasts the people assemble here, and after the performanee of the required duties, engage in various games. The marriage customs are simple; they take place in the bridgroom's house, and consist chiefly of the bride going to fetch water, a sign that she has accepted the authority of her husband, and making

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Entrance to Badaga Village.

salamms to the members of the bridegroom's family. These ceremonies are followed by the usual music, dancing, and feasts.

But of all their ceremonies the most complicated are those relating to funerals, a succint account of which is given in the Nilgiri Gazetteer.

"When any one is sick unto death, and recovery is hopeless, he or she is given a small, gold coin—a Viraya farnam with four annas—to swallow. As soon as death ensues, a man of the Toreya subdivision is sent round to the neighbouring villages to announce the fact. On reaching any of them he removes his turban, and then tells his tidings.

"On the day of the funeral the corpse is carried on a cot to an open space, a buffalo is led thrice round it, and the hand of the dead is raised and placed on the head of the animal. A funeral car is constructed, and on this is placed the body, dressed in its garments, covered with a new cloth, and with a couple of silver coins stuck on its forehead. The relations wail and lament round the body, salute it, and then dance round the car to the accompaniment of Kota music. The men wear special turbans and gaudy petticoats. The car is next taken to the burning ghat, stripped of its hangings, and hacked to pieces. The widow takes her last leave of her husband, depositing some of her jewels on the cot, and then an elder of the tribe stands at the head of the corpse and chants thrice a long litany, reciting all the sins the deceased might have committed, and declaring that all of them is transferred to a scape-calf which he names."

The tribe has not been considerably influenced by British ways, but they are losing some of the primitiveness generally associated with the Hill tribes.

THE HINDU PUROHIT ACT

A Novel Piece of Religious Legislation in Baroda.

By Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Baroda.

A NOVEL piece of religious legislation called the Hindu Purohit Act was published on the 30th of December last in the Baroda State Gazette relating to the performance of religious rites and ceremonies by Hindu Purohit or Priests in the Baroda State. It may be asked what justification is there to take up the

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valuable pages of this Review in a matter which directly concerns only the Baroda State and its citizens? I hasten to explain that this is a matter which will interest the whole Hindu community of India, as it is a piece of legislation, the kind of which is yet almost unknown in this country. Besides, the Act may find its echo in some other Native State, as some of the former Acts of this State have actually found acceptance and been followed by some of them.

The Brahmin population of the State protested against the proposed Act and disputed the authority of the State to pass legislation in matters religious. It was replied that the King was called Dharmapala or "Protector of Religion," and he exercised sway in religious matters from the earliest times. He has, therefore, the authority of the Shastras. If we look to the West we find him in England the head of the Church. Another main objection against the Bill was that no non-Brahmin could be allowed to become a Purohit as the Bill permitted. But of this we shall speak later on.

The Hindu Purohit Bill was first discussed in our Legislative Council and was passed by a majority with certain amendments. The members of the Council while admitting the usefulness of such a law seemed somewhat afraid to injure the feelings of the Brahmin population of the State and tried, therefore, to shirk the responsibility of incurring their displeasure. They, therefore, struck upon a plan. A curious amendment was proposed by them and carried to effect that the Act should be in force at places where two-thirds of the population demanded its operation. This really amounts to a denial of their own representative character. For, if they grant the usefulness of the law they have also the authority derived from the people to accept the law. Our people are not so advanced as to demand any law. In fact it is absurd to expect farmers, labourers and potters and others of the type who form the greater part of the population to understand the aims and objects and the working of any law. I am sure if it were left to the people to have or not the Penal Code, they would never demand it.

To come to the subject proper. It is stated in the preamble that the law is enacted in order to grant certain rights and letters of competence, or, shortly, licenses, to Purohits in order to equip them for the proper performance of the religious rites of the Hindus in this State according to proper ritual, legally and in a manner which may be felt satisfactory and conducive to their welfare by the people, and to enable them to understand and explain the inner import of such rites.

I shall now give the substance of the main provisions of the Act.

1. The Act shall apply to such localities or communities as may be determined by a notification hereafter.
2. (a) Purohit means any Gor (*i.e.*, priest) who in consideration of his customary due or charitable Dakshina officiates at any of the sixteen Sanskaras and other religious ceremonies or rites.
   (b) Yajamana-kritya means any ceremony at which a Purohit officiates.
3. (1) A period of six years is granted in order to become properly qualified under this Act for the performance of religious rites.
   (2) On the expiry of the aforesaid period no person not holding a letter of authority shall officiate at the performance of any religious rite.
   (3) No suit shall be allowed in a Civil Court brought by an unauthorised Purohit
   (a) for recovery of damages in respect of the violation of his right owing to a licensed Purohit officiating at a Yajamana-Kritya,
   (b) nor shall any suit or pleading by him be allowed in respect of any Yajamana-Hakka.
4. Any Purohit contravening sub-section (2) shall be liable to a fine upto Rs. 25.
5. Exceptions :—

   Nothing in Sub-section (4) shall apply
   (a) To any person who has attained the age of 12 years at the date this Act comes into force, or
   (b) To a Purohit coming from outside the Baroda State and residing in this State for a short period not exceeding one month and officiating for a Yajamana also coming from outside the State, or
   (c) To a Purohit officiating at any Yajamana-Kritya, (though) not licensed, whether in the locality, or within a radius of three miles, or within any other radius that may be fixed from time to time according to the needs of the people,
   no licensed Purohit eligible by custom to
   (1) perform the religious rites of any person is available, or
   (2) the Yajamana-Kritya of more persons than one is to be performed at one and the same time, and, the number of licensed Purohits is insufficient, or
   (d) (1) To any person who performs the Antyeshti (funeral obsequies) of any person, or
   (2) any other religious rites that may be determined by the Maharaja from time to time, or
   (e) To any person exempted from the provisions of this Act by Huzur Order.

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(4) Whoever is certified to have passed
(a) an examination held pursuant to this Act, or
(1) in Yajnic subjects, or
(b) (2) in any standard of Dharmashastra of the Shravana Mas Dakshina examination, or
(c) any other person deemed fit by the Maharaja shall be granted a letter of authority.

These are the main provisions of the Act. Then follow other provisions among which are those relating to eligibility to appear in the examination and the power to frame rules regarding it. It is also enacted that a license of a Purohit is liable to be cancelled for misconduct. The last Section of the Act provides that :—

"No ceremony if otherwise valid shall be deemed invalid under this Act merely by reason of its having been performed by a Purohit who is not licensed."

It will be seen from the above provisions that H. H. the Gaekwar aims at regenerating the fallen Brahmin class. They were the leaders of the society and the pioneers of Dharma and knowledge in general in times past, and they can even now do much to elevate the society if they were only to equip themselves for the task. They have got their hereditary intelligence. What can they not do only if that intelligence is developed ? Besides, the Brahmins occupy the highest positon in the Hindu society, and, as such, they can do things with greater facility than others. And yet the Brahmins protested against the measure meant to elevate them. One is reminded of the story of that prisoner who when he was liberated from his prison-cell after having lived there for forty years humbly solicited the king that the only boon he sought from him was to be allowed to go back to his prison as he could not bear the light of day.

If one knows to what a miserable state the Brahmins in Gujarat have reduced themselves one can understand the protest. In a word they are darkly ignorant. Most of them know nothing of Sanskrit, not even the texts they have to recite. They mutter anything at the performance of ceremonies. They do not understand the meaning of what they recite : much less can they explain. Owing to these reasons they have fallen in the estimation of the people and do menial duties—such as cooking, drawing water, serving as Hamals and sepoy, etc. Our priests are frequently employed as messengers, attendants of brides, and bearers of invitations. If, therefore, they were to receive some education they would rise in the estimation of the people and their status would be much raised. At the same time believers in ceremonies will have better satisfaction. And, as regards others, they will feel satisfied that they do not feed idle Brahmins. These are the laudable aims intended to be achieved.

Besides, the moral effect of law cannot be ignored. Society and law act and react upon each other. Law is usually the outcome of society, or sometimes, it may be the outcome of the greater intellects from among the people who make law suitable to the order and progress of society. If, therefore, legislation is passed which is in advance of the people it may have one of two results. If it be of a kind entirely disregarding the existing condition of society it would greatly disturb the society and may, perhaps, come to be honoured only in the breach. If, however, it takes into account existing conditions and is yet in advance, like the present piece of legislation, then it is sure to have a salutary moral effect upon the people by throwing into discredit the existing defects and evils in society and impressing upon them the advantages to be gained by reform, particularly, where the legislation is opposed neither to the moral nor the religious sense of the people. Thus once the practice of Satee has been abolished by legislation it is now considered by every one, with rare exceptions, to be an inhuman practice, and to take part in it is deemed a heinous crime. The same may be said of Infanticide. So also there is in Baroda the Infant Marriage Prevention Act which, while condemning the practice of early marriages, inculcates the advantages of marriages at proper age, so that once the people are accustomed to marry their children at a later age they will continue to do so and a time may come when an infant marriage may be a curiosity and may meet with general disapproval. So also by the present legislation the standard of priesthood will rise, and, after some time, an ignorant Brahmin, following the profession may fall into discredit and be considered a disgrace.

Coming to the Act itself. There is nothing in it against which there can be any sensible protest. It has fully taken into account the existing circumstances and the difficulties to be coped with. It is mild and indulgent even to a fault. In

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the anxious desire to guard the interests of the present Purohits greater lattitude than legitimate has been allowed to them. Looking to the wording of Section 2 a Purohit if he succeeds in proving that he did not receive any consideration—and it would not be very difficult to prove so—he will be able to evade the law. Again, the Act allows a period of six years for preparation and does not apply to persons who are already twelve years of age. Provision is also made for cases where no licensed Purohit is easily procurable. Lattitude is also given in the case of funeral ceremonies like Antyeshti, etc.

One feature of the Act deserves special mention. It allows even non-Brahmins to qualify themselves as Purohits. This seems to me to be simple justice. For, if Brahmins, whose duties are confined by the Shastras to the preaching and practising of Dharma only, can take to any professions they like, there does not seem any earthly reason why others should be prevented from exercising the same right. The provision is simply permissive and no non-Brahmin Purohit is forced upon any one.

This piece of legislation is the first of its kind in India and its results deserve to be watched. It will be no wonder if other States follow the example with advantage.

A VISIT TO THE HOSPICE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD

SINCE my boyhood, when I read about it in my English reader, to me the name of "St. Bernard" always conjured up a misty vision of wild mountain regions, lonely travellers toiling upwards, huge avalanches falling, living burials in snow, exhumations by dogs, and nursing of half dead persons by monks. It was a mysterious place, akin to things belonging to the Fairy land, to be enjoyed through its stories in books rather than a sanctuary to be visited. This impression was so strong that although fond of visiting out of the way places I never thought of making enquiries about the possibility of visiting this place during my previous travels through Switzerland and Italy.

On the present occasion, while staying at the Hotel Byron at Villeneuve (a suburb of Montreaux) on Lake Geneva I accidentally discovered that I was not very far from the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and that it might be possible for me to go there if the road were clear of snow. It was the end of June, and I was surprised to learn that still the road may be blocked with snow. However I at once made up my mind to make an attempt to visit the place, and asked the Concierge of the hotel to make enquiries. He telephoned to a Hotel at Orsieres, the last railway station from which people have to proceed by road, and after an hour informed me to my great joy that everything was favourable to my plans. The road was clear of snow, a carriage was available for the journey beyond the Railway and the hire of the carriage was only 20 Francs. I decided to start next morning and the intervening night was full of dreams of the Hospice of St. Bernard.

Very early next morning I drove to the Montreaux railway station and caught the fast train for Martigny. For sometime she ran along the bank of the Lake Geneva, and then I took a last view of it. After leaving the lake behind we entered the Rhone valley. Hills and dales, fields and forests, waterfalls and torrents passed in quick succession. And most of the time the train was following up the course of the river Rhone. She stopped at important stations only and that too for a very short time. We arrived at Martigny where we had to change, at about 3-30 o'clock. I looked out and called for a porter but could see none, and found it difficult to get out with my baggages, as ours was a corridor train with doors only at the end of the carriages and I had more baggages than is convenient to have with oneself while travelling in Europe. I had a suit case, a gladstone bag, a hand bag, an overcoat, a stick and an umbrella. Just when the train was about to start a porter arrived and my difficulties came to an end. After getting out of the train, to avoid future

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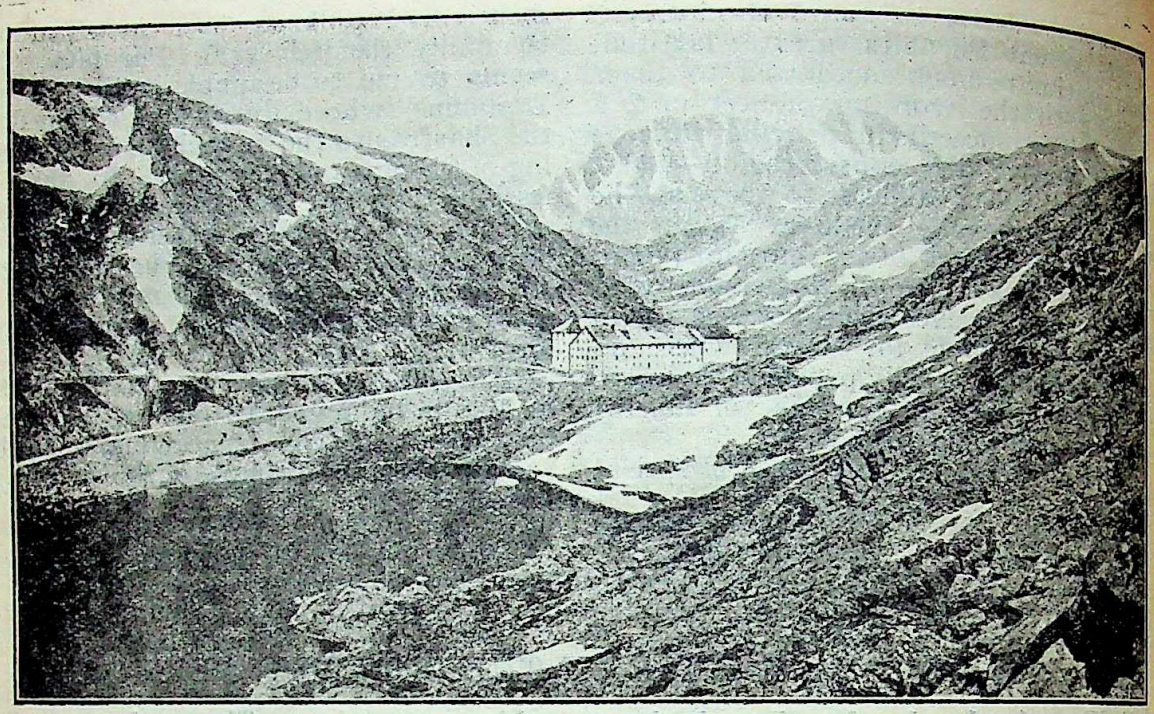

The Hospice of the Great St. Bernard and the Valley.

trouble on the way, I put all that I needed for the journey in the gladstone bag, and deposited the suit case and the hand bag in the Left-luggage Office, and obtained a receipt for them. Thus lightly equipped I got into the electric train for Orsieres which was waiting. The electric railway from Martigny to Orsieres has been recently constructed and has made the Hospice more easily accessible. The train started at about 9-30 and passed through a most charming mountain country, clad in green vegetation and decked with a profusion of red and white blossoms, the scenery being varied by mountain streams and torrents roaring and forcing their way through the overhanging rocks. After Martigny there were no more towns; the train stopping at small villages, consisting of comparatively primitive and quaint houses not to be seen in the ordinary tourist's track. They were irregularly built houses of stone but much resembled the brick and clay houses of the poorer class living in towns in this country, except that they had roofs of slate and glazed windows, indispensable in cold countries. The number of passengers in the train was small and the Railway did not appear to have been working at a profit.

The train arrived at the terminal station Orsieres, which is situated in a charming valley called "Val de Ferret," at about 10-15 o'clock. The porter of the hotel to which we had telephoned from Ville-neuve was waiting at the station. He took my bag and started for the hotel which was at a distance of a furlong only. At this time a well clad person came up and took the bag from the porter and sent him back to the railway station on some errand, and himself carried it. I afterwards discovered that he was the proprietor of the hotel. Arriving at the hotel I asked for someone who could speak English, as I could not trust my smattering of French and a few words of German for serious business. Fortunately there was a waitress who could speak a little English which was good enough for my purpose. I asked her whether arrangements were ready for my journey. She sent for the man who was to provide the carriage and after consulting him told me that the carriage was ready, but the road was not clear of snow, and if I insisted on going, I should be prepared to do a portion of the journey towards the end by walking which might take an hour or so. I was taken quite aback. I was not in good health; and could not think of climbing an uphill road for an hour wading through snow at the end of a day's journey. On my asking why they had telephoned the evening before that the road was clear,

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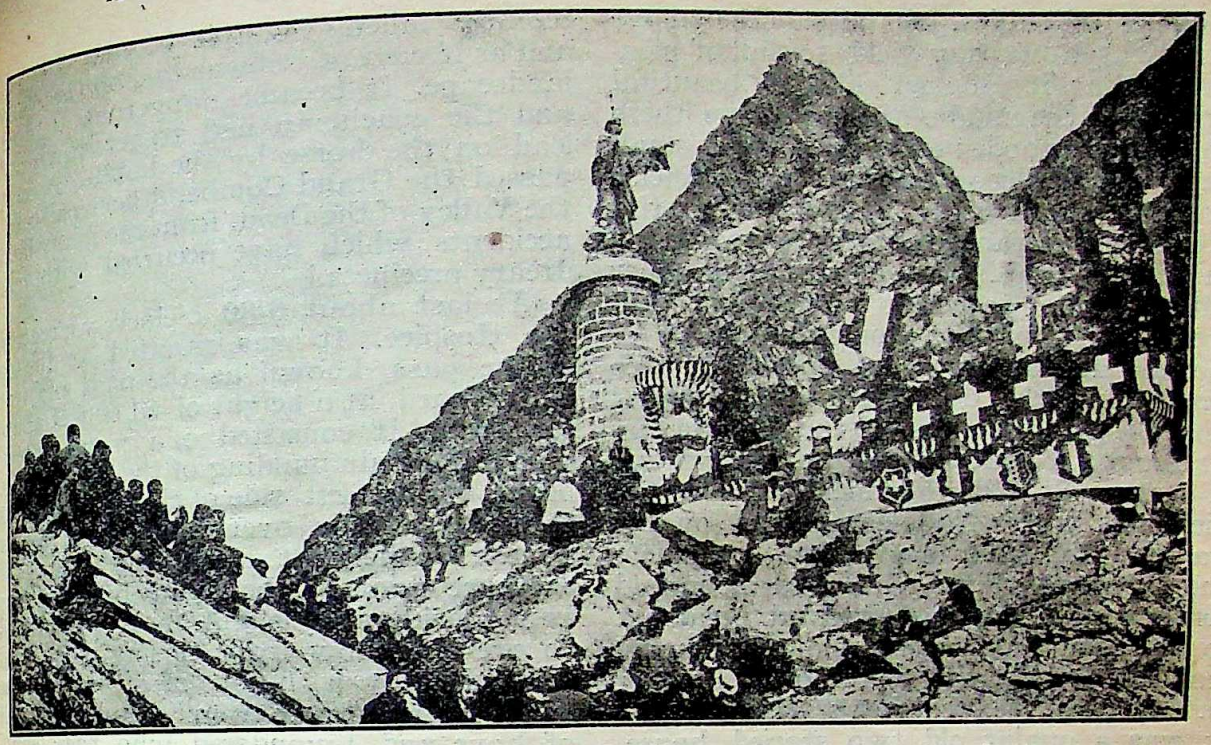

Benediction of the Statue of the St. Bernard of Menthorn 13 July 1905.

and expressing my great annoyance, the only answer I got was that some one had telephoned without making proper enquiries. There was no help but I was not to be thwarted easily, and it struck me that the information about the road that they were giving might be as unreliable as the information they first gave was admitted by themselves to be. So I made up my mind to try my luck. It was the 24th of June and from the 1st July they have a regular Diligence service to carry the post between Orsieres and St. Bernard and from that date the roads are regularly cleared when necessary. Sometimes they clear the road earlier as a preparatory measure. So the chances were that after all I might find the road clear.

I took my breakfast and started at about 11-15 o' clock for the Hospice which was 16 miles from here. The carriage was a small and light but roughly built two seated vehicle resembling a Victoria painted in bright red, yellow and black colours, the wheels having ornamented designs on them. It was quite in keeping with the simple and unrefined life around. The horse's harness had no less than seventeen bells which jingled merrily as we went along. A boy coachman was my only companion. We first passed through the narrow and crooked lanes of Orsieres village. The houses were irregularly built of stone, the barns and cattle sheds being of wood. Cowdung mixed up with straw were heaped at places to be used as manure. There was a public hydrant in the middle of the village where women were washing clothes. The roads were muddy and the surroundings were not particularly clean. Other villages that I passed through after this were of the same type. After passing the village we began climbing our road. This was a good metalled modern road, which had superseded the old Roman road, which we often met and passed along or crossed in our journey. Napoleon and his great army while going to Italy to fight the battle of Marengo had crossed the Alps by this very Roman road. Our journey was almost all uphill, and we procceded slowly, the coachman sometimes urging the horse with "hi-hi" "lu-lu" "ale-ale" and other such persuasive words which his horse alone could understand, and sometimes himself dozing off to sleep on the coach box. We proceeded through a grand mountainous country, our road winding slowly between deep valleys and towering cliffs. At places the slopes of the broad valleys were covered with meadows and corn fields, and the farmers were lying in their fields enjoying their midday siesta. We passed a few hamlets and then a big

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village called Liddes. Just outside the village there was a big hay field so full of blossoms that it looked like a beautiful carpet. In the middle of the village there was a huge wooden cross fixed to a small platform and decorated with an artificial wreath. One house had a Latin inscription on the entrance door and two sun-dials on an outer wall. Here as well as in other villages I often saw men women and children sitting on the floor for want of chairs. Here and there we passed fir tree forests, but the trees were much smaller than the giant fir trees of the Himalayas. At about 2 o'clock we reached the village of Bourge St. Pierre which was one of the places where Napoleon halted on his way to Italy. It was now time for lunch, and I went to an inn which had the proud distinction of having provided breakfast to Napoleon on that occasion. Its name was Hotel duDejeuner de Napoleon Premier (i. e. hotel of the breakfast of Napoleon I). It was a quaint old two storied house. After I had finished my breakfast the landlady showed me with pride the room occupied by Napoleon and the table on which he wrote his despatches. In the same room I was shown portraits of the grandfather-in-law and the grandmother-in-law of the landlady who were the keepers of this inn when Napoleon visited it, painted in oil. They were very poor daubs. From the window of the room a pillar of the Roman times could be seen. The whole place was indeed full of interest and memories of bygone times. We were now at a considerable height (5348 feet) and I had to put on thicker and warmer garments before proceeding onwards. At some distance from the village we passed the Swiss Customs House which guards this road. From here to the Hospice which is just within the Italian frontier there was no habitation visible except one or two unoccupied huts. We had not proceeded far when clouds began to gather and before long it started raining, and we passed on through the enveloping rain and the weird surroundings in silence. At some distance from the Customs House we found ourselves in the region of snows and to my great relief I found that the road had been cleared. Masses of snow were heaped up on both sides of the road, and at places the depth of the snow removed showed that avalanches huge enough to bury us and our carriages had recently fallen. Soon it began snowing, and as it were. a veil was cast on the whole landscape. It became dangerous to drive and the coachman had to get down and lead on the horse by the hand. We next passed the Grand Combe, otherwise called the Valley of the Dead, from the many fatal accidents which have occurred within its dreary precincts.

At last about 6-30 o'clock we reached the Hospice. It was situated at the top of the pass, known as the pass of Great St. Bernard, at a height of 8110 feet above sea level. It consisted of a group of buildings, the main building of the old Hospice being on the left side of the road. It was connected by an overbridge with a new annexe on the right side of the road. The entrance door in the main building was at a considerable height from the ground to prevent snow from closing it up, and is reached by a flight of steps. On the landing place there were a large number of boys and I wondered who they could have been. Later I discovered that they were students from a school on the bank of the lake Neuchatel and had come with their head master for a holiday excursion. They had walked all the way from Orsieres. I walked up to them and said that I wanted shelter for the night. One of them called a monk from inside, who took me to the entrance hall and rang a big bell which was hanging there. We had to wait a little and ring again before the monk whose duty it was to look after the visitors who came. I told him that I wanted shelter for the night. He at once welcomed me and took me to a room, which was to be my bed room, without asking me who I was and what was my creed. He ordered my bag to be put into my room and showed me the dining room and told me that the dinner would be ready shortly.

My room had wooden walls and a wooden floor. And the furniture—two beds a couch, a few chairs, a wash table, were all mediaeval, and the room looked like one of those that are fitted up in some of the European museums to illustrate the life of the people in the middle ages. There were however electric lamps and steam radiators which looked like anachronisms. The Hospice had its own electric installation, such as abounds in Switzerland on account of the free power that they can get almost everywhere from the waterfalls. The passages in the building some of which

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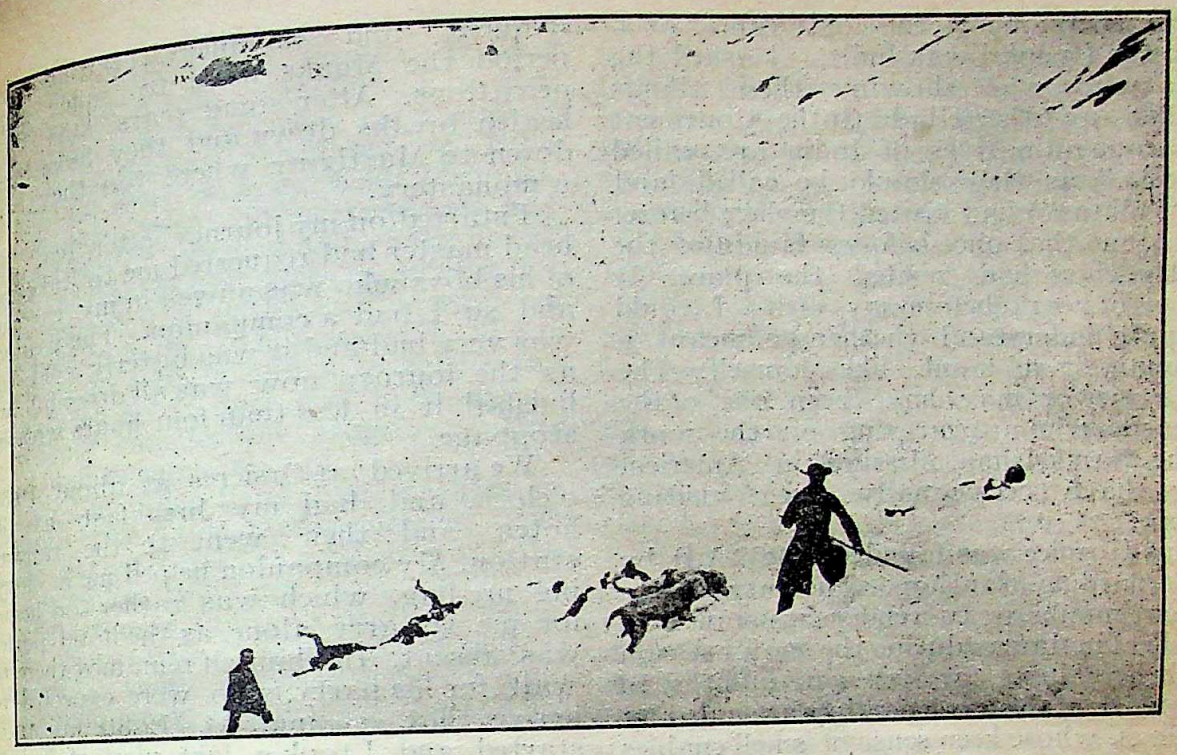

An Avalanche of the Grand St. Bernard in Winter.

were not even of uniform width, were paved with rough and irregular slabs of stones. This building was constructed in the middle of the sixteenth century.

After a little rest I went into the dining hall and found it nearly full. There were about forty persons, mostly boys, some of whom I had met at the entrance door. Opposite to me were sitting an English tourist and his wife and I fell into conversation with them. The food served was rather coarse, but it was a wonder that they could still supply food to all. Every year during summer large numbers of adventurous tourists have been coming here for years past, and the monks according to their old custom have been extending their hospitality to this new class of visitors gratuitously, without any distinction of social position or creed. There is a box in the church of the Hospice in which people are expected to leave something for the upkeep of the institution, but few visitors take notice of it. The burden of the visitors on the institution is now so heavy that it is feared that it may not survive very long. After dinner the headmaster, some of his boys, the English tourist, his wife and myself sallied forth to have a look round. It had ceased snowing, and there was still twilight and so we could see the country round. Although it was the end of June a lake close by was frozen. We saw from a distance the statue of St. Bernard, the founder of the Hospice, standing at the boundary line between Switzerland and Italy. We could not approach it as heavy snow blocked our way. Close to the Hospice is the mortuary where the bodies of the mountain's victims are laid. Near the annexe there were a number of St. Bernard dogs. They were big animals and with their heavy coat of wool looked grand. They were very quiet and hardly took any notice of us when we patted them on the back. After coming back to the Hospice I went into the church and left a small sum in the box kept there for the purpose. From there I went into the Hall where all the visitors and a few of the monks had assembled. I took an autograph signature of the father who was looking after us, and purchased some souvenirs of the Hospice that are sold here. I also wrote a few picture post cards and posted them—the hospice had its own Post Office. In the morning we expressed our desire to see the library, which was shown to us. It contained a large collection of religious books mostly in Latin. It had also a valuable collection of ancient coins and other finds of the Roman times that were

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discovered amongst the old ruins over which the Hospice was built. I asked the father who was showing these things whether any other Hindu (Inthe Continent of Europe all natives of India are called "Hindus," as they should be called, and not "Indians") had visited the place before. He told me that once before a Hindu of the priestly class had visited the place. It was two years before my visit. I could not quite understand whether he meant a Brahman or a monk like himself. The Hindu visitor may have been one of the Sanyasins who are carrying on the work of the Ramkrishna Mission in America. They have occasionally been visiting Europe.

This Hospice was founded in 962 A.D. by St. Bernard de Manthon. The duty of the resident monks is to render assistance to travellers in danger during the snowy season which here lasts for over nine months. In this work of benevolence they are aided by the dogs, whose keen sense of smell enables them to track and discover travellers buried in snow. During the long winter the cold here is intense and the dangers from storms frequent and imminent. During that period the Monks have to suffer great privations. After some years' stay their health breaks down and they have to go down to Martigmy where too they have a monastery.

I started on my journey after tea. The head master had requested me to take one of his boys who was unwell in my carriage and so I had a companion. The weather was very bad and it was bitterly cold, but as the journey now was all downhill, we finished it in less than four hours without stoppage.

We arrived at Orsieres at about 10-30 o'clock, and had my breakfast at the hotel, and then went to the railway station. My companion helped me in carrying my bag, which was rather too heavy for me to carry alone, as the hotel porter was absent. He himself remained there to wait for his party, who were expected to arrive that evening. At 12-30 my train started and I took a last view of Val de Ferret and said a final good-bye to this romantic region.

C. C. Das.

TEACHERS AS RESEARCHERS

By Manik Lal Dey, M.sc.

ALTHOUGH much has been said about teaching and research work in an article in the November (1915) issue of this journal, some more evidences may yet be adduced to support what has been set forth in it. In these days of progress it is in a backward country like India alone, that such absurd questions may be raised and debated upon. Born with the hands tied down with iron chains of religious laws, brought up amidst the rigid surroundings of social customs, we are like cage birds very loath to move when the barrier is broken. To men of such temperament a very high ideal of education is necessary in order to achieve any material progress. To commit to memory what others have discovered should not be the motto of a progressive nation. To claim the citizenship of the world, the brotherhood of any other advanced nations, to prove that we are *men* capable of standing shoulder to shoulder with the members of the cultured nations, we should not keep ourselves satisfied with learning parrot-like what others have discovered, but should try our utmost to keep pace with the march of progress, and to prop up our head now and then with some new contribution to the knowledge and welfare of mankind.

If that be our ideal; the stereotyped teacher will be a poor guide indeed. In spite of his vast erudition, his long experience in teaching and in the management of classes, his dexterity in correcting notebooks and his zealously cherished method of cramming, he is but a living gramophone, reproducing the thoughts and expressions of others. Like a steam engine he can carry his train of students along the previously laid iron rails, puffing the steam and blowing the whistle, en-

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shrouding his students with the smoke of his vast erudition,—his quotations and references,—at a rate characteristic of each individual. His students get but a cursory view of the fleeting panorama on both sides of the way, but the fields beyond, though they may be full of treasures and rich pasture lie unseen and unexplored. If such a teacher ever tries to swerve an inch from the iron pathway, his progress is at once brought to a standstill. What good will it be to mankind to follow the same beaten track over and over again? It will not enhance the progress, rather will it tend to check it.

If on the other hand our teachers be men who are capable of advancement both on the beaten track as well as on paths yet untrodden, will not their students get a better opportunity of study, a wider scope of education, and above all a stimulus to think independently and to do original work, which may be handed down to posterity?

The progress of a nation is judged by the number of original thinkers, and the amount of work they turn out. If we ever care to look into the condition of the foremost nations of the world we find that each of them can boast of at least a score of original thinkers in the different branches of arts and science. Not satisfied with the existing condition of men and things these researchers boldly march into untrodden tracks of learning, and often their efforts are crowned with success, and something new is added to the knowledge of mankind. In order to perpetuate this spirit of research, this fruitful labour calculated to uplift the human race, this unselfish struggle for the welfare of mankind, these mighty brains must have capable followers, who after being trained in the system of original investigation of their masters, may themselves form centres of research, rather than leave the discovering spirit to die out with its originator. It has been justly said by an eminent authority :—

"The discovering spirit is individual. It means a particular alertness, fineness, freshness, eagerness, born, not made. It is sacred and inestimable and it is a matter of lasting regret when it ends with its possessor and is not incorporated into the natural inheritance of the race."

The truth of this fact has been brought out into the lime light by all the cultured nations of the world. For a typical instance we may mention Germany. "In his appreciation of the scientific spirit in Germany in the nineteenth century, Merz lays emphasis on the following features: the number and efficiency of the universities and the way in which these have devoted themselves *to teaching research*." For a particular instance we find: Ludwig (1816-1895) worked and taught in Marburg, Zurich, Vienna, and Liepzig. Professor Stirling writes of him, "From each and all of these centres his numerous pupils published under his direction and guidance an amount of work the extent and originality of which is probably unsurpassed. His own papers are epoch-making and he founded the largest school of physiologists of modern times."

One of the greatest authorities at present, in Physiological Chemistry is Dr. Abderhalden. As a professor he delivers lectures to his pupils daily, and in the evening he converses with them on the difficult portions of his subject. No one will deny his eminent success as a professor, the fact being fully established by the long list of his pupils. When we look into the amount of original work he has done we are appalled by the prodigious array of papers he has published, each and every one of which is the fruit of hard labour and deep thought. For instance, during the decade 1903-1912 he has published no less than 306 papers based on original research, with a train of pupils the number of which exceeds 150. If we think for a moment what this great professor and researcher, himself brought up in an atmosphere of original investigation under the great patriarchal chemist Emil Fischer, has achieved within so short a space of time, both in his professorial career and as an eminent researcher, training up a large number of pupils every one of whom is imbued with his spirit of original investigation carried down like the mantle of Elijah from professor to pupil,—shall we ever dare to question the appropriateness of teaching with research work?

Nor are these solitary instances. In England, we have men like Sir J. J. Thomson, the eminent physicist, who in the midst of his important research work does not forget to take his classes every day. So did Lord Kelvin before him. Few men in England could boast of so much original research work as these two

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great scientists, yet they are none the less famous for their success as professors. In France, in Russia, in America, in fact in all enlightened parts of the world we have abundant instances of such men. Their success alone leaves no doubt about the compatibility of teaching with research. Even in India, at the very dawn of her modern progress, we find a few such men scattered here and there, who have already formed centres of crystallisation of original thought. In science, for instance, we may mention Dr. P. C. Ray who having struggled through enormous difficulties and baffled in various attempts, has, by dint of talent and perseverance, at last succeeded in founding a school of chemistry which has been aptly said to be "the nursery from which the future chemists of India pass into the world." With a score of pupils he has, in the course of the last few years, given out to the world the treasures of his original investigations in no less than 140 papers. In spite of his strenuous work in the laboratory he has taken upon himself the task of teaching his pupils from the elementary to the highest standard. The progeny of successful students for the last twenty years bears testimony to the brilliant success he has achieved in his capacity as a professor. Also in history and literature we find men like Professors Jadunath Sarkar, Mahamahopadhyaya Satishchandra Bidyabhusana and Haraprasad Shastri who are as well known in their professorial career as in their original investigations.

Facts alone prove the truth and not theories, however simple or plausible. The truth which shines out through the mass of facts observed by different races of men in different countries cannot be gainsaid when it is found not to suit a favourite theory or a preconceived notion, since teaching and research go hand in hand in all the progressive countries of the world, with some advantage instead of hindrance to the professor, it is folly to raise the absurd question of their antagonism.

INDIAN STUDENTS AND WESTERN TEACHERS.

By Sir Rabindranath Tagore

(*Translated from the Bengali*)

I HAVE some hesitation in discussing the recent disturbance between the Presidency College students and some of their European professors. One reason is, that it may appear unseemly to do so. Another reason is, that where there is a tender spot in the relation between students and Europeans great care is needed about touching it. But yet, it is impossible to cover it up altogether. Indeed, it has already been uncovered, and the discussion is going on from mouth to mouth openly and in whispers. When a festering wound has accumulated poison, it cannot keep on containing it for ever. The wound breaks open at last. To blame this process of eruption is to blame the whole scheme of things. And Providence can very well take care of itself in such matters.

Now that the evil has come to light, clearly judgment has to be given and punishment to be apportioned. This is the critical time. The affair, as it stands, is hardly respectable. Therefore, for propriety's sake, if there must be punishment for somebody or other, it is just possible that it will take the line of least resistance, choosing the weak for its visitation. When the mistress of the house feels afraid of chastising her daughter-in-law, she generally finds it convenient, in fulfilling her duty, to beat her own daughter. And while the judges are active in their work the Principal of a Mission College has already sent to the authorities a scheme of discipline for our students.

All this sounds reasonable, because when students can combine to insult their

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Professors, it is not only an offence against propriety, but also against nature. For it is in human nature to feel respect towards those from whom we receive knowledge; and when we see any perversion of this natural instinct, we feel bound to correct it by artificial means.

But before we resort to any of these methods, we should find out clearly, why there should be any perversion of nature at all.

There have been, in the papers, some expressions of grave disapprobation concerning this last regrettable incident, especially because of the tradition of reverence which has existed in India from time immemorial. But this very fact should make us all the more careful to find out the true reason for the outbreak.

I cannot hold it to be true, that the mental attitude of the Bengali student is a kind of special creation, unique in the region of psychology.

Students, at the College stage, are always in a state of transition. For the first time in their lives, they have come out of school discipline into freedom. And this new freedom is not merely outward. Their minds, also, have left the cage of syntax, and spread their wings into the open air of ideas. They have gained their right to question, and their right to judge for themselves.

This transition period of life is full of sensitiveness. The least insult pierces to the quick. On the other hand, the simplest suggestion of love makes the heart glad. This is the time, therefore, when the influence of human contact is most powerful, because this is the time when man is moulded by man.

The truth of this has been acknowledged everywhere. Therefore we have in our scriptures the verse:

"When the son has attained his sixteenth year, his father must treat him as a friend."

A text like this implies, that at the adolescent stage it is necessary for the growth of life, that the son should know his father as a man, and not as an engine of discipline.

This is the reason why, in all countries, university students are raised to a level, where they come nearer to their teachers and have living contact with them. This is the age when students, having completed the rudiments of education, begin to assimilate humanity itself; and such a living process can never be gone through, except with freedom and self-respect.

Because such is the case, lads at this particular age become almost hyper-sensitive about their dignity. As, when a young child attains the age of mastication, its teeth come through with an inflammatory disturbance, so, when the time has arrived for a lad to cut his wisdom teeth, his sense of self-respect becomes almost painfully aggressive.

This, again, is the age when students are apt to break out into unexpected explosions. Whenever the relation between the teacher and the student is natural, these are allowed to pass by in the main current of events, just as drift and refuse are swiftly carried away in a flood tide, but become objectionable if deliberately dragged up to the surface in a net.

There is a law of Providence, which brings even Bengali students to years of discretion, when their inner faculties blossom out in self-expression. They aspire to attain the dignity of manhood, and their soul is eager to worship greatness wherever found. They are both self-assertive and receptive of outward influences at the same moment. They need sympathy and inspiration and a large atmosphere of life. But to invent disciplinary grinding machines for manufacturing lifeless pulp out of these human souls is a sacrilege against God.

When the prisoner breaks some prison rule, it hurts nobody to punish him severely, because he is simply looked upon as a criminal. No one takes the pains to consider, whether such treatment hardens his heart, because nobody views him from the standpoint of a man. A gaoler, therefore, exaggerates the least infringement of the prison regulations and visits this upon the prisoner.

Again, the drill sergeant, who undertakes the responsibility of drilling men into shape by military methods, naturally looks upon his recruits from a narrow and restricted point of view. And, in consequence, he makes his discipline felt upon them, in a way which hardly takes into account that they are human beings.

But we cannot look upon students either as prisoners, or as sepoys of an army corps. We have to make them into full-grown men, clearly recognising the fact that man's nature is made up of delicate and living

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fibres. When a man suffers from headache, it does no earthly good to strike his head with a hammer. To cure him, you have to be very careful not to injure any brain tissue.

There are men, even in these modern times, who have entirely simplified the science of pathology and have accounted for all diseases by the theory of devil possession. They, like this Principal of a missionary college, want to drive away the disease by beating and branding and making unearthly yells. It is an admirable method of driving away the disease,—and the best part of a patient's life with it.

But this, of course, is mere quackery. Those who are skilled doctors do not look upon disease as an isolated thing in one part of the body. They recognise the intricacy and delicacy of the whole human system, and, while attempting to cure the special ailment, they do not cut at the root of vitality itself.

So my suggestion, in the present trouble, is this. Those teachers, whom nature has marked out for gaolers, drill-sergeants, and exorcists, should never be given the special care of students. Only those are fit for such work, who have a natural feeling of respect even for the young in age and in wisdom, who understand the Sanskrit verse,—"Forgiveness is the adornment of the powerful", and who have no hesitation in accepting their students as their friends.

Jesus Christ has said,—"Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Christ had respect for children in his heart, because the suggestiveness of perfection is in the child. When the adult becomes hard in habits and opinions and in self-conceit, he loses all that suggestiveness. Then it becomes difficult for him to come near to the Teacher.

The minds of students are always expanding. The spirit of growth is ever doing its work in the core of their life-buds. The process of development has not stopped in them. They still carry about with them this suggestiveness of perfection. For that reason, the true teacher respects them, and suffers them to come near to him in love. He forgives them all their short-comings and patiently helps to open out their minds towards freedom and light. But those who, in their pride of greater knowledge or of social or racial position, are ready to insult the student at every step, will never receive homage from them; and so in despair they will attempt in vain to extort obedience and reverence by the help of stringent regulations and official myrmidons.

Those who want to bind students hand and foot in the meshes of their disciplinary rules should understand that they are doing the greatest harm to the teachers themselves. For there are very few men in this world, who can keep straight in the path of duty simply by the help of their own inner ideal. Most people are preserved from going astray by pressure from the outside. They cannot betray themselves into doing wrong, because of their responsibility to the people with whom they have to deal. Therefore, wherever there is slavery, it is degrading to the masters. Where Sudras are Sudras indeed, there the Brahmans deteriorate.

But it may be asked, whether teachers should put up with every form of students' wildnesses. My answer would be that students will not go wild. They will act with respect, if they themselves get their due respect from the teachers. But, if the students' own race or religion is insulted by the teacher, if the students know that for themselves there is no chance of justice, and for professors of their own nationality no fair treatment, then they are bound to break out into impatience; and, indeed, it would be a thousand pities if they did not.

But the professors have a reasonable argument on their side.

India, for Europeans, is a land of exile. The climate is depressing. The food and drink which they take, in the hot weather, are often too exciting. Our complexion, religion, language, and habits, are most annoyingly different from theirs. Over and above that, every European teacher carries about with him on his person the emblems of sovereign power, and so the throne takes the place of the *guru's* seat. For that same reason, the European professor does not look upon his vocation simply as that of a teacher. He feels himself also to be a king of the country. He is a European and a Professor of an Imperial Service to boot,—a fragment of royalty. Often, also, he suffers from the conviction that he has come out to 'do us good.' In such circumstances, he may not always feel the necessity of controlling his tongue, or his temper. Therefore it may be the case, that we should not ask

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how he ought to behave towards the students, but rather how the students, by the agency of a strict scheme of discipline, should train themselves to put up with his want of good taste.

Let us, then, frankly acknowledge the natural difficulties of a European professor in dealing with Bengali students. We sometimes quote the instance of the relations of Oxford and Cambridge Dons with their undergraduates. But the cases are not parallel. There, the relationship is natural. Here, it is not. So it appears as if this vacuum in nature has to be filled up with brickbats of 'discipline.'

It is this fact that has made our own problem so difficult for us. This is the reason why the prudent men of our community advise their sons to be content with passing examinations, and never to bother their heads about their privileges as men.

It is sound advice. Only unfortunately, it does not answer. Human nature is not built upon the hard foundation of prudence. It has to grow, and therefore is always immature. It tolerates all artificial restrictions up to a certain point. Then suddenly all barriers burst, and the irrepressible life manifests itself when we least expect it.

If we recognise nature only on our own side, and defy it in the student, then, for some length of time this one-sided arrangement may pass muster. But at last, all of a sudden, we discover that it has become obsolete. At that, our indignation knows no bounds. The very sign of life becomes a crime, because it has been so silent all the while. And so the punishment far transcends its normal measure. Then the whole affair becomes so complicated that even the *panchayat* Commission may become unable to find its way through the jungle, and feel compelled to use axes and hammers, and fires and steam-rollers, in order to blaze a path.

We have long ago grown accustomed to being reminded that the kingdom of heaven, specially reserved for our Bengali students, is the opium-eaters' heaven, the passage to which is cheap, and the path safe and peaceful. We have been informed that our students have friends, who are willing to take any amount of trouble to ferry them over to this inertness of illimitable subservience, relieving them, at the outset, of such inconvenient baggage as the living soul. If their scheme could work for good, I should have nothing to say against it.

But it is doomed to failure. And it has failed in our case, because our education was not merely at the hands of College Principals, or those who are overburdened with the benevolent task of doing us good. We have been taking our lessons from England itself, and the time has been more than a century long. Those lessons have not been altogether lost upon us. They have quickened our life, and life has its claims which cannot be ignored.

I well remember, when I was a boy, how I had to learn the English synonyms of English words. I was made to get by heart the meaning of the pronoun I. It was given thus,—"*Myself*—I by myself I,—the first personal pronoun." It took me some time to learn this definition, and it has taken India a considerable time also. Now, when we have almost succeeded in learning it by heart, our present schoolmaster comes and threatens to cross out that word 'myself' with black ink and rub it out altogether with rubber,—yes, with India rubber.

Our school-master is now teaching us in this way :—

"The meaning of the English pronoun 'I' has to be different in your country from that of ours."

But if we took nearly two centuries to get our first lesson by heart, surely it will take at least double that time to forget it. Because that magic charm of the English 'I' is very potent. If our *guru* had not whispered it into our ears from the beginning, no great harm might have been done. But now, it has passed through the portals of our ears into life itself, and you can only tear it out by pulling up the very roots of life. And life is very tough after all.

So long as England keeps its touch with India, she will never be able to forswear her own nature. The best that she has, she must impart to us, willingly or unwillingly. This is God's will,—whether it accords with the will of the Mission College authorities, or not.

Therefore, our students will never be satisfied with merely scraps of lecture notes and logic and grammar. They will stand out for their own life of self-respect. They will never take themselves to be mere puppets, or allow themselves to be unjustly coerced into submission. This

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attitude of mind has become a fact to-day. It is possible to treat it as a delusion: it is possible to abuse it: but it is impossible to ignore it. By striking a blow at it, you only give it an opportunity of proving itself all the more true.

If the discussion about the Presidency College were merely some local affair, and nothing more, I should not take the trouble to write about it. But there is a large question intimately connected with it, and I should be wanting in my duty to my country and to the government if I remained silent.

Man's history unfolds itself differently in different countries. India has a history of its own, and we can trace out, how from the very beginning that history has been confined to no particular race or civilisation. Dravidian culture is as truly a part of us as Aryan. Our country belongs to the Hindu as much as to the Musalman, and to the Musalman as well as the Hindu. This is why history in India, with its collision of different forces, like gaseous bodies, has been hitherto so nebulous. There is agitation of different elements: there are explosions and upheavals: but there has been no fixed and definite shape. No single voice of one clear outstanding identity has come out of this pervasive vagueness as yet.

When the crystal is in a liquid state, it is amorphous. And our history has been like that for ages. At last, from the western shores of the world, came a shock which ran through this liquid mass from one end to the other. Now we feel an all-penetrating impetus running through its atoms. It is the movement which precedes the crystalising act.

All this proves my contention, that Indian history is the history of the Aryans, the Dravidians, the Muhammadans,—and of the Englishmen as well. We have to see that all its component parts are welded together into one organic whole. To desire to get rid of any one of these parts, is beyond our power. We have not been able to leave out the Musalmans, and we shall not be able to leave out the English. This is not simply owing to our want of physical power, but because it is in the constitution of things. Our history belongs to no one race. It represents a fusion of forces.

The historical purpose, which is being formed by the combination of various races and ages and civilisations, we must accept. We must make our own conscious purpose in harmony with it. We must keep ever in mind, that our country is not England nor Italy, nor America, but India. The history of other countries would never fit ours. The difference lies at the very root. Those other countries had some sort of unity to build their history upon. We had to deal with diversity from the very beginning. History, in other countries, is naturally concerned with rejecting whatever is alien. The history of India is naturally concerned with assimilating all that has come from the outside.

So long, then, as the English element remains entirely alien and external, India will suffer. So long as Government is something extraneous and mechanical and un-natural, the Pax Britannica will give us an absence of war, but not a fulness of life. That is to say, the English will not be in union with the creative genius that is moulding India to its own purpose. The English will be, rather, like a mere labourer carrying materials of all kinds and heaping them up in heaps. This latter is what an English poet has described as 'the white man's burden.'

But is it going to remain a burden for ever? Should there be no joy of creation? It is the Creator Himself who has called the West to India. If the English cannot partake in His creative work, then the hot desert path of the 'land of regrets' will be strewn with their graves, and yet they will have to bear the burden to the end, unrelieved. If they do not contribute their life to Indian history; if, instead, their work in India becomes a mere matter of duty and routine; then they will make the divine spirit of our Motherland suffer, and they will suffer themselves.

Therefore, the problem of history in India is not to throw off England, but to make England's relation to ourselves living and natural.

Up till now, Hindus, Muhammadans and other races in India have been unconsciously shaping the destiny of our country. But since the arrival of the English we have become conscious of the part we are to play, and our own will is now about to take its share in the moulding process. The two wills may clash. There is the danger of conflict between them. But those of us, who know the great purpose of our own history, can remain undisturbed. In

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all these conflicts of wills we must have faith, and try our best to bring harmony out of the very throes of division.

We want Englishmen: otherwise Indian History will remain incomplete,—its purpose unfulfilled. And because we want Englishmen, we must have entrance into their hearts, not merely to their office rooms.

But if we allow Englishmen to go on despising us and treating us with contempt, then we shall never win their hearts. We must claim respect from them. And, at such a time as this, we shall not turn the other cheek when struck by the Principal of a Mission College.

Where, then, can the relation between the English and the Indians be absolutely simple and natural? Not in the trade markets; not in the political arena.

The best place is in the Universities, where knowledge is imparted. For ideas unfold hearts. And when hearts are open, then comes the best opportunity for reaching them.

This great opportunity of closer intimacy existed in our own University. Here the Englishman could find a seat waiting for him that was greater than a throne. It is when we see such opportunities wasted, that we feel a pang of regret.

That this loss has been brought about by the students only, I, for one, cannot believe. I know our students intimately. They differ from Western undergraduates in this, that they are eager to worship their teacher and their hearts are extremely easy to win.

This was the reason why I always wanted to have some English teachers for my own school at Bolpur. Years ago, I had one, an Englishman, who had grown sour in the atmosphere of India, and accumulated a superfluity of spleen. He used to revile the boys about their nationality. He could not but hold them responsible for having been born of Bengali parents. And though the boys were quite young, they struck, and would not go to his class. Even the headmaster's orders proved ineffective to bring them back. Then I was compelled to step in and relieve 'the white man's burden.'

But I never gave up hope, and my expectation has been fulfilled. My *Ashram* has become sacred by the communion of English teachers and Indian boys. This sacred union, for which God has been waiting in India for so long, has put forth one little flower in one corner of India's vast expanse. The two English teachers who have come to me, not for preaching their own religion, nor for raising the fallen, have no presumptuous thought that they had their birth in this world to 'civilise the barbarian.' But they, like their Master, have spread their arms to the children, saying, 'Suffer the children to come,'—though they are Bengali children. And the children did not hesitate for a moment to draw near,—though they were Englishmen.

This I can say truly, the pure relation of love, which has been established between these boys and their English teachers, shall abide. And these boys will not enter upon life with their hearts filled with the poison of hatred against the English.

That first English teacher, who had come to me, was a very efficient and experienced teacher. If he had continued in my school, the boys might have acquired perfect English pronunciation and grammar. That might have tempted me to compel the boys by punishments to come to his class, and I might perhaps have persuaded myself to believe, that, however unjust and rude he might be, it was the duty of the children to submit in silence. Possibly, for some days, they would have felt miserable, and then, what is worse, after a time they would have grown callous and indifferent, —while their English accent would have been growing more and more perfect. But these little children,—have they not God on their side? Are we called upon to take the part of Providence in their lives, just because our hair has grown gray? Could I hope to meet God's judgment,—on the strength of a perfect English accent?

The real reason why the relation between European Professors and Indian students has become so difficult was revealed to me one day in England, when I was travelling in a railway carriage. My fellow-traveller, an Englishman, was at first favourably attracted by my appearance, so much so that he thought,—and took the thought with equanimity,—that I had come to England to preach some better religion. Suddenly he felt curiosity to ask me, from what part of India I had come. And when he was informed by me, that I came from Bengal, it seemed to give him a great shock. Then his vocabulary showed an amazing richness in its terms of vilification of the Bengali people.

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When, for some reason or other, we happen to get a dislike for some race of people other than our own, then every person belonging to that race becomes to us a mere abstraction. To my fellow-passenger I lost my personality directly he heard that I was a Bengali. After that information I became merely an objectionable quality. And with a mere emblem of an abstract quality there is no need to preserve even ordinary politeness.

There was a time when Englishmen did not like the Russians. Then the Russian became a mere adjective to the Englishman, the symbol of something objectionable. But, now, in the English newspapers we hear nothing but praise of the Russians. The fact is that, directly you remove a man from the category of the adjective to the category of the noun, then at once all his human qualities become evident and obstacles to natural treatment are removed.

Because the Bengalis have become a mere adjective to the Englishman, signifying dislike, it has become difficult for the latter to feel our reality. I had hoped that Bengali youths might have been taken as volunteers to serve in this present war. If we could sacrifice our lives,—so I thought,—in the same cause with the English soldiers, we should at once become real to them, and claim fairness at their hands ever after.

But that opportunity has been refused, and we still remain behind the screen of vagueness. And man suspects vagueness. In Bengal, I do not know a single individual Bengali, who is not labouring under this suspicion in some form or another at the hands of the higher authorities. In this twilight of suspicion the shadows seem to take the semblance of substance and the substance that of shadows, and misunderstandings multiply fast and frequent.

But can this darkness be removed by raising dust with more and more punishment? Is not *light* needed more than anything else,—the light of love, the light of sympathy, to see each other's faces and understand? Is not this the proper time, when it behoves all Principals of Christian Colleges to remember the life and teaching of their Master? And is not 'charity' described to us as the 'greatest thing in the world'? The shadows of misunderstanding, which distort truth, can only be removed by those who are above us in position. Only the sun can dispel the mist. Those who advise the higher powers to hurl thunder from the skies when rain is needed, are not only showing a lack of generosity, but also giving evidence of cowardice. Because most of the tyrannies of this world are the outcome of fear.

In conclusion, I entreat those in authority to bear this in mind, that we could have hoped that the Young Bengal of today might have carried reverence and love for Englishmen into the world from those universities where they had come in touch with their English professors. This would have surely happened if, as *gurus*, these teachers had been able to win their hearts when their hearts were fully susceptible to love. But, on the contrary, if this relation between teacher and student be founded on fear and hate and punishment, then the poison of the disease will be driven from the blood into the very vitals. Distrust of all Englishmen will be transformed into an instinct from one generation to another.

That this will hinder the work of good government is trifling, compared with the evil that will arise by the interruption of free intercourse between the two peoples. For this will deprive us of the best gifts we might have received from the West. When the act of giving is accompanied with respect, the act of receiving with respect becomes possible also. But when the prisoner sits down to eat with his handcuffs on, it is difficult to persuade him that he is an honoured guest at a festival. And this festival of knowledge is a feast of joy. But those who are for ordering iron hand-cuffs for their guests will to-morrow flatter themselves on their own righteous conduct, and complain that after all their efforts, they have not been able to win the gratitude of these youths, while deep down in their heart of hearts, they are more and more, each day, uttering the prayer,—'Father, do not forgive them.'

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THE IRISH RENAISSANCE

By James H. Cousins.

A FEW years ago an Irish girl in a French school found herself registered as living at "Dublin, England." The inferred absorption of her native island, Ireland, by England, not merely politically but geographically, was more than the girl could stand. Her sense of scientific accuracy, added to a sudden emergence of racial pride, prompted an energetic protest that she was not English, but Irish.

The learned authority, overlooking the mere fact that the piece of land called Ireland entirely surrounded by water, of which the City of Dublin is the Capital, cannot by any stretch of imagination—or rather of want of imagination—be coincident with the other piece of land, called England, which lies to the east of it, countered the girl's protest by exclaiming, "But you speak the English language!"

The reply, striking the mind of a spirited and gifted girl in a moment of sensitive exaltation, went deep into her consciousness. She immediately took up the study of the ancient language of her country; took her degree later as Master of Arts, and a three hundred pound prize, with the Irish language as one of her main subjects: and ended her life at the age of twenty-five in an attempt to save a fisher-girl from drowning off the coast of a lonely island, to which she had gone in order to perfect her colloquial knowledge of the dialect of the Southern province.

I recount this biography-in-brief, (in the last stage of which I was myself tragically concerned) because it embraces several of the circumstances which have made Ireland one of the world's enigmas—a perpetual puzzle to the outsider by reason of the periodical reappearance of evidences of youth and virility in an entity which, in the intervals between reappearances, has been apparently dead, or at least in senile decay; a no less perpetual puzzle to the insider because of the lack of a psychology that will demonstrate the essential unity of the forces that threaten at times to rend the country asunder.

During the last quarter of a century Ireland has made her latest, and perhaps most significant, reappearance. Within her borders there has emerged an amazing intellectual activity which, at one end, has dug deep into the earth in the application of social and aesthetic ideals to the problems of agriculture: and at the other end has developed, in the Irish language, but principally in English, an expression in literature which takes tribute in technique from all the world, yet keeps itself securely rooted in racial intimacy with life on the land, and in racial search for the life that lies deeper than life or land.

To the people of Ireland, or at least to the conscious minority that stands for, but not instead of the inarticulate majority, the importance of the intellectual upsurge of the last twenty years has never been underestimated: the importance, that is to say, of the achievement of a mode of expression that would be intelligible in the ears of the world, not as the cry of a political sect, which might or might not be worthy of attention, but as the voice of a people finding freedom in the Arts. Isolated as her soul has been behind an alien language and outlook, she has been in times past compelled to sing to herself about herself in order to keep up her spirits and to preserve her sense of identity. But preoccupation with the *genius loci* does not make for commerce with the genius of the world, since it must necessarily deal largely with places and events of untranslatable quality and value even in the island that lies nearest to her.

Now, however, through the transmuting power of the imagination, and the universal currency of the language of the Arts, Ireland has caught the ear of the world; and what is more important to her, has caught the ear of herself. She has lifted up her voice in Beauty; it has been heard from the Petrograd to San Francisco; but its greatest achievement has been its echoing and re-echoing within her own borders, across the river (the Boyne) that

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geographically, historically and temperamentally has divided North from South, Protestant from Catholic, Nationalist from Unionist. The new order of creative spirits which have incarnated in the country within the last half of the nineteenth century, have overleaped the arbitrary boundaries of religious and political creeds, have undermined social obstructions, and have laid the foundation in thought and word, for the future rebuilding in laws and institutions of the communal life that is natural life of the Celtic race. Other races may proclaim the "vox populi vox Dei;" it is the privilege of the Irish race to maintain that the voice of the artist is the voice of the people; for the people themselves are of the race of Hermes, actors and poets from the cradle. And that is why "Dublin, England," smites a protest from a vibrant daughter of Ireland, proud with the pride of race and the pride of the Artist.

Side by side with this modern development in Ireland itself, there has been evident in the world at large a growing understanding of what Ireland signifies. Ireland herself has no doubt on the subject. It is a simple fact of Irish life that, no matter what abysses of illusory difference open up between a disputatious Irishman from Ulster, and an equally disputatious Irishman from Munster, they are both well aware that Ulster and Munster are mere adjectives, and simply introduce a pleasing excuse for antagonism between units that are fundamentally in Union, and, as Irishmen, entirely distinctive from the rest of humanity. To their view, therefore, the growing understanding of Ireland in the world-consciousness has figured itself as a hazy background which has gradually condensed and shaped itself, at first inchoately, but latterly with some remote reflection of the real Ireland.

To the majority of outsiders, Ireland has been known chiefly as something in English politics—a kind of disease that curiously broke out in a symptom called Home Rule when parties in the British Parliament were pretty evenly balanced. If there was really a place called Ireland outside London, it was probably very barren, miserable, illiterate, behind the times, and obviously in need of being governed by some one else. Not many years ago, a kindly old lady in London asked the writer in all seriousness if there were tramcars in Ireland. That was before the era of universal electric cars; and it was from Dublin to Kingstown that the first electric tramway in the British Isles was laid. It was also a Dublin Company that sent the first steampacket across the Atlantic to New York, and characteristically enough, its starting point was not Ireland, but the English port of Liverpool.

Such ignorance was not however, confined to outsiders. The writer's own idea of Ireland and the Irish people—an idea which he had imbibed in his native city of Belfast in the early eighties—was such that when he went for a sea trip to the south of the island, he armed himself with a revolver and fifty cartridges as protection against the natives! Instead of which he spent several hours on the quayside of Waterford in a pleasant chat with a quay labourer, whose quick wit, picturesque speech, and kindly spirit disarmed the writer. Through him he discovered Ireland, and celebrated the event by firing the whole of his cartridges into a delicate gate on the side of Mount Misery the day after.

That was over a quarter of a century ago. The foundation of the Irish Renaissance had been well and truly laid, but the super-structure had yet to appear. In due time it reared itself stage by stage; and whereas in those days no line of the inimitable poetry of Yeats had yet been made public, now he has the seal of European approval in a Tauchnitz selection. Lovers of literature on the continent of Europe were not long in recognising the coming of a new spirit into letters; and when poet after poet made his and her appearance and ultimately blossomed into book form, whispers of the Irish "School" began to be heard across the Atlantic.

A few years ago, when passing through the ancient Norman City of Bayeux, in the north of France, a chance word from the writer after dinner in the hotel drew towards him another passing stranger, who had sat silent and apart during the meal. He at once ferretted out the writer's connection with the Irish Literary Movement, became alive and enthusiastic over a mutual interest, and disclosed the fact that he was a Professor in an American University in the eastern States, and that the work of the modern Irish writers formed a large portion of their literary studies. This is but one example out of many instances bearing testimony to the keen

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interest which is everywhere being shown in the new reappearance of Ireland.

That reappearance is not of course confined solely to literature. Like all true emanations from the spiritual hinterland of race, it affects all phases of the complex national life. The literary revival has for true brothers the Language revival, the Industrial revival, the Agricultural revival, and a complex political agitation. To each of these, due value must be assigned; but, singly or totally, they do not stand for more than a fragment of the new Ireland. Ireland is not a linguistic country in the continental sense. She is passionately interested in preserving the Irish language, not because it is a language, but because it is Irish. She is not an industrial country in the manufacturing sense; but her industry, as a quality in human activity, is enormous. She is not an agricultural country in the Canadian sense: she holds tenaciously to the land—and in some places to land that is only so-called by courtesy, being in truth naked rock—not because she can make it a source of wealth, but becauee it is Ireland, and her own by history, sacrifice and love. She is not a political country, notwithstanding a century's preoccupation with politics. The history of Ireland, in which politics form so conspicuous a part, is not—as presented by historians up till recently—the history of the Irish nation at home, but the history of English politics on Irish soil; and the political activity of Irishmen and women in England has not been the spontaneous exercise of a genius for politics, but an evidence of special versatility adapting its single purpose of freedom of Ireland to the constantly changing exigencies of English politics.

In whichever of these activities Irishmen and Irish women take part, they do so with distinctiveness. They will enter with the bravery of children on enterprises demanding experience and skill. If they succeed and they mostly do—their success will be abnormally rapid. If they fail, their failure will probably become of national value through its intermixture of idealism and sentiment. They will, by dint of racial enthusiasm and fineness of response, quickly and thoroughly master the intricacies of activities which from other races would demand some renunciation of the soul, but which come no nearer the soul of Ireland than she is willing to permit. They will enter into controversy with such abandon of impersonality that they will indulge in personalities of the most violent nature without danger to the person, character, or soul of either side in the dispute. The path of Irish politics is strewed alternately with broken friendships and buried hatchets: the protagonists march on, at one time hand to hand, at another time arm in arm.

In these characteristics, there is the indication of the working of Ireland's particular gift to the world, the spirit of democracy. What shape it might have taken had the Norman invasion not diverted her attention, and pursued the policy of "divide and conquer," it is perhaps futile to enquire. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the spirit of national unity which survived through seven centuries of alien rule, to win ultimately her recognition in even a partial measure of self-government, is capable yet of taking the circumstances of to-day in both hands, and moulding them to her vision of a free Community, united in the hidden law of the spirit; and from her spiritual centre developing in all directions towards the fullest expression of an amazing diversity. She has broken the power of an irresponsible landlordism: she may, or she may not, influence the coming adjustment of the rival forces in the economic life of Europe and the world: but whatever may be her specific business, behind it and through it will radiate the essential spirit of a true national democracy. Given free scope for the exercise of her genius, she will bring all things to the test of the race consciousness, and not to the test of another's. Her artists will go—are going—to her own life for their inspiration. Her life will be adjusted—is even now adjusting itself—to the dreams of her poets and seers. Thus her life will be organic, unified; free in circumference, yet held by an invisible centre in the spirit; and thus, building a fair habitation for her own genius, she will hold out friendly hands to other nations that are moving towards freedom, encouraging them with her dream, on a cosmic scale of her own national ideal, men and wemen grouped by blood, but chiefly by spiritual bonds, in such wise that each may realise the best within themselves after their own law, and thereafter seek for the ultimate

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unity of all mankind, not in the imposition of alien customs and ideas, but in the voluntary exchange, which is the one and only sure basis of lasting union.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE MAKING OF BRITISH INDIA, 1756—1853, *described in a series of Despatches, Treaties, Statutes, &c., by Ramsay Muir, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester (Longmans: 6s. net).*

This is a compilation judicially made from documents written in English and by Englishmen relating to the rise of the British Supremacy in India. The author has not considered it worth his while to consult contemporary documents written by non-Englishmen. The works of French, Dutch and Muhammadan historians deserve consideration. But the author has ignored their importance. His work is more indicatory than exhaustive. However, the book is a useful one and deserves to be read by those who are interested in the "Good old days of the East India Company's rule in India."

B.

I. CLARINDA. *By A. Madhaviah. Pp. 258. Price Rs. 1-8 and Rs. 2. K. Raghavier, Cheyur, Chingleput Dt.*

Clarinda was a historical character. She was the widow of a Marhatta Brahman who had been one of the king's servants at Tanjore. After her husband's death she became the concubine of an English officer of the name of Lyttelton who, strangely enough, instructed her in Biblical histories and Christian doctrines. She requested Schwartz, a famous missionary of those days, to baptize her, but was refused because of her "sinful connection." She was not prepared to give up Lyttelton then, but when he died she repeated her request to the missionary and was accepted. She was baptized at Palamcottah where she later on built the first Christian Church in that part of the country.

This is all that can now be gathered about the life-story of Clarinda from contemporary records. Mr. Madhaviah has endeavoured to fill up the gaps in her story from his own imagination and the result is a novel full of human interest and eminently readable.

II. MUTHUMEENAKSHI. *By A. Madhaviah. Translated from Tamil by one of his daughters. Pp. 121. Price As. 10. K. Raghavier, Cheyur, Chingleput Dt.*

Muthumeenakshi was a Brahman girl whose sad and sorrowful life was typical of the lives of thousands of girls in our country. Mr. Madhaviah describes the cruelty of the step-mother, the tyranny of the mother-in-law and the misfortunes of the wretched widow, to borrow Sir Sankaran Nair's phrase, "with the precision of direct knowledge." We hope this book would be widely read.

III. THE FATAL GARLAND. *By Mrs. Ghosal. Pp. 324. Published by Messers. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. 14, Chifford's Inn, London.*

Mrs. Ghosal, as our readers must be aware, is a sister of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore and bids fair to achieve literary fame among the English-reading public. "An Unfinished Song," Mrs. Ghosal's first book in English which was published, we believe, a little over a year ago, was very well received by both the Indian and the British Press. The book now under review more than maintains the standard of her first venture. The scene is laid in Bengal at the time when Sekandar Shah occupied the Imperial throne and Raja Suryadeb held the chieftainship of Dinajpur. Shakti the heroine of the Fatal Garland was selected as Rani by Ganesh Dev, the Prince of Dinajpur and garlanded by him in childish play. The prince, however, when grown up, married her rival playmate, Nirupama, while Shakti was away on a pilgrimage. Shakti's grief was unbounded when on her return she heard of the Prince's marriage, because ever since the prince had garlanded her with the "Fatal Garland" she looked upon herself as his bride. The Prince's refusal to marry her drove Shakti from grief to anger and from anger to revenge. She went and married Ganesh Dev's Mohammadan rival, Ghias-ud-Din, who afterwards became the Sultan of Bengal. Ganesh Dev was imprisoned by Shakti's husband and orderd to be beheaded. Shakti, however, unable to forget her love for him, managed to save his life and give her own instead.

This is the bare outline of Mrs. Ghosal's tale but she has worked into it a whole world of passion and interest. The book contains a number of charming illustrations.

IV. CHARACTER SKETCHES OF FAMILIAR LIFE. *By N. Ramanujaswami, B.A., B.L. Pp. 253. Price As. 12. Published by the author at Berhampur (Ganjam).*

These character sketches of Hindu social life, the author tells us, have been inspired by a study of the famous "Sketches by Boz." In our judgment, however, there is an important distinction between Boz and Mr. Ramanuja Swami inasmuch as Boz was an artist first and a social reformer afterwards, while the reverse of it seems to be the case with our present author. Mr. Ramanuja Swami's book is a collection of two short stories, unfortunately mixed up in printing as if they were one, which have been written to advocate the cause of social reform in Hindu society. It contains several passages of genuine humour and would pleasantly while away a few leisure hours.

V.—VII. LOVE, THE CONQUEROR OF DEATH. *Pp. 12. 6 ps.*

FAITH, BELIEF AND CREDULITY. *Pp. 8. 3 ps.*

THE PURPOSE OF LIFE. *Pp. 8. 3ps. Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India.*

A series of reprints from the *Epiphany*.

VIII. THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. *By G. G. Findlay, D.D. Pp. 16. 6 ps. Madras: The C.L.S. for India*

IX. THE SUPER-MAN AND THE SUPER-NATION. *By Tunbridge. Pp. 16. Price 1 Anna. C. L. Society, Madras.*

A scathing denunciation of the philosophy of Germany's teachers Nietzsche and Treitschke—from the British Christian view point.

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X. How do we stand to-day? *Pp. 48. Price 1d. Messrs. T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London.*

This is a reprint of the famous speech delivered by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 2nd Nov. 1915, in which he reviewed the operations of the Allied Forces in all the different theatres of war and which would be always remembered for its defence of the British action in the Dardanelles.

XI. Sir Edward Grey's Reply to Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg. *Pp. 20. Price 1d. T. Fisher Unwin.*

A letter addressed to the British Press on the 25th Aug. 1915 by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in reply to the German Chancellor's allegations that Belgium had, before the outbreak of the war, trafficked her neutrality with the English and was in effect in a plot with the *Allies* against Germany. The statement issued by the Foreign Office respecting the Anglo-German negotiations of 1912 is printed as an Appendix.

XII. Speech of His Excellency Signor Antonio Salandra. *Translated by Thomas Okey. Pp. 32. 6d. T. Fisher Unwin.*

This is a translation of the speech delivered by the Italian Prime Minister on June 2, 1915, in the capitol of Rome at the outbreak of hostilities between Italy and her former allies—Germany and Austria. The speech is an effective but dignified reply to the charges of "treachery and surprise" addressed to Italy by the German Chancellor. It is of course easy enough, as Signor Salandra remarks, "to ask if a man has any right to speak of alliances and of respect for treaties who, representing with far less genius but with equal indifference to moral considerations, the traditions of Frederick the Great and Prince Bismark, has dared to proclaim that necessity knows no law and has consented to his country's trampling under foot, burning and burying in the depths of the ocean every document and every civilized practice of public internal law." Signor Salandra, however, proves with the help of incontestible facts and unanswerable reasons that Germany and not Italy was really responsible for the break up of the Triple Alliance.

XIII. Sixty American Opinions on the War. *Pp. 165. Price one shilling. T. Fisher Unwin.*

The title indicates the nature of the contents. The opinion of Dr. Mortan Prince, the famous psychologist, may be quoted as typical:—'From the American viewpoint we are forced, however unwillingly, to the conclusion that Germany must be regarded in war as the enemy of civilization and in peace as the enemy of democracy."

XIV. The American Vs. the German view of the War. *By Dr. Mortan Prince. pp. 48. One shilling. T. Fisher Unwin.*

In this interesting pamphlet Dr. Prince gives his reasons for refusing his sympathy to Germany in the present war. "We care nothing," he says in the course of an eloquent and impressive passage, "for the 'necessities of war' . . . . we care nothing for fine-spun specious arguments as to why Germany was not to blame for the invasion of Belgium. We see only a peaceful unoffending nation defending her inalienable rights to her own soil. And we see the inhabitants for this offence shot down and their houses one by one put to the torch. We see tens of thousand of homes desolate . . . . and all this, mind you, not as unavoidable accidents from the shelling of the enemy in battle but deliberately and systematically and unnecessarily after the capture and occupation of the city, for the sole purpose of revenge, as officially proclaimed and officially justified."

The history of Alsace-Lorraine provides us with a concrete example of the German policy of "frightfulness" in time of peace. The German rule in these provinces has throughout been characterised by systematic cruelty towards unoffending citizens. Maitre Helmer, the author of this pamphlet, is a most desirable guide in studying the history of the German rule in Alsace. Besides being an Alsatian by birth he is himself a victim of the German policy. A prominent worker in the cause of Alsatian Re-Union with France, he has always been a thorn in the eyes of German officials. At the moment when the war broke out, the authorities were collecting evidence against him with a view to prosecuting him for high treason. He succeeded, however, in getting away into France two days before hte the mobilisation.

XVI. The Truth about the War. *By Alvaro Alcala Galiano, One shilling. Pp. 47. T. Fisher Unwin.*

The author, who is a Spaniard, discusses the origin and aspects of the European conflict and exhorts his countrymen "to take to heart these recent lessons of experience." "We have," he says, "very little in common with Germany and we are of small importance to her. Let us, however, be careful that at some distant day we do not stand in her path or our treatment may be the drastic one meted out to Belgium!"

G. S. Mongia.

The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Ramkrishna Mission Sevasram, *Kankhal, Hardwar, for the year 1914—Issued by Swami Sardananda, Secretary to the Ramkrishna Mission, Belur Math.*

The report summarises the activities of the Mission in its Service Home at Kankhal U. P. The total number of persons who were treated in the Sevasram outdoor hospital were 9444 and included men and women of all denominations. The Ashram also maintains an indoor hospital in which 211 persons were admitted during the year under review. A cholera ward was built last year, but the home needs a new outdoor dispensary and a general ward for non-Sannyasi patients. We all know what splendid work the mission has been doing in connection with the flood and famine relief in various parts of the country and we heartily commend this appeal for funds to the public. The report amply repays perusal and shows how accounts of public money should be rendered.

The Message of Swami Vivekananda *a lecture delivered at the 53rd birthday celebration of the Swami at the Ramkrishna Home, Mylapore, Madras, by K. S. Rama Swami Sashtri B.A., B.L. (Price annas three). Published by the Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras.*

This booklet of 52 pages gives a short summary of the teachings of Swami Vivekananda together with the author's reflections thereon. The teachings of the Swami have worked a great change in the educated mind of India and are destined to exert a greater influence in the future. The Swami's ideas on such current questions as the elevation of the depressed classes, widow re-marriage, the National University should be constantly kept before our mind.

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Publications of the nature of the booklet under review deserve every encouragement.

The printing is good and I could detect no typographical errors.

ALFRED THE GREAT, *published by the Christian Literature Society for India, pp. 40, price one anna.*

GLADSTONE: *published by the Christian Literature Society for India. 40 pp. Price one anna.*

The object of these and similar volumes of the Anna Library is to popularise the lives of the world's great men to Indian readers. It is not clear, however, as to what class of readers they are meant for. If for boys, the language should have been simpler and the arrangement of facts should have been such as to make the whole read like a connected story. As it is, in many places the presentation of the story is bald and presupposes previous knowledge in the reader. There is however a great need for such cheap publications in India and the Christian Literature Society is doing a real service by publishing these volumes. Every school boy should have them in his library. The books are illustrated and the typography is excellent.

SIR SANKAR NAIR, *Kt., C. I. E.—a sketch of his life and career. Published by the Madras Dravidian Association. 69 pp. Price four annas.*

This is a short sketch of the life of the Education Member. The brochure has no striking feature but the story of the life of Sir Sankaran is plainly recounted. There is an appendix containing extracts from his contributions to English periodicals. The printing is the average of Indian printing but it is not free from typographical errors.

B.

HOW TO CHECK DIABETES MELLITUS. *By Hamid Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law. Third Edition. For free distribution.*

The fact that Mr. Hamid Ali Khan's book has reached a third edition, is a sufficient tribute to its worth. The book is based on personal experience of the disease. It seems to be valuable for those who are subject to the disease. The author, though a lay man, has dealt with the subject scientifically. The part of the book which deals with the uses of indigenous drugs is very interesting.

PREVENTION OF SMALLPOX. *By Chunilal Bose M. B. F. C. S. Chemical Examiner to the Government of Bengal. For free distribution.*

Last year when smallpox was raging in the city, causing a sort of panic in the minds of the people, Rai Bahadoor Chunilal Bose read a paper on the prevention of smallpox at the Y. M. C. A. Hall under the presidency of Major R. P. Willson F. R. C. S., I.M.S., Superintendent, Campbell Medical School. The present work is a reprint of that lecture for free distribution.

In this brochure Dr. Bose after describing the nature and symptoms of the disease as briefly as possible deals more elaborately with the prevention of the disease. Any one who cares to read this pamphlet is bound to be assured in his mind that the first and foremost preventive measure is vaccination and vaccination only. We wish this pamphlet a wide circulation.

THE PLAGUE. *By Gianchand, T. Hingorani M. B. B. S. L. M. F. R. C. S. Civil Surgeon, Sukkur. Price 2 annas.*

This is a small pamphlet on Plague. The object of the writer is to remove misconception regarding this fatal scourge from the public mind. The author does not claim any orginality; he has simply put down the facts as discussed by others, leaving aside all controversial matter and laying stress on things which are useful and practical. We have no doubt in our mind, if the sound advice given by Dr. Hingarani be carefully followed, there is every chance of plague being stamped out in the near future.

MOSQUITOES AND MALARIA. *By N. G. Shah, L. M. & S., Assistant Surgeon.*

This booklet is a reprint of a paper read by Dr. Shah before the Kathiawar Medical Society, Rajkot.

In these few pages Dr. Shah has made an attempt to describe the characters and habits of the mosquitoes, the mode of infection of Malaria, its symptoms, and its treatment and prevention. The language of the book is simple—not difficult for a layman to understand. One who likes to have some knowledge of Malaria, may read this pamphlet with profit.

THE NEW HEALTH BOOK *Or How to Live to 108 years. By Swami V. Davasikhamani Pillai M. E., B. C. E. Price Rs. 1-4-0.*

Throughout these pages, the author has attempted to present before the public the principles of health and the practices pertaining to it. We are glad to say that the author has not failed in his attempt. The book is an instructive one. The parts treating of physical culture, the importance of pure air, sunlight and ventilation of houses and of fasting are very nicely written.

FIRST AID IN ACCIDENTS. *By U. Rama Rau. Price Re. 1-0-0.*

The fact that Surgeoon General W. B, Bannerman M.D., C. S. I., D. Sc., K.H.P., has written a foreward to this small book is a sufficient guarantee of its usefulness. After an introductory chapter on the importance of the subject, the structure of the body, bandages, fractures, dislocations, sprains, haemorrhages, wounds, burns, scalds, bites, artificial respiration and poisoning are discussed. There is also an important chapter on ambulance transport and stretcher-drill. The pictures are very numerous—a very commendable feature in such a work. The book will be useful both to Ambulance students and the public.

JNANENDRA NARAYAN BAGCHI.

SHRI SHANKARACHARYA AND HIS KAMAKOTI PEETHA, *by N. K. Venkatesan, M. A. Asst. Lecturer in English, Govt. College, Kumbakonam, Pp. 35.*

The booklet contains a brief legendary life of Shankaracharya compiled chiefly from the Puranas and other similar works and gives a short history of his *Kamakoti Peetha* at Conjeevaram, which according to the author was designed by him to be the Central Seat for India. Besides, it presents the sketches of the lives of his distinguished disciples who succeeded after him to the *Peetha*. It is generally believed that the date of Shankaracharya can in no way be placed before the 8th century A. D., but Mr. Venkatesan holds that the traditional date as found in the Puranas, i. e., the year 2593 of *Kali-yuga* or 509 B. C. is quite right and is also supported by the lineage of teachers and disciples preserved in different Mutts. His arguments deserve to be examined.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

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PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF SOME INTOXICATING DRUGS *by Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose, I.S.O., M.B., F. C. S., Offg: Chemical Examiner, Bengal.*

It is a small pamphlet of 21 pages. It contains in an abridged form in clear and simple language all about the evil effects of alcohol, opium, cocaine, Indian hemp and tobacco—the intoxicating drugs most commonly used by the people of this country.

In his preface the author says :—

"At the outset, I should tell you as a medical man, that none of these drugs is necessary for the human body in conditions of health, but they perhaps with the exception of tobacco, are valuable medicinal agents and are indispensable to the physician in the treatment of certain diseases. I am, myself a teetotaler and have the greatest aversion against the use of any of these drugs except as medicine. It must not, however, be supposed that this aversion is the result of any ill-founded prejudice against these intoxicants. It is a conviction based on my long experience as a medical man, as a chemical examiner and also, as a member of community. There are many who hold that moderate doses of any of these intoxicants specially alcohol and opium, do not produce any ill effect on the system. But even those that hold this view are constrained to admit that it is very difficult to keep to a moderate dose for any length of time, because one of the physiological properties of these drugs is to induce a craving for increased doses. Many a sad case are known in which the habit of drinking or opium taking began with small doses only, often under medical advice, but which continually went on increasing till the sorrowful end came in with the termination of a valuable life or the incarceration of the victim in a lunatic asylum."

He has dealt with each drug separately and has given the action of these intoxicants on the human mind and different organs of the body and has shown very clearly that the habit of taking these drugs saps the moral fibre of their devotees so that they become moral wrecks and scourges to society.

It is a very deplorable fact that in India the use of cocaine is increasing very rapidly inspite of the vigilance of the Excise Department. The figures collated from the annual reports of the Chemical Examiners to the Government of Bengal for the last seven years given in this book show that in the year 1908, 125 samples of cocaine were seized and sent for examination whereas in 1913 the number went up as high as 4875. This shows how rapidly the contagion has spread in Bengal—I think in other parts of India too. The learned author rightly observes: "Considered sociologically, it is perhaps safe to say that a considerable portion of the crimes committed in this city (Calcutta) may be traced to the utter moral depravity which follows the habitual use of cocaine."

Every well-wisher of society should possess a copy of this pamphlet and try to check the mischief by explaining to the public the grave consequences that follow the use of these drugs. This book ought to be translated into all the vernaculars of India and the local governments should distribute them broadcast.

S. B.

OUTLINES OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY *by Babu Abhoykumar Mazumdar, M. A. Senior Professor of Philosophy, Krishnath College, Berhampur, Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author writes, "this text in ethics is intended specially for meeting the wants of the students preparing for the B. A. Examination in ethics for the Calcutta University" and he also tells us why he has written this book —"As a teacher of Philosophy for over eighteen years, I have always found the students of my classes in helpless condition. For a long time, therefore, I have been feeling the need of such suitable books as will give them considerable relief and at the same time, much assistance." And "writing from the standpoint of *Ideal-realism* as expounded by Vedantism and Hegelianism I have accepted the view that the real standpoint of morality should be that which takes into account and explains all the sides of human nature and is, therefore, the perfection of nature; I have, consequently, tried to show that all other forms of the moral standpoint are based on the one-sided conception of the self." There is no place for the serious review of a textbook like this. But the author will, naturally, be glad if the students feel that they have got after all a suitable book which gives them relief and much assistance and if the University authorities appoint it as a textbook.

S.

SANSKRIT.

SYADISHABDA SAMUCHCHAYA *by Kaviraja Amarachandra Sury, with the comment called Syadishabda-dipika edited by Pandita Lalchand, Angrazi Kothi, Benares City. Pp. 6+58. Price Annas 10.*

The author is an ancient writer belonging to the Shvetambara Sect of the Jaina community and his present work is a लिङ्गानुशासन or a treatise on Gender especially intended for the students of Hemachandra's Sanskrit grammar Siddha Hemachandra.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI

SONERI SHABDO *by Chandravadan Ishwarlal Khansaheb, Printed at the Surat Jain Printing Press, Price Rs. 0-1-0 (1916).*

These are copy book maxims, printed in large type, in the form of a small copy book. It contains 66 "golden words" of advice.

CHHUPO DUT, *Part I. by Abdul Kadar Hasan Ali, Editor of the Akhbar-e-Saifi, Printed at the Badri Printing Press, Rajkot, Clothbound, pp. 100. Price Rs. 0-4-0. (1916)*

These are stories of an Indian detective. They deserve mention only as they are written by a Bora Mahammadan gentleman.

RAMAYAN NO RASATMAK SAR *by Hargovind Kanji Bhatt, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, pp. 46. Re. 0-4-0. (1916).*

As its name implies, this book gives the substance of the Ramayana in verse. As the writer of the introduction, Mr. C. N. Pandya says, the book is of the ordinary type and possesses both faults and good points.

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CHITRANGADA *translated by Mahadev Haribhai Desai, B. A., LL. B., and Narhari Dwarkadas Parikh, B. A., LL. B. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad, pp. 70. Paper cover. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1916).*

This is a very readable translation of the Bengali play written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore. The translators have taken special care to make it resemble the original as much as possible and have been able to preserve its spirit. The preface is, however, written in a very "high" style, and would not be understood by many.

PRAKRATI SOWNDARYA, *by Nandnath Kedarnath Dikshit, printed at the Lakshmivilas Printing Press, Baroda, Clothbound, pp. 32. With Pictures. Price 0-3-0. (1915).*

A short essay on the beauties of Nature, animate and inanimate, prepared sometime ago by Mr. Dikshit, of the Baroda Educational Department, is now reprinted in Devnagri characters. It certainly testifies to the love of Nature entertained by the writer, as well to his happy style in describing her beauties.

SMARANA SAMHITA, *by Narsinhrao Bholanath Divatia, B. A., C. S, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, Clothbound with artistic cover and pictures. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1916).*

This grand and the best elegy in Gujarati owes its origin to the sad bereavement that the poet suffered some time ago by the death of his young son. As the best exponent of lyrical poetry, Mr. Narsinhrao till now holds a high place, but this "lyric of mourning" exceeds in its beauty and pathos, all his former poems. The inspiration came from a very living source, and it has made him utter words, which surely appeal to his readers as nothing else appealed before. Human nature being what it is, a wave of sincere sympathy at once reaches out from the heart of the reader to that of the poet, who in spite of the reserve of his spiritual strength on which he falls back for support as on a rock, cannot still shake off the state of a sorrow-stricken parent. The event of a death in one's family is an ordinary incident, but it requires a poet's pen to exalt it to the pitch of the sublime and the beautiful. The ascending notes of a funeral song, and the dying, whispering wail of an autumn wind, the soothing sentiments of one who extracts comfort from a comfortless event, and the silent resignation of one who believes in the eternal goodness of things, all these one finds here. The foreward by Prof. Anand Shanker Dhruva, M. A., LL. B. is in every way worthy of the poem and the writer. The history of this kind of poem is very accurately traced, while all the beauties of this particular poem are well brought out. The notes at the end are scholarly and calculated to advance the value of the work. The only drawback are the pictures, which somehow or other are not what they should have been. A few lines from one of the best gems of the poem,—a pathetic appeal by the departed Innocent Soul to his Father in Heaven, to open the doors of His temple and get him in, now that he has finished (alas! too soon) his wanderings in the Desert of Life,—are here extracted: They are so simple that any Indian can understand them.

मंगल मन्दिर खोलो, दयामय! मंगल मन्दिर खोलो!
जीवन वन अति वेगे वटाव्युं, हार ऊभो शिशु भोलो;
तिमिर गयुं ने जोति प्रकाशयो, शिशुने डरमां बोलो
दयामय! मंगल मन्दिर खोलो!

SHRI VALMIKI RAMAYAN, *Balkand, by Manharram Hariharram Mehta, B. A., printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Pages 223. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1916).*

This is a translation into Gujarati verse of Valmiki's celebrated epic. Mr. Manharram found the metre of the original, viz. अनुष्टुभ, unsuited to the genius of the Gujarati language, to convey the grand and heroic ideas of Valmiki; he has therefore struck out a new line, and freed himself from the restraint of any prosodial metre whatsoever, and tried the experiment of translating it into blank verse. To those who have been used for generations to the shackles as well as the sweetness of rhyme and metre, the departure appears to be rather startling and irreconcileable, but if once you come to discard those preconceived notions or inclinations, the verse, read with proper punctuation and emphasis does not sound jarring; not only that, but in several places it rises to the grandeur of the situation depicted. There are passages where one would like to halt and read them over again. We are afraid, that in spite of all these things in its favor, the book will have to make a heroic effort to be popular. The translator calls his new arrangement of words in blank verse, Ramachhand.

K. M. J.

HINDI.

KSHAYA ROGA *Or Tuberculosis. By Balkrishna Sarma. The Indian Press, Allahabad. Price 5 annas.*

The present work is a Hindi translation of a Prize Essay by S. Adolphus Knop, M. D. (New York). The translation is nicely done. One who can read Hindi will gain much knowledge of the disease by reading this translation of Mr. Balkrishna Sarma. The number of cases of tuberculosis is increasing daily. It is high time for every one of us to know the nature of the disease and the means of combating it. We praise Mr. Balkrishna Sarma for this beautiful translation.

JNANENDRA NARAYAN BAGCHI.

KAISA ANDHAIR *by Shree Pandit Anudidhan Bandyopadhyay and published by Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain at the Central Jain Publishing House, Arrah, Demy 16mo, pp. 77, Price as. 4.*

In this novel the last part of Scott's "Ivanhoe" has been almost wholly reproduced. The writer has been very dexterous in applying the horrid descriptions at the end of Scott's novel to Indian conditions. He has chosen the cells of some of the Indian priests at places of pilgrimage, as the scenes for his descriptions, and though in some cases these may have been far-fetched and exaggerated, the author has done well to call attention to a state of things, which though practically non-existent now-a-days, was a source of terrible misery and sin formerly. The story in the book is interesting and the book will repay perusal. The language is somewhat defective and it is strange that instead of Bengali-ism, we find Anglo-

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cism in some places in which Hindi has been used unidiomatically.

SHIKSHA KA ADARSHA AUR LAIKHAN-KALA *by Swami Satyadeva, Printed at the Standard Press, Allahabad and published by the Satyagranthamala Office, Johnstonganj, Allahabad, Crown 8vo, pp. 109, Price as. 5.*

We hail Swami Satyadeva after a pretty long time again. As usual, the writer has been forcible and original in his remarks. He has rightly called attention to that set of writers in Hindi who have recourse to the worst forms of plagiarism. They would advertise for MSS. books for publication and having refused them as unsuitable, would publish them again after a few months in their own names, after due curtailments and additions. The author has given very useful views on the art of writing and his criticisms have been not at all inordinate. The second part of the book consists of his views on the right form of education; and as to this he thinks that the ideal of education varies with the specific ideals of different societies. The author's views are certainly very instructive and he has enlivened the publication, as is usual with him, through the help of many opportune anecdotes, some of which are from his own personal experience.

BHARATIYA SHASHAN *by Mr. Bhagwan Das Maheshwar, Shishmahal, Meerut, Crown 8vo. pp. 143 and 15, Printed at the Sudarshan Press, Allahabad, Price as. 7.*

This is a nice handbook on the constitution of the Indian Government and the writer has given all that is required on the subject. His language is simple and correct and he has dealt with the subject with some care. The statistics which he has quoted in certain places would prove very useful. At the end of the book there are certain additional appendices, which give in a succinct form many very pertinent figures. The book with all this is interesting and the get-up is very nice.

MAHARAJA SCINDHIA KAI VYAKHYAN, *compiled by Mr. Ramjidas Vaishya (Hon. Secretary, Gwalior Chamber of Commerce) Gwalior and published by him, Crown 8vo. pp. 271 and 46 and 4, Price Rs. 3-8.*

These are the speeches of the Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior. There is an unmistakeable ring of sincerity in these speeches, as Rao Bahadur Raoji Janardan Bhide, who has written an introductory review, rightly puts it. We can see from the speeches that the Maharaja is no less enlightened than his brother Mahratta Prince of Baroda, though he does not come so much to the fore as the latter. Even the style of the speeches is instructive and administrators and statesmen can learn much from them. The compiler has to be congratulated on this publication. His own introduction throws much side-light on the history of the Scindia family and the way in which the present scion of that family is governing his State. Several decent blocks of the Maharaja in different dresses and at different ages, increase the artistic value of the publication and there are a few other blocks as well. The get up of the book is excellent.

SHYAMASHYAM UPANYAS *by Pandit Shankarprasad Misra. Printed and published by the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow, Crown 8vo. pp. 76—as. 5.*

This is a very instructive novel and its plot is not bad. The evil effects of want of female education have been graphically shown in it. Certain chapters are devoted to the foolish eagerness of females for ornaments due to ill education. The author has sometimes gone to details and considering the other aspects of the novel, this seems to have marred a little the symmetry of the novel. The novel has ended very happily and feelingly and there is a great deal that can be learnt from the whole of it. We must welcome the increase in number of such really useful publications.

MAIWAR GATHA *by Pandaiya Lochan Prasad, Published by Mr. Haridas Vaidya at the Narsingh Press, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 78—as. 4.*

The author has given in this publication in a very touching manner some stories in poetical form from the history of Maiwar. No doubt these redound to the grandeur of mediæval India. The language and style of the author are excellent, and have added to the worth of the publication. We are very glad that the author is rising in the estimation of the Hindi world through his publications which are getting better day by day. The get-up of the book, as of other books published by the enterprising publisher Shree Haridas Vaidya, is highly satisfactory, and we must commend his zeal as well, for imitation on the part of other publishers.

ANAND KI TOKNI *by the same author and published by the same publisher. Crown 8vo. pp. 226—As. 8.*

This book has in the main been written on the same lines as "Chowbey ka Chitteha" which we reviewed some time ago, though some of its articles, of which there are fifty-two, are translations from "Folk Tales of Bengal." A few are highly interesting and artistic, and there is none which will not repay perusal both for its style and interesting elements. The Hindi Literature can very well see a few more additions to books of this nature, which is certainly novel in the language. We need hardly say that the get up of the book is excellent.

BHARAT-SHASANPADDHATI *by Pandit Radhakrishna Jha, M. A., B. L., Lecturer, Patna College. Published by the Khadga-vilas Press, Bankipur. Demy 8vo. pp. 316. Price bound edition—Rs. 2, ordinary edition—Rs. 1-12-0.*

This may be said to be a history of the constitution of the Indian administration if at all it has got any continuous and consistent history. The title of the book may accordingly be misleading as to its contents. In what the author has written he must be said to have sufficiently been painstaking and researchful; and at any rate a systematic attempt at writing about the constitution of our administration cannot but be said to have removed a long felt want. The few other small books on the subject, though more exhaustive containing in some instances even more detailed information, cannot be said to be historical. The printing and get up of the book are nice and the language satisfactory.

PRIYAPRAVAS *by Pandit Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay. Published by the Khadgavilas Press, Bankipur. Demy 8vo. pp. 53 and 255—Rs. 1-8-0.*

The subject of the book is "Shree Krishna" on whom the poets in the Braj language are never tired of writing. The poem under review is certainly a grand production and may be said to mark an epoch in the history of Hindi poetry. The introduction of the author is also masterly. But though he has followed the example of certain other Hindi writers, it must be said that he has deviated considerably from the theme which he should have pursued. The author is an well known writer in Hindi, and though he is not a voluminous writer, what he has written has been

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very valuable. We commend his style, which though not simple is suited best to his subject. The book is nicely bound-up and the get up is very satisfactory.

M. S.

MATHEMATICS.

ALGEBRAICAL EXERCISES WITH SOLUTIONS. *By Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., Emeritus Professor of Mathematics, Canning College, Lucknow, Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged, 1916, Price Re. 1-4.*

After a distinguished career Babu Sarat Chandra Mukerjee has retired from the professor's chair in Canning College, Lucknow, which he so worthily filled. In our school-days, and those of our elders, his "Algebraical Solutions" was known in school-boy parlance as "Sarat Chandra's Solutions." It was a very popular manual, and enabled many a boy who had no special aptitude for mathematics to learn algebra. It is meant for matriculation candidates, and in the present edition has been brought thoroughly up to date, meeting the requirements of the present-day syllabus of the Indian Universities. The author says: "After having gone through two editions, which were well received by both teachers and students, the book lay out of print for nearly two decades owing to the author having lost interest in it under stress of several sad circumstances." We hope the present edition will be as well received by both teachers and students as the two previous ones.

C.

A REVIEW REVIEWED.

A criticism of my *Prosody and Rhetoric* by Mr. Dhirendranath Choudhury in your March number has been brought to my notice. The writer has spared no pains in picking out some definitions and illustrations from my book to show that I have borrowed from Mr. R. Bose's *Rhetoric and Prosody*. He seems to forget that books on the same subject are bound to contain similar definitions and sometimes the same stock illustrations. He is apparently unaware that many of Mr. Bose's definitions and illustrations are also to be found in the treatises of Bain, Hiley, Nesfield and others. I am sorry that he is blind to the general arrangement and logical order of my book which are entirely different from those of Mr. Bose's. The latest ideas set forth by me have evidently escaped his notice. Copies of my *Prosody and Rhetoric* are kept in all college libraries in Bengal, and I openly invite professors and students to compare my book with Mr. Bose's and judge for themselves whether or not my method of treatment is original.

ROBY DATTA

APPLIED HISTORY

THIS is just a line to say how I enjoyed reading Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Confessions of a History Teacher" in the December Modern Review. Being a student of Political Science I can not presume to say much on the subject of history; but these two branches of learning are, after all, very closely related to each other. Indeed, the English historian James Freeman has declared that "history is past politics and politics is present history."

Mr. Sarkar is nothing if he is not interesting and refreshing. He is so, because he seems to pour his very life into everything he takes up. I wish I could persuade every Indian college professor to read his "Confessions."

There is, however, one point that I would be glad if Mr. Sarkar had stressed a little more fully. It is, of course, important that the students in India should learn the scientific methods of investigation; but is it not equally important that their teachers also should keep up the habit of research? Is it not true that they too frequently neglect this habit or let it slip into the background? In my own University here in Iowa, we instructors know quite well that there is not much chance of "getting a raise" if we do not occasionally produce something which will give "evidence of original research."

At the beginning of the University year, my chief, Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, a name highly honored among the Political Scientists of America, called the instructors of his department in a conference and said: "In all of our efforts at this University we are striving to make our country a better place to live in. We are not here primarily to discuss political theories, but to turn our attention to the past and to exploit it in the interest of the living present. As members of the instructional staff, it is our duty to furnish trained experts whose services are so necessary in public administration." Can a teacher have a loftier ideal than this? The more I teach the more I feel that the young men and women who attend my classes ought to realize that knowledge should seek justification in its practical application. The facts of physical science, of literature, of history, of polity are not in themselves of highest value apart from their service

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to humanity. We do not perhaps need to spend much time on the study, let us say, of history for its own sake. It seems to me that what we need most at this stage of our development in India is Applied History, which, as my chief would explain, regards the past as a social laboratory in which experiments in politics and human welfare are being tested daily. It is the mission of the history teacher to apply the results of these experiments to real present-day conditions, to real life. I may be accused in India of being an utilitarian; but as a result of my constant contact with healthy-minded, practical, common-sense people I am convinced that the chief end of studying the Social Sciences —and history is one of them—is to interrogate the past in the light of the actual conditions of the present, to find the finger-posts to human betterment, and to outline a rational program of progress in legislation, administration, and social welfare.

Moreover, being a strong believer in organization, I would like to see the progressive teachers of India organize a national teacher's association to advance the interests of the teaching profession. Why would it not be a good plan for Indian college professors to get together once a year and exchange views on subjects of common interest? What does Professor Jadunath Sarkar say?

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.
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State University of Iowa.
Iowa City. U. S. A.
January, 1916.

THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT

THE Andhra Movement, to start rather abruptly, is the most mis-represented, the most mis-understood and the most mis-judged of all the movements that had their origin in India. It may not, perhaps, be irrelevant to quote a few words from the "admirable" address of Mr. George Yule delivered from the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress:—

"All movements of the kind in which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run their course. The first is one of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession, and by misapprehension of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking "big jumps into the unknown." The final stage of all is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. These various phases overlap each other, but between the first and the last the distinction is complete."

The movement has made such good progress that it may be said to have survived the first two stages. Partial concessions seem to be within sight, not of course without a misapprehension of aim that a disruptive process is set in motion before the unifying process is complete, that things which demand more immediate attention suffer neglect, that national energies are unnecessarily frittered away, so on and so forth. We are quite confident however that the underlying federal principle so admirably suited to the political needs of India will ere long receive due recognition at the hands of the Government and the people as well.

The movement has a good historical background. The causes that have been at work are varied and complex, and it is a sad mistake indeed to attach undue importance to any particular factor thereof. It is due from me however to confess that indiscreet and I might add immoderate advocacy have not a little contributed to the volume of misrepresentation and misinterpretation that so quickly encircled the clear and unmistakable principles underlying the movement. Stripping it of the popular notion, I propose to trace briefly its historical continuity and evolution and endeavour to point out that the movement is not a by-product of the imagination of the youthful and unemployed idealists but one which suggests the necessity for, and the ways and means of, readjusting the territories of India on known ethnic and scientific principles and thus helping the formation of the Indian nation on better and surer foundations.

The Andhra Movement, if I am excused for an assertion which precedes demonstration, is a national or if you please, a sub-

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national movement, a movement which strengthens, if it does not for the first time suggest, the idea of a federated India—the only desirable, if not the only possible, solution of the Indian national problem. I must, in this connection, warmly protest against the assertion made in certain quarters that the movement is purely sectional and is at bottom concerned with striving after a few more loaves and fishes for the Telugu folk, and its comparison with the Muhammadan separatist movement is the most unkindest of all. I do not deal with the Andhra University and other local grievances here as they are automatically removed by the grant of a separate province; and I therefore confine myself with the question of the province and the political principles it involves.

A slight digression into regions of political science ought to be permitted as some ideas of Nationalism and Federalism are helpful for a fuller appreciation of the Andhra Movement. Nationalism was the dominant note that regulated the political life and conduct of the 19th century—a fact fully illustrated by the struggle of the European Nations in the last century to assert and maintain their national existence against the aggressive attacks of their stronger neighbours. The slightest ethnic variations were deemed sufficient for the formation of separate nationalities. Napolean and Metternick were the sworn foes of nationalism, and considerations of national unity were responsible for the Napoleanic and the Italian wars. The ruthless partition of Poland evoked the righteous indignation of Burke, and Lord Acton writes with a glow of sincerity —"There was a nation demanding to be united into a state—a soul, as it were, wandering in search of a body, a disembodied spirit crying for vengeance." The case of Ireland is, as we all know, a matter of past history and present politics. The doctrine of "National" states which loomed so large in the political horizon of the last century was found to be rather defective; and it was discovered that smaller nations grouped together on a federal basis will make for the lasting peace and solidarity of the world. Harmony and unity can then be worked out of the local diversities and sturdy local independence is proved not incompatible with a larger patriotism which a federation implies. There was almost a superstitious belief sometime ago that local patriotism is a bar to national progress; and stupid attempts were made to put them down by wholesale persecutions in the 17th and 18th centuries. Nor is it necessary for me to remind you of the exploded doctrine of political science which became crystallised a quarter of a century back into the reactionary opposition of Anglo-India against the Indian National Congress. I mean the doctrine which lays down common language, common religion, common interests and common history as indispensable pre-requisites of Nationality. A glance at the federal constitution of Germany, Switzerland, the United States of America and Australia is instructive as it shows how harmony is worked out of not merely diversity but even of conflict of interests. Just as nationalism was the feature of the 19th century, federalism may be said to be an idea which has very visibly affected the current of political thought of the twentieth century. Lord Tennyson was the true poet of federalism and his "Parliament of man and federation of the world" opens up a glorious vista of the political future of the world. Federalism is the message of the twentieth century awaiting fulfilment and demonstrates to the world that "22 independent states each having its distinctive manners, customs, institutions and laws" could peacefully settle themselves into the nation of Switzerland, that Austria-Hungary could be a political State in spite of 28 languages; that Germany could be evolved out of several independent kingdoms: and that the English, the French and the German elements can peacefully settle their local and national affairs in the Grand Assemblies of the United States of America. The component parts of the British Empire—Australia and Canada and the Union of South Africa—worked out their political salvation on federal lines; while England the motherland has been getting on in its own, crude and primitive way with a Parliament which can authorise a tramway for Nottingham, legislate for the liberation of slaves in the British Empire, grant Self-government to the Union of South Africa: and in the same sessions can amend the Indian High Courts Act or the Land Transfer Act. Thanks to the spirited and patriotic agitation of the Irish people for over a century, the English nation was awakened to the urgent necessity of solving the Irish question. Mr. Asquith with

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his characteristic political sagacity discovered that the Irish Home Rule Scheme is but a part of a bigger "devolution all round" and that the federal readjustment of the local Governments of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland is the only true solution of the Irish question. The British Isles, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and ere long India, will be self-governing members of a huge federation with a truly imperial parliament concerned only with truly imperial affairs.

Before, however, India takes her place as an independent and respected member of the British Empire, she has to solve her own national problem. We shall presently see which of the three great possibilities of the Indian Nation is the most practicable, the most desirable and the most conducive to the efficiency of the local self-government without at once impairing the vitality of the Indian Nation. The three possibilities in the making of the Indian Nation are, firstly, a federation of the United States of India based on known ethnic and linguistic principles; secondly, the destruction at one stroke of differences in race, language, manners and customs, and the manufacture of the Indian Nation straightway; and thirdly, the preservation of the present order of things which means again the perpetuation of an arrangement of territories made by Lord Clive and Warren Hastings who had no higher consideration in jumbling together the Indian Provinces than those of political expediency, conquest and annexation. A portion of China, if conquered and annexed, would have been designated a portion of the Indian Empire as the annexed portion of Burma was so considered against our united protests. There cannot be any limit to official vagaries and official considerations when a G. O. could place Zanzibar of Africa and Aden of Arabia under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Presidency. If Austin were to be living then, and revising his Jurisprudence, he would have borrowed this G. O. as a choice illustration of the omnipotence of the positive law which he expounded at length. The Ceded Districts, the Northern Circars, the 24 Parganas, the Central Provinces, are names still reminiscent of confusion and chaos out of which the present arrangement of territories came into existence. The second possibility is not seriously contended by any, although it ought to logically follow from the rejection of the first. The choice, I may safely conclude, lies between the United States of India and the preservation of the status quo.

I shall endeavour to point out from the utterances of our Indian politicians and the English statesmen how our ideas about the Indian Nationalism have been surely, though imperceptibly, tending towards the federal idea. Our political ideas were just emerging out of a nebulous state in the early beginnings of the Congress. It was generally recognised by our leaders then that the nationalising forces have been at work, and the work of our leaders chiefly consisted in repulsing hostile attacks. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, as the President of the first sessions of the Indian National Congress, talks of "the eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices." Mr. Badruddin Tyabji talks of the unity of different communities. Wedderburn and Yule elaborate on the representative government and the revival of national life in necessarily vague terms. It is Mr. P. Anandacharlu that devotes greater attention in his presidential address to the question of Indian Nationality and meets the arguments of our friends the enemies by an admirable force of logic :—

"To detract from the worth and significance of the well knit, ever-expanding phalanx known as the Indian National Congress, a desultory controversy was raised round the word *Nationality*—a controversy at once learned and unlearned, ingenious and stupid, etymological and ethnological. Now a common religion was put forward as the differential, now a common language, now a proved or provable common extraction, and now the presence of the privileges of commensality and inter-conjugal kinship. These ill-considered and ill-intentioned hypotheses have one and all fallen to the ground, and no wonder for the evident circumstance was lost sight of, that words might have diverse acceptations—each most appropriate for one purpose and in a like degree inappropriate for other purposes. In my view, the word nationality should be taken to have the same meaning as the Sanskrit *Prajah* which is a correlative of the term *Rajah*—the ruling power. Though like the term prajah, it may have various significations, it has but one obvious and unmistakable meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are—'citizens of one country, subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme legislature, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal and woe, by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens.' Affirm this standard and you have an Indian nation. Deny it and you have a nation, *nowhere* on the face of the earth."

Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji later on foreshadowed the colonial self-government

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ideal developed and perfected by the Allahabad Convention of 1908. In 1904 Sir Henry Cotton, the President of the Bombay sessions of the Congress, made an important and weighty pronouncement characterised by a clearness of political vision and prophetic insight. I make no apology in quoting it at length:—

"Autonomy is the key-note of England's true relations with her great colonies. It is the key-note also of India's destiny. It is more than this, it is the destiny of the world. The tendency of empire in the civilized world is in the direction of compact autonomous states which are federated together and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central power.....The ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing colonies, each with its own local autonomy cemented together under the aegis of Great Britain. That is a forecast of a future, dim and distant though it be, the gradual realisation of which it is the privilege of Government to regulate, and the aim and hope and aspiration of people to attain.

"This is our ideal of India's future. The process of reconstruction should be always before our eyes. Changes may, and should, be gradual, but they must come, and we should prepare ourselves for their realisation. Statesmanship consists in fore-seeing, and we are all of us the better for the exercise of fore-thought. Familiarise yourselves, therefore, with a conception of India's future, which gathers as it grows, and insensibly attracts into the political evolution all other great problems of economic and social reforms which are awaiting solution."

The ideal of the United States of India, which, according to Sir Henry Cotton, ought to be the aim of every patriotic Indian, was invested with the dignity of official recognition in the historic despatch of the Government of India 1911:—

"It is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of mis-government, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the supreme government should not be associated with any particular provincial government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is therefore a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great central government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada, and Australia."

Elsewhere in the same despatch, it is said—

"We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi speaking people, now included in the province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalees and have never therefore had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of Behar for the Beharees has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Behar having been held by the Bengalees. The Beharees have long desired separation from Bengal. There has been, moreover, a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among the Beharees that Behar will never develop until dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our initiative a thoroughly sound and much desired change."

May I express the fervent hope that the day is not far distant when the Viceroy of India will have to make a similar pronouncement on the formation of the Andhra Province? Every nation consists of communities in varying stages of progress and their indiscriminate jumble always retards the growth of less developed communities. An historical investigation shows it to be a mere truism.

We shall presently examine the more immediate causes which facilitated the rapid growth of this movement. After an era of general enlightenment and advance of municipal government, the people have become keenly alive to the fact that they had survived the existing distribution of provinces based on an old policy of annexation and conquest. The perpetuation of the status quo without regard to ethnic and federal considerations leads to types of inequalities which seriously set back the even progress of the Indian Empire. The cry of the Irish Nation was heard nearer home when Bengal was ruthlessly sundered by the most unsympathetic and arrogant of our Viceroys—Lord Curzon. The swan song of Ananda Mohun wafted gently over the troubled waters of our political life and the sympathies of the United India went with the bereaving Bengal. But I wonder how few realised the federal principle that lay behind it. When a Telugu gentleman explained the Andhra Movement to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Editor of the Modern Review, he seems to have explained that the agitation against the Bengal partition could be better appreciated in the light of this movement. The partition of the

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Telugu country does not move our imagination so quickly as that of Bengal which took place before our very eyes. The liberal Government whose endeavours for the grant of Home Rule to Ireland are so laudable do not see their way to sympathise with the agitation against the partition; and Lord Morley grimly asserted that the partition of Bengal was a settled fact. The Bengalees who fought so bravely for the undoing of the partition are not chivalrous enough to extend their sympathy towards Behar which claims autonomy for itself.* My Tamil brethren, may I be allowed to add, were so solicitous for the unification of Bengal and now refuse to recognise any necessity for the readjustment of territories to allow the Andhras to acquire homogeneity. And even some of the Andhras do not appreciate the legitimate grievances of the Uriyas of Ganjam to go back to Orissa. We can appreciate the world problems in all their merits; but our vision gets bedimmed by vested interests and prejudices as similar problems confront us at our very doors. The Gujaratees have a similar grievance over there in the Bombay Presidency. South Canara has every argument in its favour to go hand in hand with North Canara; and the Malayalis have the strongest claim for a separate province. The Canarese should have a small territory for themselves as German arguments ought not to be used to "neck" Belgium out of Europe. There are ten principal languages, according to the Census Reports, representing ten principal communities more or less each with its own distinctive literature, architecture, manners and customs. I am emboldened to say that the movement in favour of federation on ethnic and linguistic lines is steadily gaining ground and on this basis alone can be reared surely and securely the foundations of the United States of India.

I shall try now to meet some of the arguments used against the movement. The movement is not infrequently said to be outside the range of practical politics. It is the fashion with some of our amiable friends to say that the ideal is good but the movement should be "hung up" for some indefinite time. The question of cost, they continue, ought to deter its enthusiastic supporters. The Partition of Bengal, and its undoing, the removal of capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and the constant adjustment of territories and districts, which cost so enormously are all forsooth, questions of practical politics. But the region of practical politics is unhospitable to the just and urgent scheme of rectifying avoidable errors in local self-government by a gradual readjustment of local boundaries on federal, linguistic, and ethnic lines. We are again asked how we get over the problem of Native States. It is true that more than half of the Nizam's Dominions is Telugu, but to get over the political barrier is more or less an impossibility. The fact of Haiderabad being half-Telugu should not be a bar to all the Telugu territories under *one Government* to come together. Home Rule cannot be withheld for Ireland because many of the Irish are still left over in Canada and Australia. If the day comes when, under the aegis of the British rule, princes and peoples of India can exchange territories on linguistic principles, nobody will welcome it more heartily than the advocates of the Andhra Movement.

It is feared by many that the national forces which have been at work for the first time in Indian History, might be choked by provincial movements of this sort. Here again, I invoke the aid of History. Provincial movements of the kind have always been working side by side with larger national movements. Whether it is in South Africa, Canada or Ireland, these movements far from having the effects feared, nurtured the roots of Imperial and National patriotism and paved the way for peace and harmony, where conflict and chaos were threatened to be imminent. 50 years of the history of federal nations have not demonstrated that the provincial patriotism is inconsistent with the larger patriotism. When Mr. Lloyd George appealed in notes of passionate eloquence to the Welsh assembled in the Queen's Hall of London a year ago, exhorting them to uphold and maintain the traditions of the Welsh chivalry, nobody could, for a moment, suggest that Mr. Lloyd George was not inspired by the purest patriotism for the Empire. The Scotchmen linger with satisfaction on their

* We have never objected to Behar being made a separate province. But our opposition to some Bengali-speaking districts being torn away from Bengal and tacked on to Behar is unalterable. There is also no consistency and no justice in making Orissa subservient to the interests of Behar.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

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national ideals and proudly recall the brave deeds of William Wallace which provides a different reading for an Englishman. The Irish and the English have two different sets of the English History. Yet, it is only just now that we are having the most vivid and moving exhibition of a higher and nobler patriotism by which each one of them is inspired. "Civis Brittanicus Sum" is not the cry of the "little Englander" alone but the proud boast of every white member of the British Empire. I may be promptly reminded of the "furcoat" doctrine enunciated by Lord Morley. With due deference to Lord Morley and those who invoke it, I venture to submit that the political considerations which are responsible for Irish and similar provincial movements in Europe are more prominent and pronounced with regard to the Indian conditions.

The bureaucratic administration of the country accustomed us to a habit of thought which it is not quite easy to shake off. The notion is prevalent that provinces of a particular size must be under the administration of a Governor-in-Council, while smaller ones should be content with a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief Commissioner. Lord Morley's reforms and Lord Hardinge's despatch make it quite clear that the last word is not said on the administrative machinery of the Government of India. There is no reason why all the provinces should not have the status and the privilege of a Governor-in-Council, the pay and status of each Governor being determined by the size and importance of the province over which he has to rule. If, owing to some reason or other, the Government are not prepared to depart from the old nomenclature, we need not very much dread the "Civilian" rule of a Lieutenant-Governor or even a Chief Commissioner, as the grant of Executive Councils and the expansion of the Legislative Councils have considerably mitigated the evils flowing therefrom. The Lieutenant-Governor, it is further contended, is but an arch civilian, and not a statesman fresh from England. Our recent experiences at any rate are not very happy. Sir Arthur Lawley and Lord Curzon came fresh from England, while the much abused Civil Service gave us a Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, A. O. Hume, Odonnel Digby, to name only a few.

Objection might be raised that there is no unanimity of expression with regard to the Andhra Movement. I can only say that the movement is of a very recent origin and has not arrived at the stage of definition or clear exposition. The movement, might be, and is, viewed from many different points of view. But it is to be regretted that owing to considerations of expediency and "political calculation" if I am permitted to use the term, the Andhra leaders have not seriously approached the problem and given us the benefit of a clear and outspoken pronouncement on the matter.

The movement is not a sectarian one. Its aim is not to foment dissensions or set class against class, or promote feelings of jealousy, mistrust, and suspicion. It is a movement not intended to undermine, but to place the foundations of the Indian National Congress on a more solid and enduring basis. It is a movement that has higher political purposes to fulfil and indicate better methods of political reconstruction of our Motherland. Its message is a message of federalism,—"peace on earth and goodwill towards men." Then will India—a federation within the federation of the British Empire—have fulfilled her Divine Mission of forging the golden links which unite the East and the West to the eternal glory of India and the lasting peace of the world.

K. S. RAMACHANDRA ROW.

A HINDU PROFESSOR OF AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

DR. Sudhindra Bose was born at Keotkhaly, Dacca district, Bengal. He received his preliminary education at Dacca Jubilee School, Hashara Kalikishore High English School, Munshiganj High School, and the Comilla Victoria School, from which last he passed the Entrance Examination. He studied for a while at the Comilla Victoria College, whose Principal, Mr. Satyendranath Bose, is his bro-

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ther. There he got "John Ings Medal" for proficiency in English. Even in those days he had a taste for journalism and contributed to the "Indian Mirror", "Bengalee", "Dacca Gazette", &c.

He went to America in 1904, and has been there ever since. He put in his first two years of study at Park College in Missouri, where he was taking a classical course. He then went to the University of Illinois, where he took his B.A. degree in 1907. The following year he was awarded a Graduate Scholarship at the University of Chicago. Here he was also chosen a member of the staff of the University daily paper called "The Daily Maroon," and secured many exclusive stories, known in America as scoops. Mr. Bose then transferred his activities back to the University of Illinois, and received the A. M. degree in English in 1909. He spent a year in study and travel through the Southern States of America. In 1910 he entered the State University of Iowa to do advanced research work. Here he was twice elected a Fellow in Political Science. Later the University called him to the newly established chair of "Oriental Politics and Civilization". Iowa conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1913.

Ever since his doctorate he has been engaged as a Lecturer on Political Science at the State University of Iowa. The subjects which he now teaches are, World Politics, Colonial Government, Oriental Politics and Civilization. One of the recent University bulletins gives the following extended description of his courses :

World Politics
MR. BOSE.

A consideration of the problems of world politics is as important as it is interesting From the main currents of European politics, including the great European War, important subjects will be selected for study. The aim of the course will be to give the student an intelligent grasp of the vital political questions in which the whole world is now interested. —*Firt Semester, on Tuesday aud Thursday, at 11.*

Colonial Government
MR. BOSE.

Current events are illustrative of the importance of colonization and colonial government. In this course the principles of the European colonial systems will be studied. The international relations and conflicts arising out of colonial ambitions are pointed out. As to the United States, the insular policy of recent years will be studied in connection with Hawaii, the Philippines, the Canal Zone, Porto Rico, and with special reference to the problems of government, education, and commerce.—*Second Semester on Tues-day and Thursday, at 11.*

Dr. Sudhindra Bose, A.M., Ph.D.

Oriental Politics and Civilization
MR. BOSE.

The political problems of Europe. The rise of Japan, China, and India has brought to our doors a flood of political, commercial, and diplomatic problems. To give the student some idea of the character of oriental politics and civilization is the aim of this course—which will be presented by a native of the Orient.—*Throughout the year, on Tuesday and Thursday, at 8.*

In announcing Dr. Bose's course of lectures on "World Politics," a leading Iowa paper wrote:

"Dr. Sudhindra Bose who for the last two years has given with such marked success a course at the University on "Oriental Politics and Civilization," will have charge of this new course.

"In discussing the European war, Dr. Bose will try to bring out the political conditions back of the war, and will indicate its probable influence upon American Commerce and Industry, and upon American political relations with Europe and South America.

"After devoting several weeks to the present European situation, the class on World Politics will take up the study of current politics in Canada, South America, Australia and South Africa. Among other subjects the consideration of such problems as world federation, home rule in Ireland, the Monroe

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Doctrine, international peace will receive the greatest attention."

Dr. Bose is interested in having Indian students enter the best American universities. He started the Hindusthan Association of America and acted as its first national president for two years. It helps to place the Indian students in the right American University with the minimum of difficulty on the part of the students, and is more than a mere exalted information bureau or an intelligence office. Although without the official trappings of the Cromwell Road establishment of England, the Hindusthan Association of America acts in many ways as a friend and adviser of the Indian students in the New World.

He was sent to Washington by the Khalsa Dewan Society of the Pacific Coast as a member of the Hindu delegation to oppose the Hindu Exclusion Bill in 1914. As a spokesman of the delegation, Dr. Bose addressed the Congressional Committee in charge of the bill. "The Washington Star" of that time gave the following account of his work:

Opposes Exclusion of Hindus from U. S.

DR. BOSE DECLARES SPECIAL LAW WOULD BE HUMILIATION IN WORLD'S EYES.

Arguments against immigration legislation to exclude Hindus from the United States were made before the House immigration committee today by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, a Hindu professor in the State University of Iowa. Dr. Bose urged that if the Hindu was to be excluded, a "gentlemen's agreement" be entered into between the United States and the British Indian government to restrict the immigration.

"There is no special lagislation against Japanese immigration," said Dr. Bose. "Following the Chinese exclusion law, the Japanese government was allowed to save its face by making a gentlemen's agreement to restrict immigration. A special law excluding Hindus would humiliate us in the eyes of the world. It is not necessary."

Questioned by members of the committee, Dr. Bose said that several British colonies were making efforts to exclude the Hindus and declared that this question was one of the most important confronting the British government. He said that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other colonies were endeavoring to exclude Hindus.

COMPLICATION POSSIBLE.

"We are a great class of British subjects," said Dr. Bose, "and are entitled to the rights of such a class. International complications may follow an attempt to exclude us."

"But the other colonies of Great Britain are already excluding the Hindus," said Chairman Burnett.

"Yes, they are trying to," said Dr. Bose, "but the central government in England has not indorsed such action. The people of India are awakening, and if they are to remain a part of the British empire something must be done, some solution of this problem arrived at which is more reasonable than any yet suggested."

Dr. Bose contended that the Hindus are an Aryan people, entitled to naturalization in this country.

The Senate committee resumed consideration of the Burnett immigration bill late today.—

Washington Star—13 Feb. 1914.

Dr. Bose has written many newspaper and magazine articles on education, politics, travel, history, economics. Many of these articles have been published in such Indian periodicals as the Modern Review, Indian Review, Hindusthan Review, Modern World. While a student at Iowa, he was one of the editors of "The Hawk-eye", the State University of Iowa Annual.

Dr. Bose is a self-made man. He started life in America with little or nothing and worked his way up by patience and industry.

Among the learned societies to which he has been elected a member the following are the most noteworthy: The American Political Science Association: World Conscience Society (Rome); International Lyceum Association; The State Historical Society of Iowa.

GLEANINGS

The Chin as the Critical Factor in Human Character.

Character reading through analysis of the features has been revived as a science in consequence of the controversies over the so-called Pilt-down and Heidelberg jaws. The critical factor in the discussion, as is pointed out in the Paris *Nature*, is the chin. The significance of the chin and jaws in man has led to a discussion between Professor Elliott Smith and Doctor Louis Robinson from which it appears that the popular impression that obstinacy and pugnacity in man find expression in the shape of the chin has, after all, a basis in scientific fact. At every period of man's evolutionary history he has needed a more or less ape-like chin if he were to have his own way. It was into a world full of brutal tumult and hard

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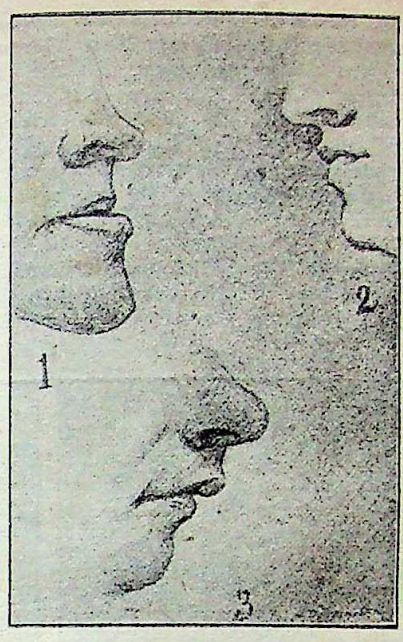
THE DUBIOUS TYPES

The first chin here is that of a fine and intellectual being who will look out for himself before he will do a thing for another—a good character but not a good friend. The second is yielding and a spender.



DANGEROUS

Number one is very obstinate and will resort to "knock down and drag out" tactics. The second is literary and artistic but infirm of purpose. The third is a conciliator but obtuse and without subtlety.

FAMILIAR KINDS

The first specimen here may be dismissed as womanish although fine. The second is mediocre, human, honest, on the whole reliable, but pugilistic. Number three has judgment, purpose and ideality.

knocks that the nascent chin first made its appearance, says Professor Robinson. In the prize ring of to-day, he adds, it is a well-known fact that a blow on the chin is the most rapid method by which an antagonist can be "knocked out." Moreover the nearer the prize fighter is in the structure of his chin to the chimpanzee and gorilla the better chance he has of winning a championship in his class. If we look at the bony structure of the chin in some of the prehistoric jaws we find it of astonishing strength through being buttressed as if to stand violence and shaped in a heavy manner when contrasted with the face as a whole. The dictatorial and obstinate man, who will have his own way, intolerant of criticism, shows what he is in the shape of his chin. He is a reversion in this physiognomical detail to an ape-like ancestor, or rather to an ancestor who resembled in the contour of his chin the chimpanzee and the gorilla. Primitive man scored all along the evolutionary line because of that chin.

The result of the discussion has been to stimulate physiognomical analysis from the expert standpoint: but such analysis, especially in dealing with the chin, may lead to error, according to Professor Gerald Elton Fosbroke. The human countenance should be read as a whole, he insists, instead of through the aspect of one feature, however important in itself. Nevertheless, he admits in his recent work on this subject* that the chin does show the natural physical tendencies of the individual:

"As the shape of the head reveals the inherent mental qualities, so the formation of the chin shows the natural physical tendencies, and furthermore as the eye is the index of the mentality, so is the mouth the exponent of the physical nature.

"One-third of the head should be back of the ear, showing strength of the physical nature. The face is divided in the same proportion; one-third from the base of the nose to the bottom of the chin, the upper two-thirds of the face containing mental indications, the lower one-third, lips, mouth, and chin revealing the physical and animal inclinations.

"Woman's face is nearly always light in the lower third. Her tendencies run more in mental directions. She lacs the intensely passionate nature, which is the result of bony structure, the physical vigor and the muscular strength that are attendant upon the manly man. The chin typical of woman, altho usually of correct length, will very slightly recede instead of projecting. Woman's whole face will be wider above than below, the jaws will be narrow and slight"

The typical man's chin, on the contrary, will in its correct formation be perpendicular, and will often project forward—broad at the base, full and round, with breadth at the angle of the jaw-bone, where the face should be as wide as the head above but not wider.

The ball of the chin is drawn upward by the contraction of the lower face muscles. As the muscles of the uper face draw downward with mental effort, so the muscles of the chin, which represent the physical side, draw upward in their desire to put actively into effect the mental command, each set of muscles being held in place by the tensity of the other. Resistance of physical strength, well-balanced mental

* Character Reading Through Analysis of the Features. By Gerald Elton Fosbroke. New York: Putnam.

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and physical forces, opposing each other, result in power, and controlled applied power means success. All this implies a man's need of a strong jaw and a strong chin to meet and support the upper face. Without physical strength mentality is wasted.

The more the chin of woman is prominent or projects, the more of man's nature will she have so far as physical action is concerned. This is by no means a defect of character—*Current Opinion.*

Literature's need of a "Shock"

Mr. Samuel Merwin, the author of "Anthony the Absolute" in the New York *Times Magazine* says :

"All the progress in life comes in shocks. If something that is called a new idea fails to shock you, be suspicious of it. Ten to one it's not a new idea at all.

"What American literature, especially American fiction, needs to-day is a shock. Some one—I think it was Viola Roseboro—defined American literature as 'Something as nearly as possible like something that was once done well.'.....

"The writers need a shock and our national life needs a shock. The United States is the most conservative country in the world, with the possible exception of China.

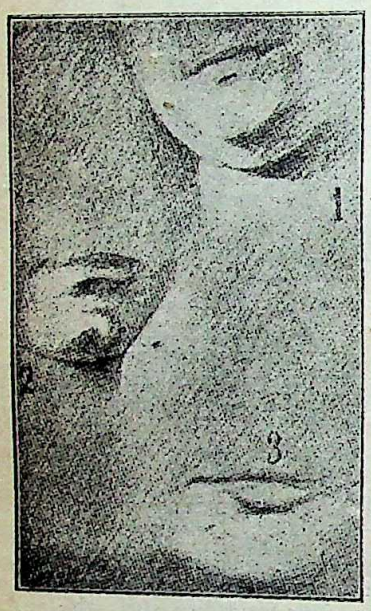
"Think of the changes that have come over the nations of the world since we first became a nation. Think how Germany has changed, for example! France, Russia, England—they all have changed. We are really the oldest of the major countries. Some of the Oriental countries are more conservative in literary and artistic matters than we are, but none of the European countries are.

"We are not quite as tradition-bound as that, but we approach that condition. We avoid what we know is profoundly true. We are not Anglo-Saxon, but we have that marvelous Anglo Saxon instinct for respectability, and that marvelous Anglo-Saxon confusion of moral values with artistic truth.

"The trouble is that for a long time we have had no upheavals to change the currents of our lives. We are the most backward of nations.

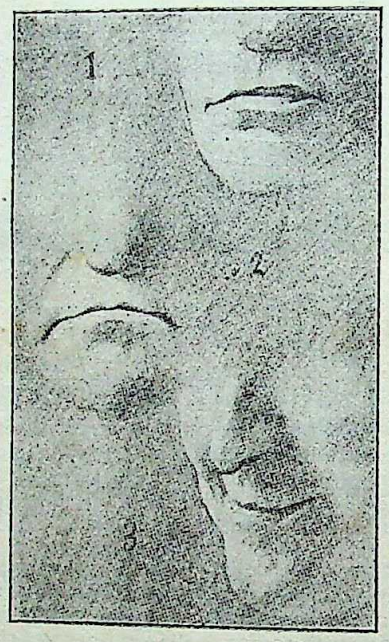
"Upheavals have given us whatever real literature we possess. The establishment of this nation was an upheaval, and the result of that upheaval is evident in the writings of authors who came along after it—in Lowell and Emerson, even in Bret Harte and Mark Twain.

"We need national upheavals, and personal upheavals! A novelist does not get his work out of the every-day routine of his life. He gets it out of his violent reactions."



CONTRASTS

The first chin is indicative of fickle nature prone to bluff. The second is good and true but pessimistic. The third is benevolent and optimistic but destitute of ideality and the vision of the dreamer.



MASCULINE ALL

The first indicates sensuality with a desire for peace at any price. The second is the decisive type but pessimistic, and the third is prone to dissemble.

TEMPERAMENTAL

The first chin is that of an honest but not particularly fine character, not self-willed but inclined to criticism of others. The second chin is womanish, kind and tender. The third isa flirt. The fourth is Keen, judical, egotistic.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on Dr. Spooner's Zoroastrian Theory.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal examines Dr. Spooner's theory of a "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History." He sums up Dr. Spooner's position as follows :

Dr. Spooner in his paper on the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" essays to prove that Chandragupta was a Parsi : that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians (page 413); that they came originally from Persepolis and were perhaps of Achæmenian descent (page 410). This is the main thesis of his paper. But there are some subsidiary theses of no less importance, *e.g.*, that the Buddha was also a Parsi by race and by religion (page 445), that the Nandas were Persians (page 418), and that the Mauryan Chancellor Chanakya was a Magian or a Parsi priest (pages 419-420).

Mr. Jayaswal discusses "the evidence as to the alleged Parsi origin of the Emperor Chandragupta and of the Nandas and Chanakya," and finds himself compelled to say that the "theory on the basis of the present evidence has to be rejected." He first examines the arguments which closely bear on the Mauryas.

There is, for instance, the argument—more than once emphasized—that Chandragupta "washed his royal hair according to the Persian calendar." A ceremonial of sacramental nature, absolutely alien, will, no doubt, suggest more than a mere borrowing. But on reference to the original authority I find nothing whatsoever about "the Persian calendar." The original passage is in Strabo, XV, 69 and runs as follows :—

"The following particulars also are stated by the historians. The Indians worship Zeus Ombrios (Indra), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country. When the king washes his hair they celebrate a great festival, and send him great presents, each person seeking to outrival his neigbour in displaying his wealth" (M'Crindle).

There is nothing here about Chandragupta particularly, nor is the statement attributed to Magasthenes, nor is there the slightest mention of the Persian or any other calendar. The ceremony refers to the well-known Vedic ritual of the royal *abhishechaniyam* and to the customary presents brought on the occasion by the subjects.

M'Crindle in translating the passages gives in a foot-note (*Ancient India*, page 75) a passage from Herodotus (IX, 110) which says that Xerxes on his birthday prepared a feast when "only the king washes his head with soap and makes presents to the Persians." It is to be noticed that the Persian King 'made presents' to his tribe while the Hindu King 'receive presents' from his subjects; moreover, the Persian King alone was allowed soap and he washed his head on his birthday. No such predications are to be had about the Indian King in the passage of Strabo. To mix Herodotus with Strabo is a mistake; one account relates to Persia and the other to India ; to pick up a piece from the former and to mix it up with a portion of latter would be to give a piece of history that would not be faithful to fact. Then to attribute that history to Megasthenes is worse than unscientific. And on the basis of that history * to generalize about Chandragupta that "he organizes his court along purely Persian ceremonial down to the washing of his royal hair" (p. 417) and that "Megasthenes will bear us testimony that the Indian court was almost wholly Persian in his day," (p. 71) is rather reckless.

I pass over such assertions as "His very masons are imported Persians for whom the monarch has such marked regard that he ordains a special set of penalties for all who injure them." No serious attempt at proving them has been made. The discussion on "numismatic evidences" is likewise fruitless. "It is conceded, that the punch-marked coins are the oldest coinage in India. The Mauryas must have used them, as they cannot have been without coinage." Upon this hypothesis another is built and three pages further we are asked to accept that the variety bearing the representations "peacocks (mayura) standing on Mount Meru" are 'Mauryan coins,' "the more particularly since we know them to be contemporary with the dynasty :" a matter which needs proving, as without it we would be merely begging the question.

Was Persepolis the ancestral Home of Chandragupta ?

For the statement that Persepolis was the "ancestral home" of Chandragupta two arguments have been advanced. One is philological and the other is, "the statements of the Greek historians and the otherwise extraordinary fact that Chandragupta's palaces seem copies of the Persepolitan" (p. 409). No such statement is found in the Greek historians. I have searched in vain in every possible place for the statement describing Chandragupta's palaces "as copies of the Persepolitan." † The only passage bearing on the subject (Aelianos, XIII, 81) says : "In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Memnomian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ekbatana with all its magnificence can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity, of the Persians could prompt such a comparison) there are other wonders besides" (M'Crindle). There is no mention of Persepolis, and no mention of any copy whatsoever. If Helian's authority is Megasthenes (as it has been believed, M'Crindle, page 142 ; V, Smith, 119-20), the passage is a positive

* Vincent Smith *Early History of India*, 1905 page 122, approved and followed by Dr. Spooner.

† Dr. Spooner does not give any reference.

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authority to hold that the theory of Persian inspiration for Chandragupta's palaces cannot be entertained. Aelian, certainly, and Megasthenes, probably, would have ridiculed a Persian had the latter suggested that they seemed to be copies of the Persepolitan or any other Persian places.

The philological argument is based on the equation *Mourva-Maurya*. Philologically there is no flaw in the equation. But there is not the slightest evidence that in the 4th century B. C. Persepolis was called Mourva. Darius, in his inscription, calls it Persis, and so do the writers of the time of Alexander. It is wholly contrary to historical evidence to call Persepolis 'Mourva', and absolutely arbitrary to connect the Mauryas with Persepolis. *Mourva* of the Vendidad is identified with Merv and is taken by Meyer, the foremost authority of our day on Persian history, as a place-name and not an ethnic appellation. It seems that serious chronological objection arises to deriving *Maurya* from Mourva in that the latter form had gone out of use long before the time of Chandragupta. Darius in his Behistum inscription gives the form *Margu*. But no room for any speculation is left if we take into account the oldest vernacular form of Maurya known to Indian literature. The Hathigumpha inscription of Orissa which is contemporary with the last days of the Mauryas has *Raja Muriya*; * and *Muriya* is the form found in the Jain chronological gatha. This form can only be connected with *Mura* which, the Sanskrit authorities say, was the name of Chandragupta's mother; the form could not be derived from *Mourva*. *Muriya* dislodges *Mourva* altogether.

The connection of Chandragupta with the *Nandas* is well established (a point which Dr. Spooner recognises, page 417). You cannot call Chandragupta a Parsi and leave his reputed father (Nanda) a Hindu. The difficulty is solved by Dr. Spooner by declaring the Nandas also to have been Parsis. Nothing like proof, however, has been given to support the thesis. We have only this: "The latter (the later Nandas) were hated cordially, and is it not recorded that they exterminated all the Kshatriyas? If they are Persian invaders, this is sensible enough." As the Nandas were rich, it is asserted that they came as merchant princes first, 'and won their empire as the English did.' Suppositions piled upon suppositions prove no case. On the other hand there is positive and contemporary evidence that the Nanda who was ruling when Alexander came was the son of a barber (Curtius, ix, 2, Diodorus, xciii). The Puranas in effect say the same. There is no opportunity for the Parsi Merchant-prince of Dr. Spooner to claim and ascend the imperial throne upon which sat the Hindu barber.

CHANAKYA.

In dealing with Chanakya Dr. Spooner (page 419) casually suggests that the Jyotisha Vedanga is attributable to the Persian influence. But the Jyotisha is astronomically dated cir. the twelfth century B. C., which is long before the birth of Persepolis and the Persian empire.

Internal evidence in the Artha Sastra perfectly disposes of any theory alleging a non-Brahman origin of the Mauryan chancellor. Chanakya enumerates the triple Vedas beginning with the Saman. Now it is a practice well-known to Vedic literature that a Brahmin mentions his own Veda first. Chanakya was thus a Sama Vedin, and not an "Atharvan" as Dr. Spooner calls him (page 420). In fact Chanakya does not count the Atharva-Veda in his Trayi or the Vedic triple (Artha Sastra, page 7).

Dr. Spooner argues that medicine was associated with the Magians and as Chanakya practised medicine which (he says) the Brahmin hated, Chanakya as a Brahmin is found 'in suspicious circumstances' 'when the curtain lifts'. It is undoubtedly evident from his book that the great chancellor knew medicine which he must have studied at Taxila, his home and the famous place for that science in ancient days. But there is not a shred of evidence that he practised medicine. Such being the case it is not necessary to examine the general proposition whether Orthodox Brahmins in the fourth century B. C. did or did not practise medicine.

Chanakya's salutation to Sukra and Brihaspati in the beginning of his book is taken by Dr. Spooner to be 'encouraging' (I think, to his theory), as 'there is a distinctly astrological flavour about' it. Whether a distinct astrological flavour would help much the theory is a question which might be shelved, for the premise itself is wrong. *Brihaspati* and *Sukra* of Chanakya were not stars but human beings. They were the greatest authorities on Hindu politics; they have been mentioned in the Grihya Sutras and the Dharma Sutras; and they have been copiously quoted by Chanakya himself in the very book on the first page of which homage is done to them. Then it is more than doubtful that the invocation, as it appears, is ancient. We have only one manuscript of the Artha Sastra up to this time.

Great emphasis has been laid on *Lokayata* appearing in the course prescribed for the education of princes in the Artha Sastra because Lokayata, Dr. Spooner points out, is said to mean atheism (page 419). "If this be right Chanakya's orthodoxy is impugned at once." But 'impugned orthodoxy' does not turn a Brahmin into a Parsi priest. *Lokayata*, however, did not mean atheism in ancient times. The matter has been discussed as early as 1899 by Professor Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, 166-172) who says: "The best working hypothesis to explain the above facts seems to be that about 500 B. C. the word Lokayata was used in a complimentary way as the name of a branch of Brahman learning."

There are two more points urged as evidence of the Magian identity of Chanakya. The opening lines of chapter XII of the Artha Sastra are quoted. According to them orphans to be maintained by the State were to be taught astrology, palmistry, reading of augury, *etc.* Dr. Spooner thinks that no Hindu would have instituted such a curriculum; 'but it would be,' he says, 'reasonable enough for a Magian minister of state.' If the heading of the chapter had been noticed, confusion would have been avoided. Chanakya treats astrology with contempt, not with Magian respect. He says that men for the secret service of police should be recruited from the ranks of orphans. They should be made astrologer-spies. The whole chapter is on the Institution of the Secret Service and such is the title of the chapter.

Dr. Spooner thinks that as Chanakya prescribes that the Royal Purohita must be a Brahmin versed in the Atharvan and that he must be followed by the king, Chanakya was a Parsi priest. But there is nothing in this. Orthodox authority even anterior to Chanakaya is unanimous that the

* Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the inscription has not been accepted. Dr. Spooner is literally right when he says there is no *Moriya* in that epigraph, for it has *Muriya*.

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Purohita must be a follower of the Atharva-Veda. Chanakya did not introduce this as a new rule. †

Dr. Spooner institutes comparison between the 'Yoga' mentioned in the Artha Sastra and the 'Magian mummeries'! But unfortunately Chanakya never defines his Yoga, and as Yoga had different meanings in different ages, it is useless to institute comparison between the unknown and the known.

The Architectural Evidence.

The result of the 'architectural evidence' is no more satisfactory. Being on the spot I have had the opportunity to follow the progress of the Kumhrar excavations. I do not think that the learned archæologist has succeeded in proving that the site excavated represents Chandragupta's palaces. On a closer search the Persepolitan picture disappears from Kumhrar.

After a careful examination of the whole evidence and arguments contained in the lengthy paper of Dr. Spooner, I have no hesitation in saying that up to this time "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" appears to be a mere castle-in-the-air.

T. L. Vaswani writing about

Hindu Art-Consciousness

in the *Collegian and Progress of India* is of opinion that "a survey of Indian art involves a study of the Buddhist, the Mohammadan, and the Hindu types of art-consciousness: these three indeed may be regarded as formative factors of Indian Art."

The Buddhist art-consciousness seems to be dominated by a striving after passionlessness, the Buddhist Nirvana being the extinction of desires. So it is that the images and other representations of Buddha produce on the spectator an impression of *shanti*, of repose. The Islamic art-consciousness rendered a positive service to India: it *humanised Hindu art*: it disclosed the shut splendours of the human form divine: and those who have seen or read of the mosques and palaces constructed by the Mohammadan Rulers in India and in Stambul will marvel at the grandeur and stupendous magnitude which the Islamic art-consciousness endeavours to express. Beauty, as the Hindu artist interprets it, is *the shine of the Eternal Self*: it is a revelation of the Ideal, an expression of the Eternal, a call from the soul of the Universe to the Eternal seated in our hearts, an unveiling of the Face of the First and only Fair. Beauty is the Brightness of the Spirit and so belongs to the Spiritual Energy which is expressed, made manifest, on the earth-place through our senses, and intelligence.

Artifice is the death of Art; a peasant girl in her simple dress unconscious of the golden glory of her face is more beautiful than the fashionable fop with artificial dress and artificial curls. Beauty transcends the interest of the senses. Therefore do we distinguish the Beautiful from the pleasant and the useful. Surely beauty is not sensual pleasantness; and *the school of experimental aestheties* has blundered badly in identifying beauty with points of sensation, the tension of the nerves, and relaxation of fibres of the body. Not pleasure but joy, not *Indriyabhoga* but the *Anandamaya*, is the parent of Art.

Hindu Art is idealistic, subjective. It is *not* subjective in the sense that it regards beauty as an illusion; beauty is not an illusion, it is revelation of the Eternal Self: it is not right to say with Kant that beauty is a creation of the mind. yet it is true to say with the wise man who gave us the beautiful Indian proverb "Beauty is in the eye of him who sees it." Beauty is subjective only in the sense that it is not physical, it is subtle, and is to be seen by the Eye of the Soul.

Hindu art, again is symbolic, religious, suggestive. It is not mere outburst of emotion: it is dominated by a spiritual striving of communion with the Highest.

Hindu art again like every true art, shows the union of love and labour. These great Temples were not built in a day; but the builders were not perfunctory in execution: they rejoiced in their work: they poured love and devotion on their labour; and still in the villages where something of the old art-consciousness is alive, you will find the craftsman sitting to his work and singing songs.

True art is a call to Noble Living: it is a call to simple life, to nature-consciousness, to self-control and self-renunciation. Therefore did the Hindu avoid luxury knowing that luxury would be decadence of art; therefore did he look for beauty in common life, in the simple homely things which we unfortunately have neglected in the mechanical routine of modern life; therefore did he turn to Nature and the scripture of the Soul for art-inspiration; therefore did he meditate on the mystery till he seemed to lose himself in the Vision of the Only One.

† I think in fairness to Dr. Spooner it must be mentioned that since the publication of his paper he has told me that he means to abandon the part of his theory relating to Chanakya.

Slums and Town Nuisances.

"The ideal community would have neither slums nor nuisances, and in consequence its expense for the administration of justice, for charities and for the correction of social disorders would be at a minimum"—this is what Dr. M. R. Samey says in the course of an useful article contributed to the *Local Self-government Gazette* for January.

The writer strongly condemns the thoughtless disposition of stable refuse which is known as manure, as also the practice of the housewife depositing the ashes resulting from her use of fuel or coal in the nearest highway.

The common house fly finds its most favourable breeding place in manure, particularly horse-manure. Since it has been discovered that the house fly is an efficient disseminator of disease germs, and not a scavenger doing good work, the disposition of manure becomes distinctly of importance.

No man has a right to injure his neighbour by any of his own acts and in accordance with this well-known theory, manures of all sorts should be so cared

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for as to be completely inoffensive, either from odour or as breeding places for insects. If kept in well-screened and tightly closed pits, and if hauled away from cities at frequent intervals, and if these stables are in themselves kept clean, there should be little difficulty. If, on the contrary, there is neglect of the simple sanitary necessity of preventing the breeding of injurious insects, by reason of neglect to safeguard the handling of manures, then a serious and distinctly dangerous nuisance results.

It is cognate to the subject to say that modern agriculturists insist that manures may properly be disposed of without being subjected to the process of rotting, long supposed to be necessary. As to factory refuses, there can be no proper question as to the necessity for insisting that they be so cared for as not to interfere with the lives, the health, or, indeed, the comfort of a populace.

The house fly and the mosquito are positive nuisances. They are known to be preventable, and the presence of both or either in any considerable numbers is disgraceful in any civilized community.

As a disseminator of typhoid and other diseases, and especially as connected with its influence on infant mortality in hot weather, the house fly is a deadly and desperate menace.

About mosquitos we read :

The mosquito is known in its various species to be the disseminator of malarial diseases, and in certain localities, of yellow fever and other germ diseases. It is known also to breed in stagnant water, and its presence in any community is an evidence of sanitary neglect. Mosquitos rarely fly to any considerable distance. Hence breeding places may best be looked for immediately about the premises affected. A hoof-print, a choked roof gutter or rain spout, a discarded tin can, or any little puddle may, in a week or two in hot weather, afford breeding opportunity to a horde of offensive mosquitoes To screen the house is an excellent method of defence, but a better method is to prevent the breeding of the mosquitoes by drying up the stagnant pools, wherever they may be found, in which they live to generate, or by covering with a thin film of petroleum the water-holding vessels which cannot be otherwise treated, thus killing wrigglers as they rise to the surface to breathe, and by generally seeing to it that the necessary conditions for mosquito life are not provided.

The Education of the Senses.

In the course of a short article in the pages of the *Indian Education* penned by the Rev. E. L. King, which should draw the attention of all engaged in the work of educating our children, we read :

Our system of education has committed a positive wrong—it has sought, not openly or knowingly perhaps but actually nevertheless, to *use* the child, for its own purposes. The sense of service and of obligation to the child, the realization of a stewardship, has been forgotten and the child has too often sunk to the level of mere educational material.

Rarely, therefore, have there been efforts, and more rarely still have they succeeded, to bring the child into *vital and real* contact with his world. Even here very little attention has been shown to individual differences—all have been poured into one mould, and teachers have wondered why success was so meagre and results so contrary to expectation.

The results so far achieved by our schools are sufficient evidence of the failure of a book-bound education ; the responses of the normal human being to the call of the great outside world are, likewise, sufficient evidence of the adaptability of the material furnished by nature to the educational process.

"It is through the senses," says Doctor Taylor, "that the child wakes to conscious life, through them that he becomes acquainted with the outer world, which he is to know, and of which he is to become a counterpart. Without them the child lies dormant in his cradle, sleeping away his days, not even knowing of an outer world, nor dreaming of his own mighty possibilities. With his senses he explores the universe round about him and eventually becomes its master. Upon their sensitiveness and perfection his progress depends ... ... [These senses] are not only to enable him to place himself in space and communicate with his fellows, but to furnish him the materials, the food upon which his mind is to feed and grow. They are not only to give him a knowledge of the sensuous world round about him, but also of those higher relations and harmonies that knit soul with soul and soul with the Infinite."

The proper development of the senses will give a nicety of discrimination and a finality of judgment which will release the child, as well as the adult, from the tyranny of *things*, and leave him free to indulge in the exercise of the mind and spirit.

Besides the gains of intellectual growth and individual freedom is the development of the judgment for practical use. The development of the senses "does not merely mean making them more acute in the appreciation of particular sensations, though that no doubt is involved in it. It means the acquisition of the ability to discriminate between the objects that produce the sensations in us, so that we feel with exactness what we do feel and are able to interpret it correctly in objective terms by an immediate judgment."

Our revered countryman Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered an address on

Swadeshi

before the Missionary Conference, Madras, which has been published in the *Indian Review* for February, and other papers. We may not all agree with the views of Mr. Gandhi as set forth in the address, but he deserves a patient hearing as one who has labored and suffered for the motherland and has devoted, he is even now doing so, much thought and energy for remedying the drawbacks from which India is suffering.

For the benefit of our readers we make the following important extracts from the address under notice :

Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounds-

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ing. If I find it defective I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting.

Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion to-day as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit a Hindu refuses to change his religion not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising but continuing their philanthropic work?

India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in ther turn seem to have rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered too its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit.

We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the Vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc., would have been solved long ago. The village Panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements.

I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. I hate legislative interference in any department of life. At best it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and if you will the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others, as, for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people, I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the state. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that every one followed this mode of life, we would have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that

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happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature.

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In the course of an article in the *Indian Emigrant* for January entitled

Fiscal Autonomy for India and Its Effects on Colonial Problems

K. M. Panikkar says some very pertinent things. The article under review provides refreshing reading for its candour and outspokenness. Says Mr. Panikkar :

The one-sided Free Trade fictions of the Government in London have deprived a large percentage of our artisans, previously engaged in various local industries, of the means of their livelihood. They have either merged into the wage-earning poor class, or have fallen an easy prey to the soft promises of emigration agents. Fiscal autonomy for India, with right to tax imported luxuries, &c., may yet save a few of our languishing industries and prevent our skilled artisan from becoming an unskilled factory worker earning a pittance insufficient to keep a healthy family or live in sanitary quarters.

Secondly, a protective tariff will enable us to tax indirectly the rich who are the consumers of foreign goods and to lighten the burden on the poor. The one chief cause of migration from any country is the *inability of that land to support its workers*. Heavy taxes, combined with an undeveloped system of agriculture, have made that occupation on which India has to depend an almost profitless business. The improvement of agricultural methods and the lightening of the taxes are the only ways by which it can be made profitable. A protective tariff will give the Government a chance of saving our ryots from further poverty and of leading India to a condition of economic prosperity. The importance of this point will be conceded when it is remembered that in such a big State as the U. S. A., the whole federal revenue is raised by indirect taxation. In other ways, too, it will help the solution of our imperial problems. For example, can there be a better remedy to the ill-treatment of Indians in Mauritius than retaliatory taxation on the sugar imported from that island ? Our complaints will be cries in the wilderness unless we have methods of making them effective. Fiscal autonomy will leave an effective weapon in our hands because there is no country in the world which could afford to neglect India as a market for its produce.

Any form of political autonomy that is not preceded by complete fiscal autonomy will be a nullity and delusion. What use is it for us to have the right of governing India, when the condition on which its prosperity depends is not in our hands ?

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We have had great pleasure in reading through the second instalment of

The Study of Indian Art

penned by Mr. O. C. Gangoly and published in the *Hindustan Review* for February. Mr. Gangoly pleads eloquently for our aesthetic education and rightly deplores the want of appreciation and ignorance of the Indian young man whether trained in Indian or foreign universities. The latter class of young men though said to be appreciating hugely the modern literary productions of the west are woefully innocent of any knowledge of the masterpieces of art.

Says Mr. Gangoly :

While the average European (who has some knowledge of the general principles of plastic arts—and a familiarity with the masterpieces of art, ancient and modern—it being a *sine qua non* of his liberal education) may, some day, correct his present errors and misconceptions. In regard to Indian Fine Art our 'educated' friends from the college, having none of these accomplishments to supplement their college course, have no independent means to test or verify the views on Indian art that have been thrust upon them and to which they tenaciously cling, the artistic faculty itself lying dormant all through their lives. So that, with regard to the study of the art of their native country they are, and seem destined, to remain, for some time yet, veritable foreigners in their own mental atmosphere. This seems to have been the inevitable result of the form of education they have received. For it is notorious that the lack of artistic culture has been one of the characteristic drawbacks of the Indian educational system. The study of the fine arts—paintings, architecture or music has no place in the faculty of "Arts" in the Indian Universities. As a result of this, there has been a tendency in this country to regard all forms of culture with disfavour which has no recognition in the official repertoire. Our "Masters of Art" have thus cultivated an ignorance of the alphabets of art. He has studied, (may be in translation), and is more or less familiar with the works of Tasso, Homer or Dante—but he is unaware what a world of beauty he has shut himself from by his ignorance of the masterpieces of Giotto, Fra Angelico, Botticelli or Donatello. Sometimes he picks up a few names, e. g. Raphael and Michael Angelo, but these names hardly connote to him any equivalent artistic-treasures or any intellectual atmosphere such as the name of Shakespeare, Dante or Milton calls up in his mind's eye. Can one boast of a knowledge of the Greek life and civilization—who has only studied them in their literary remains—in the Tragedies and the Epics ? Must we ignore Polygnotos and Praxiteles because we are familiar with Euripides and Aeschylus ? When shall we convince our brethren from the universities that the culture value of the Greek vases or the Attic bronzes is equally great with the sonnets of Shakespeare or the poetry of Kalidasa ? Why study Rousseau or Robespierre when you must continue to despise Watteau, Le Brun or Poussin ? How many translations have we not read of the works of Maurice Maeterlinck, Victor Cousin or Guy de Mupassant from the pen of our University graduates who have never heard of Puvis de Chavannes, Jean Francois Millet or Auguste Rodin ? I have conversed with friends who evinced a fair breadth in literary tastes—and waxed enthusiastic over the works of Tolstoy, Ibsen or Carducci but were on the point of collapse when I had happened to mention Constantin Meunier or Hyppolyte Boulenger. Who can preten-

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to have a superficial knowledge of the forces which have made Victorian Era great in Art and Letters without apprehending how much has been contributed to it by Watts, Burne-Jones and William Holman Hunt. But I will excuse our M. A.'s and Premchand Rorchand Scholars for the moment, if I could find one Indian Vice-Chancellor who can claim familiarity with such works as "the Golden Stairs" or "The Shadow of Death." Matters are no better with our friends who have graduated in the English or the American Universities. Some of these pilgrims back from the ancient shrines at Oxford and Cambridge are saturated with the quintessence of "G. B. S." or smitten with the beauties of Oscar Wilde's prose—but they gasp for breath when they are asked of the usage which Whistler brought to English art or what ideas they have picked up of Brangwyn or of Sargent or what are the relative merits of such works as "Sappho" or "A Visit to Æsculapius." But even if we excuse our lack of interest in Western art—our knowledge of Oriental art is pathetically nil. Hokusai or Utamaro, Hirosihge or Sosen, Bhizad or Mansur, Nagnajit or Parojoy, Dhiman or Molaram raise no quiverings in our breasts. How can our appreciation of *Kumar Sambhava* answer for our neglect of the study of the Gupta Sculptures? What is the value of our interest in the great body of Indian Buddhist literature if we cover our eyes before the bronze images of Dharmapala and Bodhisattvas.

Mr. Gangoly holds that the unlettered Indian has more eye for things artistic than the literate Indian.

The educated Indian, however distinguished he may be in the field of Letters, Science or Philosophy, has no equipment necessary to cultivate artistic studies. I have used 'educated Indian' advisedly, for I have noticed amongst the unlettered folks—the so-called backward element in the Indian population a genuine eye for artistic things. The wonderful artistic monuments of India have been the product of a very highly developed æsthetic faculty, a vestige of of which still loiters in minds yet uncontaminated by Western "Kultur". The humble peasant girl or the street potato-seller has a more correct eye in choosing an artistic colour for her *Sari* than her sisters from the girls' school or his brethren from the college. The latter has succeeded in completely effacing from his temperament all artistic feelings which he had inherited from his ancestors. While he has disowned and done his best to rub off, like an ugly scar, what is to him a really valuable heritage,—he has not cultivated any knowledge of the general principles of art or of the culture-history of the man as revealed in the innumerable forms and shapes now catalogued and studied in the various schools of paintings and sculptures;—in other words, he has failed to cultivate or develop an aesthetic judgment.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Prof. Keith on Dr. Spooner's Persian Theory.

The Behar Herald says that Prof. Berriedale Keith "is one of the greatest products of Oxford. He stood first in the Civil Service, took firsts in Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, and is now one of the two greatest Sanskritists of Great Britain and the greatest English authority on Vedic literature. At present he has gone from the Home Civil Service to the University of Edinburgh to fill the chair of the Professor of Sanskrit. He is also a lawyer, being a D. C. L. of Oxford, and is a finished controvertialist, who has crossed swords with scholars of the standing of Jacobi." When such a man criticises Dr. Spooner's theory regarding "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History," and observes that "the theory has no foundation in fact," archæologists are bound to listen. Says Dr. Keith in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*:

1. Ahura Mazda is represented as the equivalent of Asura Maya, the latter being the Indian form of a term used by imported Iranians stone-workers, Maya being really Maja, where J is a spirant. This equation is open to the obvious retort that Asura as an equivalent for Ahura is not explained; are we to suppose that the stone-masons of Iran were such excellent philologists that they knew that Indian Asura was Iranian Ahura, and so replaced their own Ahura by Asura or that their Indian fellow-workers had the same knowledge, or that the Indians merely replaced an unknown word by a known one? The last explanation is, unhappily, open to the fatal objection that as Asura in Mauryan times had an evil sense, we must suppose that the Iranian masons, who revered their patron deity, nevertheless induced the Indians to regard him as a demon. This is all very absurd, and the obvious fact that Asura Maya is an easy and natural Indian conception should not be overlooked.

2. From Weber Dr. Spooner borrows the view that Danavas and Asuras in India often denote foreign peoples, a statement which he should [specially as he rejects Weber's view on Maya] have proved, and which he will find it difficult to prove, and in the assertion, "I am Visvakarman, the great sage of the Danavas" in the great epic he finds an assertion of the identity of Maya with Ormuzd in clear terms. *Kavi* he finds difficult in an Indian sense, as Maya was certainly not a great poet. But *Kavi* in India does not mean necessarily nor even normally in the epic a poet; it means a sage, and the kind of skill is described in the epithet Visvakarman.

3. In several passages of the epic Dr. Spooner finds reference to sculptured representations of figures divine, semi-divine, and human; to this end he renders Vihitan as "concepts of the

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gods.....which thou hast fashioned," where the sense is obviously and only possible as "divine purposings .....carried out," the meaning being that the Sabha is to be one fulfilling the aims of gods, &c. So 8,000 Raksasas who "bidden by Maya" guard and support the Sabha, are manufactured into statues, though why the poet should have then said "bidden" instead of "made" passes comprehension, especially as the literal sense is perfect, and the same remark applies to the Guhyakas who support Kubera's Sabha; surely common sense must remind us that these demons have no better task than to support the halls of their overlords. This application of common sense, however, destroys at once the interpretation put on the South Indian text of the epic, ii, 11-14-16, in which by (a) seeing an incorrect text and inventing a new one, (b) translating *bhava* as a statue of a being, and (c) by inventing for Persepolis an architectural conception of surpassing grandeur, Dr. Spooner finds a reference to a throne-room of various floors, apparently supported by statues. The text is, in itself, as often in the South Indian edition, not very satisfactory, but at any rate *bhava* does not mean statue, nor is there a single word of various floors of the Sabha.

4. The description given by the Asura Maya of his palaces is said to agree most strikingly with the account of Megasthenes of Chandragupta's palaces. The actual similarity seems to me to be of the utmost vagueness, as can be seen from a glance at the two versions as printed by Dr. Spooner. The real parallel with the deeds of the Asura is Pataliputra wrought by magic in the Katha-Saritsagara, but this is purely Indian, for the wiles or magic (maya) of the Asura are notorious throughout Indian literature from the Rigveda on.

5. It may be added that the epic passages cited cannot be dated precisely; none of them need be, or probably is, older than several centuries A. D. and that they bear witness to the period of the Mauryas is most improbable.

The derivation of Maurya from a Persian form Mourva, which is Merv and Meru, and the valley of the Murghab, can hardly be taken seriously, and the discussion of Panini, v. 3, 99, without reference to Bohtlingk's views, is ill-advised. Maurya as Mervian Iranian Zoroastrian (an equation which it is wholly wrong to make) does not help the sense at all, and horses and chariots, if Persian, are also par excellence, alike in early Vedic and in late epic, Indian.

7. The idea that Chanakya was a Magian minister of state is in itself almost too absurd to controvert, but the view that the Atharvan priest is really in whole or part, a magician from Persia is one that ignores the history of the place of that Veda in India, and the early importance of magic and the position thus won for the wielder of magic in the king's entourage; it is sufficient to refer to the end of the Aitareya Brahmana to see that the Purohits with his magic spells was established in royal favor long before Chandragupta of the Arthasastra, which is very possibly long subsequent to his date.

8. It is abundantly established, it is argued, that the Magi did come into India in early times and that Magadha was their chief centre. But the evidence is that of the Bhavisya and Visnu Puranas, as interpreted by Dr. Spooner, and Purana evidence has absolutely no value for any early date, say before 300 A. D. Doubtless, so far as real Magi are referred to, they are of a late Iranian migration; the Bhavisya Purana, which alone has a clear migration story, is a work which has been continuously interpolated, and which, as now edited, refers to Noah, etc. To what interpolation the Magi story refers we do not unhappily know: certainly not to 300 B. C.

9. The Bhavisya mentions that Garuda was lent by Krishna to Samba in his search for Magas, and Wilson expresses doubt whether the Garuda Purana is properly so described, as it deals mainly with sun-worship. The representation of Garuda is like that of Ahura Mazda, and Garuda first occurs in the Taittiriya Aranyaka, and the Aranyakas are centred especially in North Behar. The Garuda Purana is of local Indo-Zoroastrian origin. All this will not for a moment stand examination: Garuda is the sun bird; his substance, though not his name, is early Vedic; a Purana about sun worship is naturally his; the Aranyakas (whatever the plural here means) have nothing to show that they are specially centred in North Behar; if Ahura is depicted with traits like Guruda's, he is no doubt thus showing solar attributes.

10. The equation of Magadha and the Maghas, not to mention the mother goddess Magha, are flagrant absurdities which should have been allowed to rest in the obscurity in which Mr. Hewitt's ingenious but wild speculations now deservedly lie, and Sir G. Grierson is hardly likely to find his theory of inner and outer bands in language strengthened by its yielding the result of concord with Dr. Spooner's theory of Magian dominance.

11. It is impossible to follow Dr. Spooner's argument regarding the Yajurveda. If the Charakas are the Parsis, then the Taittiriya and Kathaka Samhitas should contain heretical doctrines: they do not. If Yajnavalkya is heretical, then why is it that the Vajasaneyi is not heretical? And it is Yajnavalkya who calls the Charakas wrong teachers and who is rather more eastern than they.

12. That Yavanani is equal to Persian is simply impossible unless and until an example of the use of the famous Ionian name of the Persians is produced of any date up to 300 B.C. Zoroastrian tribes in Orissa between 538 and 300 B.C. are phantoms, and the Persian (Yavana) Bhagadatta of the Indian settlement Pragjyotisa is no more substantial.

13. When the mass of unproved and unscientific hypotheses is considered it is obvious that the conclusion of the Persian Buddha and his racial connexion Asoka cannot possibly be accepted. The question of Iranian influence on the story of Buddha's birth is in itself one of legitimate interest, but the fundamental fact is that early Buddhism is wholly untouched, as expounded in the literature which can claim to give the truest version of it, by Zoroastrian ideas, and its origin and development can be and has been successfully depicted on Indian grounds alone. Similarly that Asoka sought to reconcile rulers and ruled on an eclectic basis of religion is not supported by a single piece of evidence.

14. The argument *ex-silentio* may be used too far, but it is incredible that Megasthenes should have known that the king to whom he went as ambassador was Iranian and not have told us so. Such a silence is fatal to the whole substance of Dr. Spooner's theory and should have warned him against forming it.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is clear. Iran may and no doubt did lend India ideas of various kinds; in each case these must be carefully looked for and examined and ascribed to Iran only if another and Indian origin is not possible and natural.

Dr. Keith's conclusion is:

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A Zoroastrian period of Indian history never existed nor indeed was any such existence to be expected.

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The Debt of Civilisation to the Arabs.

In the *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for February, S. H. Leeder has briefly traced the "intellectual and moral benefits" for which the Arabs were responsible, "which have had a durable effect on the wider world."

In the first rush of victory this new (Arab) force swept away the Magian fire worship of Persia which the Parthian Empire had been upholding and might have established throughout the East. Then it obliterated the wild ascetic superstitions of dreamy Egypt, and in some parts of India; and it scattered the contentious theology of the Greeks who were Christian only in name while they were worse than Pagans in conduct. And, later on, before the forceful Arab march, the debased manners, the wretched polity, and the imbecile administration of the Court of Constantinople expired.

The Arab's contribution to literature:

Letters, which originally came to Europe from the East, were brought to Europe a second time by the genius of the Arabs, who were the link between ancient and modern literature. In the West, literature had become almost extinct, and rude barbarism reigned. While the Empire of the Arabians prospered the Latin Church was ignorant of all good letters. Whatever proficiency was made later on by Latin writers, whether in philosophy, medicine, or mathematics, after their ignorance had been reproved by the industry of the Arabians, they owed entirely to them. They were not masters of a single Greek author, except in Latin versions rendered from the Arabic. It was through the medium of the Arabic that Ptolemy first became accessible to us in a Latin translation. Euclid, so long our chief preceptor in mathematical science, came into our hands through the same means.

In two branches of literature a special debt is due to the Arabs—*poetry* and *romance*. The genius of the Saracens for poetry goes back long before Islamic times, and it may be claimed that the *romance* style of writing had its birth in Arabia and was communicated to Europe by the Arabs. The "Romance of Antar," which precedes all European specimens of the romance now extant, is the only specimen of that style existing in the world, before the tenth century, complete in the form and characters proper to the romance.

Their contribution to Science and Philosophy:

Roger Bacon, who was born in 1214, was a man deeply learned in oriental languages, learned in the Universities of Moorish Spain, and as familiar with the Arabian authors of that time as with the Greek and Latin classics. It was from this scholar that Lord Bacon in the seventeenth century imbibed and borrowed the first principles of his famous experimental system; a fact which indisputably establishes the derivation of the Baconian philosophy from the Arabs.

The Arab philosophers were men who combined, with an acuteness and activity of mind that has never been surpassed, all the knowledge which industry could then attain. What they knew they knew thoroughly, and there is a clearness and a penetration about their reasoning which spread a lustre over every subject they handled. Their work highly exalted the intellect of Europe.

The writer goes on to say:

The Arab universities in Spain were the founts of learning to which Christian ignorance went for its early education. Among other celebrated Western pupils of Arab teachers were Peter the Venerable, and Pope Sylvester II. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that up to the end of the fifteenth century there was scarcely a man of eminence or learning in the schools of England, France, and Italy whose biography does not acknowledge the debt which he owed directly or indirectly to Arab learning.

"In the history of Chemistry the Arabs assume the undisputed rank of inventors."

They successfully analysed the various substances of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; made experiments on air, fire, earth and water, ascertained the opposite and kindred properties of alkalies and acids; invented, together with the alembic, various kinds of distillation and sublimation; discovered the volatile oils, and the medicinal qualities of mercury, and the changing of certain poisonous minerals into salutary medicines.

The West took all these discoveries, both from the Arabs of Asia as well as of Spain, and by their more sober temperament brought the art of chemistry under fixed principles and rules and raised it to a science.

Towards Medicine and Pharmacy great advances were made by the Arabs.

The highest medical authorities unite in acknowledging the debt of Europe to the Arabs for the recovery and improvement of the art of medicine. The Saracens applied themselves with great diligence to the study of medical science, mastering whatever had been known to the Greeks.

In *pharmacy*, or the art of preparing medicines, they enormously enlarged the list of remedies for disease. Among other important additions to the vegetable medicines, they first introduced rhubarb, tamarinds, cassia, senna, and camphor. They first cultivated sugar, bringing an agreeable element into food which to the great masses of the people had been up to that time almost unknown—for honey, the only sweet thing known, was very scarce and expensive.

The study of the symptoms of disease was the favourite and successful study of the Arabs. By zeal and penetration they were enabled to solve many obscure problems, tracing many diseases from their effects to their causes, and to apply effective remedies. In the cure of skin diseases they were particularly successful. To the Saracen physicians belongs the merit of having first investigated and described the deadly disease of small-pox. They were also the first to understand the nature of measles. Various abscesses, specially that of the pericardium and its adherence to the heart, the relaxation and other affections of the throat, are classed by the admission of modern students of medicine as amongst the discoveries of the medical skill of the Arabians.

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And we further read that proficiency in the art of healing led to the establishment of hospitals and lunatic asylums.

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Religion and Music.

The sense of music like the sense of religion is present in almost everyone, more or less. Almost all music had their birth in religion.

Herbert Antcliffe has contributed an interesting article to the *British Review* in which he has told us many things regarding the birth and growth of music, both Eastern and Western and its relation to different religious faiths.

We read :

Religion without emotion is impossible. And music is the most natural and universal expression of emotion—of the emotions of joy and sorrow, or faith, love, hope, despair ; and of worship. Not infrequently religious emotion finds expression in other matters ; even its highest expression is not through this means. Its full and complete expression, however, must and does always include expression in music. Music has always been regarded, by pagans and true worshippers alike, as a directly heaven-sent gift, and therefore to be employed chiefly in the service of religion. In the old pagan religions there was usually a god of music, or some hero or demi-god particularly gifted with the talent of music. Such were Osiris of the Egyptians, Apollo and Orpheus of the Greeks, and Narada and Bharata of the Hindus.

Speaking about eastern music the writer says :

Throughout the long history of the Chinese Empire we find music intimately connected with its various religions. Ancestor worship and Emperor (or more strictly, law) worship lend themselves to the ceremonial regulation of its use and disuse. Music, they said, was the harmony between heaven and earth ; and therefore their scale consisted of five notes, the number three being the symbol of heaven and two the symbol of earth. The names of the notes were those of the State, from the Emperor downwards (though they considered what we should call up, in music, to be down, and what we call down, up). Whole tones were masculine, that is, according to their ideas, complete and independent ; semitones were feminine, incomplete and dependent. But their abstruse and theoretical methods enabled them to divide this scale and to place it in so many different positions as to give them many more notes than we possess.

From the most ancient times on record in native literature, music was forbidden to mourners. Musical instruments were always interred with Emperors and grandees during certain dynasties. When in mourning they did not even speak of music. Japanese music of the old types was more secular. Not so that of the Hindus, however. The Hindus trace their music in its present form back to the earliest times, when it was supposed to be a direct and immediate gift from the gods. They ascribe it to many supernatural powers, and it is through their priests and monks that much Hindu music has been preserved.

About the growth of European music we are told that

With the advent of Christianity the music of the Jewish Church was developed into that of its successor. We have, of course, the highest authority, by example, if not by precept, for the use of music in Christian worship. Not only was our Lord a constant worshipper at the Temple, where music formed an integral part of the worship. "On the same night that He was betrayed," we read that immediately after the institution of the Most Blessed Sacrament He and His disciples sang a hymn.

The earliest Christian music, in fact, was only to a very small extent taken from, or even influenced by, that of Jewry, being mainly taken from that of Greece and Italy. The reason for this, of course, was that Greece was the paramount intellectual power, as Rome was that of politics. Nevertheless, we read that the Christian music was simpler and broader, as befitted its employment by congregations, as well as sweeter and more tender, as befitted its subjects, than was the pagan music from which it evolved. Congregational music, if at this stage it may be called so—that is, the music of the whole body engaged in any act of worship—would develop earlier than that for choirs or instruments. One respect in which the earliest records show that Jewish methods were retained, if not the music itself, was in that of antiphonal singing, either between precentor and congregation or between women and men.

Instruments were probably not employed, at least to any serious extent, until after the invention of organs suitable for accompanying voices. This did not take place until the fourth century or later. It happened to coincide approximately with the period when other instruments were used to such debased purposes as to be forbiden to all faithful Christians. The use of the organ did not become general, however, for many years after this. During the terrible times of the great persecutions there was little music, for fear of discovery of the churches. Even then, however, it was not altogether suppressed, and the tradition was continued till more peaceful times.

The writer goes on to say :

A letter notation was invented early in the eleventh century by Guido, a monk of Arezzo. He also developed the line notation invented by Hucbald of Saint-Amand (in Flanders) a little more than a century earlier. Hucbald was one of the first to develop the system of part-writing or harmony, and Guido further developed it. It was Guido who first invented the practice of what we call solmization, or solfeggi—that is, the singing of the notes to certain syllables, which syllables serve the double purpose of putting the mouth in a good position for obtaining a pure tone and of aiding the memory.

——

Indian India and Its Rajas : Their Relations with the British

is the title of an article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. The article is full of interesting information and quite readable; moreover it is frank and outspoken. The writer strongly takes exception, and correctly so, to the term native. His reasons for doing so are:

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In itself it is an expressive word; but it has degenerated. Uncultured Europeans have brought it into such disrepute that Indians and other Orientals consider it to imply that those to whom it is applied are looked upon as belonging to an order of humanity low in type and civilization. The substitution of "Indian" for "Native" usually serves the purpose. The phrase "Indian State" is in much better taste than "Native State," and is as easy to comprehend.

Likewise he objects to the terms "Chief" and "Prince" on the following grounds:

Like "Native," the word "Chief" is in itself a good term. But Europeans and Americans have a habit of associating it with the leaders of uncivilized tribes in America and Africa. I object to the application of such a word to personages of the most ancient lineage and to Rulers whose ancestors, for many generations back, have extended their patronage to learning and art. In addition to being thus objectionable, the word "Chief" does not always describe a Raja. The Indian Rulers are not all heads of distinct clans. Even those who are leaders of clans are departing from the patriarchal form of government. The position that the Rajas are assuming in their administrations cannot, therefore, be described as that of a "Chief." I need hardly add that my remarks are directed against the employment of the word "Chief" as a generic term, and not against its application in individual instances where its use is *technically* correct, such as the Chief of Mudhol or Ichalkaranji.

On similar grounds I object to the word "Prince." The term is not generally used in connection with Sovereigns, but is applied to their sons and other male relatives. The only case where, to my knowledge, it is applied to Europeans exercising functions of sovereignty is in the case of those who hold certain principalities in the German Empire, such as Lippe, Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Waldeck, etc. The system of centralization of which these Principalities constitute parts, is now being execrated all over the world. The present war has shown it to be rotten to the core. As far as I know, the word "Prince" is now generally used in connection with the male relatives of Sovereigns. It should not be applied to Indians who rule in their own right and name. It must be remembered that some of them carry on their administrations without any, and many without much, British intervention. Some of the powerful Rulers like the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir govern a larger area than that of countries in Europe. Some, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, hold sway over a larger number of subjects than, for instance, the Queen of Holland.

The phrase Protected Prince is technically correct as regards the foreign relations of the Rajas, but it is misleading to those unlearned in diplomatic phraseology. In any case, it expresses only half the truth; it implies that the British protect the Rajas, but there is nothing in it to show the fact that the Rajas contribute towards the security of the Empire. It is difficult for me to imagine that any Briton would wish to employ this term after the whole-hearted and enthusiastic aid that the Rajas have rendered to the British Empire during the present crisis.

Mr. Singh goes on to say:

The numerical strength of the Army in the employ of the Rajas, compares very favourably with the strength of His Majesty's forces in India.

The subjects of the Rajas number from seventy to eighty millions, according to whether or not certain States, like Nepal and Bhutan, are considered parts of Indian India, which, according to my estimate, has an area of 850,000 square miles. This population has not been subjected to the provisions of a rigorous Arms Act, as the inhabitants of British India have been for more than a half-century. A considerable portion of it is descended from fighting stock, and much of it is familiar with the use of arms. I do not know of any unit of British India, which can supply as many soldiers to fight for the Empire as can Indian India.

The writer only states the truth when he says:

The presence of so many of the Rajas in the firing line demonstrates that they are not only content with merely being "protected," but that they are eager to do all that they can to protect British liberties.

The term "tributary" cannot be applied indiscriminately to the Rajas. Many of the Indian Rulers do not pay tribute to the British. Some of them actually receive tribute from others.

If the European test of feudalism is applied to those who possess parts of Indian India, it will be found that very few of them are in possession of States which were conquered by the British and given to them. Portions of only a few States consist of territory bestowed upon them by the British. In one case a Maharaja has been given an estate, which does not form a part of his State (Kapurthala), and which yields revenue to him, but is not under his rule. If the word "feudatory" is not employed in the sense in which it is generally understood by the British, it should either be discontinued, or should never be used without an explanation as to what sort of feudal tenure it indicates.

The Indian Rulers are not generally effeminate incapables given over to enjoying life with dancing girls, concubines and court favorites, but are

as a rule busy personages, engrossed in administration and in initiating, remodelling, perfecting and carrying out schemes to uplift the people that Providence has entrusted to their care. The majority of Rajas are serious-minded personages who spend most of their time and energy doing useful work for humanity. Time and again I have proposed to British and American editors who conduct publications that are read by the populace contributions dealing with the administrative life of the Rajas and the progress that they are making: but in nearly every instance my suggestion has been over-ruled and I have been asked to contribute, instead, articles dealing with the pomp and pageantry of the Indian States.

Indian Rulers who give themselves up to pleasure and let favourites manage the state are the exception.

Mr. Singh advises the giving of a "much freer hand to the Rajas in the development of their military resources than they have had in the past; and the creation of a board of arbitration to settle disputes between the British and Raja, and Rajas and Rajas." He thinks that the British policy of isolating one Indian Ruler from another needs modification.

An survey [illegible] business between neighbour-

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ing States, such as that pertaining to the extradition of criminals, should be carried on without the intervention of the British Agent, thereby saving time and inconvenience. It is a libel upon the Rajas to say that they would quarrel if they dealt directly with each other. Almost without exception they are men of peace and shrewd statesmen. In cases where the British have already relaxed the policy of isolation, the direct interchange of summonses, writs, etc., has not resulted in any serious trouble.

The time has come to carry these reforms to their logical end.

The isolation of the Rajas from one another is hindering the progress of Indian India. Different Indian Rulers are making different experiments. They ought to be able to confer with one another and to compare notes, to benefit from the experience of one another, to save themselves the trouble, expense and loss of time involved in trying schemes which have failed, and in working out plans which have already been perfected. At present such information travels about in an indirect manner, and much time and detail is lost in the process. It would be infinitely better if friendly meetings were to be held periodically at which Rajas could confer with one another on matters pertaining to the progress of their States and subjects.

There is also much need for the Rajas and high British officials to meet annually or oftener, to learn from one another how best to promote the interests of the people entrusted to their care. Private interviews serve this purpose at present; but their limitations are fully recognized by all those who are experienced in such matters.

Representative Indian Rulers should have a place in the Imperial Conference.

—

Robert Browning and the Vedanta.

Sister Devamata in an ably written article in the *Message of the East* for February presents the points of similarity between the thoughts contained in the writings of Browning and the Vedanta.

"Spirit," the writer says truly, "knows no boundary lines."

Truth is neither of the East nor of the West. And he who sees the Truth is neither of the East nor of the West. He is of God. That Vision lifts him above time and place. It leads him even to transcend himself. But although this supreme Vision is open to all men, few there are in any age who attain it in fullness. When, however, there comes a rift in the cloud and a few gleams of the Light shine through, flooding the heart and soul of some man, then we have a genius such as Robert Browning. Yet it is only a rift. The illumination is not complete. Shadows still linger; hence the strong contrasts which nearly mark the character of geniuses, contrasts which are difficult for the ordinary mind to reconcile.

Regarding *Personal Vision* and the *Regenerators of Mankind* the writer says:

Browning claims that only the man who has touched God is fitted to refresh and regenerate mankind. It is through such, as he says in "Pompilia," that "God stooping shows sufficient of His light for those in the dark to rise by." The Vedic Seers dwell with especial emphasis on the process in the world at all times of great souls who can say as John said in "Death in the Desert," "I saw" for they alone keep men's faith alive.

It was because the Indo-Aryan Sages recognized so clearly the power of the personal vision, the strength of an apostolic succession of living teachers, that in ancient India higher knowledge was always transmitted by word of mouth. Man reads into the written teaching his own limitations, they said, and interprets it according to his own partial understanding; but when he listens to an Illumined Soul speaking even the humblest word, the force of the teacher's spiritual insight so quickens his perception that he is able to discern a new and deeper meaning in the truths spoken. Hence the ultimate revelations of the Vedas are called *Sruti* (that which is heard) while the minor Scriptures are known as *Smriti* (that which is written down).

About spiritual illumination we read:

Those great Wise Men of the East knew well, as Abt Vogler says, how "to build, broad on the roots of things." That is their salient characteristic. In the Rig-veda it is recorded that the disciple came to the Master and questioned: "What is that by knowing which all else becomes known?" He did not ask for facts or information. He asked to be taught the basic principle of life and knowledge. And all the Vedas following this earliest Scripture were composed as answers to that fundamental question, to know That which lies behind all knowledge. But such knowledge is not the ordinary knowledge which we gain from books. It is not the knowledge of the university campus or the library. Browning himself has described it in "An Epistle":

"So here—we call the treasure knowledge, say,
Increased beyond the fleshly faculty—
Heaven opened to a soul while yet on earth,
Earth forced on a soul's use while seeing heaven."

But for this revelation higher perceptive powers are necessary, the Vedanta declares. Man has within him three states of consciousness,—the sub-conscious, the conscious and the super-conscious; or as Browning expresses it in his "Death in the Desert":

"Three souls which make up one soul: first, to wit
A soul of each and all the bodily parts,
Seated therein, which works, and is what Does,
And has the use of earth, and ends the man
Downward: but, tending upward for advice,
Grows into, and again is grown into
By the next soul, which, seated in the brain,
Useth the first with its collected use,
And feeleth, thinketh, willeth,—is what Knows;
Which, duly tending upward in its turn,
Grows into, and again is grown into
By the last soul, that uses both the first,
Subsisting whether they assist or no,
And, constituting man's self, is what Is
And, leans upon the former, makes it play,
As that played off the first; and, tending upward
Holds, is upheld by, God, and ends the man
Upward in that dread point of intercourse,
Nor needs a place, for it returns to Him
What Does, what Knows, what Is; three souls, one man."

According to the Vedic teaching, the sub-conscious mind is the mind of the body, the mind that does it is the mind which makes the heart beat and the

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lungs breathe, which draws us back automatically from pain and pushes us toward pleasure. Above this is the intellect, the mind that knows, by which man perceives, classifies and associates ideas, thus gaining what we ordinarily call knowledge. Still beyond is the super-conscious or the spiritual mind, by which man apprehends being directly. In this state of consciousness he no longer reasons or infers. He sees face to face what is. The hidden laws of God become apparent to him and he learns to identify himself with the Universal. As Browning describes it in "Sordello": "Divest mind of e'en thought and God's unexpressed Will dawns upon us."

To attain this state of spiritual illumination is the goal held out by the Vedic Sages to every living being; for through it alone will a light be kindled in the heart by which man will perceive his true nature and the true nature of all things. Every man is "a god though in the germ," we read in "Rabbi Ben Ezra"; and in "Sordello," man "must fit to the finite his infinity." The soul, in Browning's conception of life, cannot stop short of the Infinite, the *Sat-Chit-Anandam* or "Existence Absolute, Knowledge Absolute and Bliss Absolute" of the Vedas. Therefore, he tells us in "Sordello" again, "Let essence, whatsoe'er it be, extend, never contract." With him, as with the ancient Indo-Aryan Seers, all salvation or ultimate attainment can be reached only through the full revelation of the soul to itself. When that supreme moment arrives and the veil drops from Spirit, then, the Sretasvatara-Upanishad declares: "As a mirror clouded by dust shines bright again after it has been polished, so is the embodied one satisfied and free from grief after he has beheld the real nature of his Self. And when by means of the real nature of his Self, he sees, as by lamp, the real nature of the Supreme, then having known the Eternal God, who is beyond manifested nature, he is freed from all fetters."

The Vedic doctrine of *Maya*, so often misinterpreted as delusion, actually means change.

Life on this plane depends on change and motion, on continuous circulation, perpetual ebb and flow. Yet behind this ceaseless play of *Maya* is a light that never flickers, an Absolute which holds the relative, a Real which lends to the changing form through which it shines that alluring show of reality which so easily deceives the unseeing eye. Thus speaks Browning in "Rabbi Ben Ezra":

"Pool, all that is, at all,
Lasts ever past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What enters into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay endure.

He fixed thee 'mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This present, thou, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed."

With the force of a still mightier vision the Vedic Sages of old proclaimed again and yet again that Ultimate, Unchanging Reality, "from whence all beings are born; by which, when born, they live; unto which they go"; and this ancient Sanskrit Prayer was ever on their lips: "O Thou Supreme Light of the Universe, Lead us from the unreal to the Real, from darkness to light, from death to immortality."

Browning practised true yoga.

None but a great soul could respond to the Higher Vision as Browning's soul responded; and no other could maintain so remarkable a balance between the Divine and the human, between flesh and spirit, between earth and heaven. Everywhere one finds a natural intermingling of the two; sometimes the scale may seem to tip a little to the fleshly side, then suddenly something swings it back to the spiritual. This is one of the greatest proofs of his genius, for higher vision never leads to the elimination or destruction of any element of life; it enables us to rate each at its proper value and maintain a balance among all. This is also the basis of the Vedic science of Yoga or spiritual development. The very word, from the same root as the English "Yoke," makes this plain; for man invented a yoke that he might balance his burdens and thus carry them more easily. Yoga, we are told in the Gita, only brings illumination to that man who observes moderation or balance in all his activities. This does not mean that at every moment he must stand at a neutral central point; but that when he swings to this side or that, he will have such control over all his forces that in an instant he will be able to correct his deflection and regain the middle point, that point where all things are perceived at their true value.

The writer concludes thus:

Vedanta teaches that each human being is the arbiter of his own destiny. He can choose his own course to attain ultimate perfection. But he must inevitably suffer if he breaks the law, just as a child cannot escape the smart and sting if he burns his fingers. Every living creature must push on and on, climbing by his mistakes until he attains the farthest height; for "incentives come from the soul's self, the rest avail not."

But what is the purpose of it all? Browning answers in "Death and the Desert":

"God's gift was just than man conceive of Truth
And yearn to gain it."

For "The Absolute Truth is bliss itself; on attaining It the soul feels happy," the Taittirya-Upanishad declares. And where is the Truth to be found? Again the answer comes in "Paracelsus":

"Truth is within ourselves; It takes no rise
From outward things, whate'er you may believe.
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fulness; and around,
Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,
This perfect, clear conception which is truth.
A baffling and perverting carnal mesh
Binds it, and makes all error; and to know
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without. . . .
Therefore set free the soul alike in all,
Discovering the true laws by which the flesh
Accloys the spirit!"

—

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NOTES

Famine in Bankura.

Babu Nishikanta Bose has given in the Bengali weekly *Sanjibani* his impressions of a tour in some forty villages in the northern and southern parts of the district of Bankura. He writes:—

"I have no words to adequately describe what I saw in these villages. Most of the men and women who came to the relief centres to receive their doles of rice looked almost like skeletons.....In almost every village I found from 8 to 16 houses deserted by their owners, who had gone to other districts.

"The condition of the middle class gentry is extremely bad.....An old man of sixty of this class, no longer able to conceal his condition, told me how he had at first sold all the jewellery of the women of his family, then he had sold the dishes and other metal vessels, and parted next with the stone cups and plate which were heirlooms in the family. Finally he had sold all the doors of the house,—except the front-door, and that had not been sold only in the vain effort to keep up appearances. He wept as he said all this. It was then 12 noon, and yet there was in his house nothing to cook. Without food, without cloth, all the members of the family were in great agony."

He then describes how in a village named Murakati within the jurisdiction of police station Taldangra a woman aged 40, named Bama Dasi, mother of Kedar Karmakar, fell down unconscious, because of want of food, and died after remaining in an unconscious condition for a whole night. From the list of villages in receipt of help from the various agencies, which he gives, it is clear that most affected villages are still without any assistance.

'In all the forty villages I have visited, there is dire scarcity of water. There is not a blade of grass in the fields. People are feeding their cattle on the straw taken from the thatching of their houses. A buffalo fell down on account of thirst. It was given six pitchers of water to drink; still it could not stand up. In some villages there is water in one or two tanks only a cubit or two deep. Men and cattle bathe in that water, clothes are washed there in, and it is also used for cooking and drinking. Small-pox has broken out in some of these villages.

"Almost all the villages are without any special provision for drinking water. In some villages people dig holes in the sandy beds of the dried-up rivers, situated at a distance of one or two miles, and draw water from there with great difficulty.

"In a village near Barjora, inhabited by gentle folk, I found at mid-day some 17 or 18 gentlewomen waiting in such a dry sandy river-bed under the scorching rays of the sun for sufficient water to accumulate in the six wells, each 2 or 3 cubits deep, which they had dug in the sand. Water was oozing out very slowly through the sand; the women were getting a cup-ful every three or four minutes. In this way each of them had to spend an hour or two in filling her vessel. In the afternoon some two to two hundred and fifty people would come to the sandy river-bed for water; hence the gentlewomen referred to above had chosen the hottest part of the day to fetch water. One cannot refrain from shedding tears at the sufferings of these well-born women. To whatever village I have gone I have been approached by people of all classes for the relief of their sufferings from water famine.

"In some places, people have given up bathing, because there is so little water. Reaching a village in the evening, I found that the people there drank the water of a tank in which there was only some 2 cubits of water. From within a radius of 2 miles people came to bathe in it and also use its water for drinking. Besides, some 200 buffaloes plunge in it every day. On hearing all these details I refused to drink its water; so water had to be brought for me from a distance of a mile and a half. What can be more dreadful than this? Men can live without food for some days, but not without water. If there be no rain within a

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Photo by Bankura Sammilani.

A group of famine-stricken people most of whom are Brahmans.

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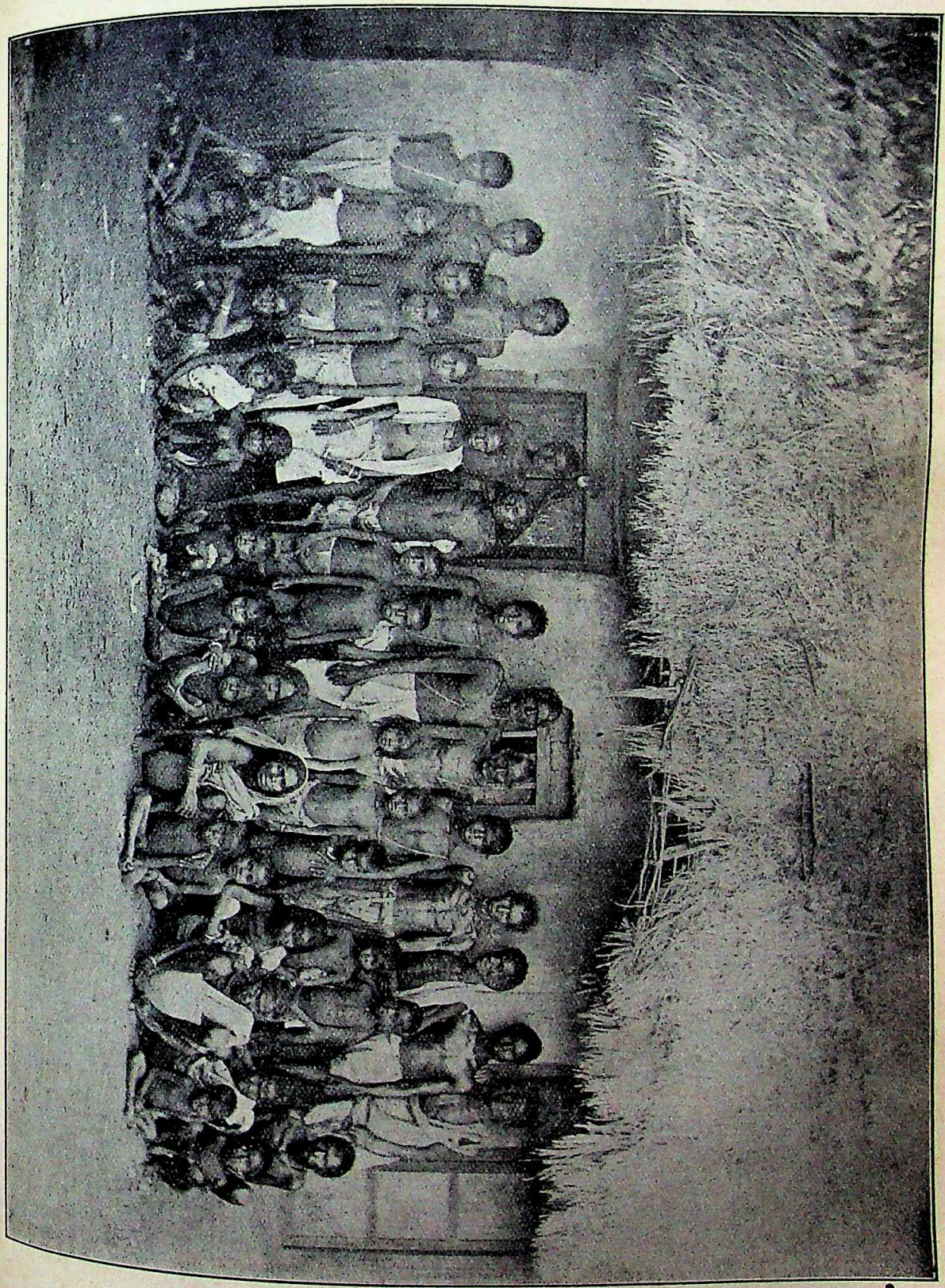

Photo by Bankura Samiti.

A group of famine-stricken people most of whom are Brahmans.

BANKURA FAMINE.

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A group of members of respectable families who are at last forced to receive doles from the *Bankura Sammilani*.
Photo by Bankura Sammilani.

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The pitiable condition of the cattles and the huts shown above.

The dilapidated huts of the village Chapardanga in Thana Taldangra.

Photos by Bankura Sammilani.

U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

A group of members of respectable families who are at last forced to receive doles from the Bankura Sammilani.
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The only tank used for drinking purpose at the most populous village of Harmasra, Thana Taldangra, completely dried up. Requires re-excavation. Estimated cost rupees two hundred. The tank is called Sanbanda.

Photo by Bankura Sammilani.

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fortnight or so, many people will die of thirst.

"I humbly entreat Government and all the relieving agencies to save the lives of the people by excavating wells."

Wells with brick masonry walls would cost about Rs. 150 each ; but bricks would not be available in most villages. Wells with circular burnt-clay walls made by the village potters would not cost more than Rs. 50 each, and would last a generation or more. *Kutcha* wells cost some ten or fifteen rupees. On the whole the second kind of wells seems preferable. Out of the 4634 villages in the district perhaps not more than 2000 would require a well each. A lakh of rupees would, then, suffice to assuage their thirst. This is by no means a large sum for Government to spend, specially as they have an enormous sum in their hands, called the Famine Insurance Fund, raised by special taxation. The Social Service League and the Bankura Sammilani have already begun to do what they can. Government should at once publish a list of the villages which require wells, and dig them at their own expense, or call in the aid of the generous public. There is not a day to be lost. We in Calcutta have had no rain for about five months, but having a filtered water-supply we do not feel greatly troubled. It is different in the famine stricken area.

It is to be borne in mind that the wants of the people are fourfold : (1) want of food, (2) want of water, (3) want of clothes, (4) want of shelter. Many of the houses have not been thatched for two or three years, straw being scarce. In addition, some villages and houses have caught fire and been burnt down. There are besides the cattle to be provided for.

Famine Pictures.

A relief-worker, Babu Hariprasad Mallik, has written some heart-rending things in the *Sanjibani*. We are not equal to translating them, but nevertheless shall try to give a somewhat literal rendering :

"When thousands of men and women, somehow covering their emaciated skeleton-like bodies in tattered dirty clothes, or some in a half naked condition, stand before us ; when our mothers, our sisters, giving up their sense of modesty, come to us in this state, fortifying their hearts with hope ; and when we cannot give all of them a piece of old cloth each to preserve their modesty, then how can we say what we feel ? A piece of old cloth, a handful of rice,—rice of the worst and coarsest quality, we cannot give them even these ; what then shall we say ?

"Mother half-dead, infant near her bosom. Its agonised cry for sucking her breast ; the mother, unmindful of her imminent death, trying to encircle and draw it close to her bosom with her weak and emaciated arms ; her lips no longer able to articulate words, her eyes casting on the child a mute look of agony, and the curtain of death slowly dropping down ; the simple child, unable to understand all this, still groping for the mother's breasts to suck, but the next moment stopping short and in silence assuming a grave look as of a sage :—these things we have seen. Say, what the feelings of the parents must be, if they should at all be capable of feeling. As for ourselves,—we shall not say what our feelings are. You may try to realise them. Try to imagine what feelings scenes like these give rise to.

"We have no language to explain what happens when hungry and thirsty men and women and children, exposed to the fierce rays of the midday sun, come to us for their doles of rice from distances of eight to ten miles, walking over the hot sands of a gravelly soil, and go back home in the darkness of the night with tottering steps traversing gravelly ground full of ups and downs."

"I have never seen a desert ; but the picture of a desert which I had formed in my imagination seems to have materialised here. All around the bare gravelly ground pains the eyes to look upon ; the tanks all dried up, some retaining a little muddy water ; no grass in the fields ; the verdant beauty of the extensive *sal* forests no longer to be seen, the leaves drying and falling down ; the mango blossoms constantly drizzling down."

From all accounts, it is clear that larger and larger numbers of persons are coming within the grip of Hunger and Thirst. The sufferings of the people are getting more and more intenser as day follows day. Cholera and small-pox have broken out in some villages. Cattle are half-dead, and dying in many places.

Large numbers of students will soon have their long summer vacation. We trust they will devote part of their time and energy to the service of the sufferers.

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We entreat Government and the philanthropic bodies engaged in relieving distress to at once prepare and publish an exhaustive list of the places which are suffering from scarcity of food and water. Let the affected villages also form themselves into groups and form committees, and let these committees apply for help.

Rise and Disappearance of Political Rowdyism in Japan.

In his work on "The Educational System of Japan" Mr. W. H. Sharp, now Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, tells us that in Japan, as in India, almost all who attend the higher institutions are qualifying themselves to earn a living; and "the public service was at one time the most secure, dignified, and attractive of livings." Her *samurai*, says Mr. Sharp, were both the educated and the official class; they had been provided with a free education, and with a suitable position in the retinue of their feudal lords; and they were totally unfitted to earn their living in any other way. With the abolition of feudalism in the new era, all this was changed; the privileges and hereditary incomes of the *samurai* disappeared; despising work, and ignorant of business, many fell into great poverty and misery. It was useless for the Japanese Government to employ old-fashioned persons, trained on Chinese lines; it was necessary to employ young men educated for the new system of administration. "Though the eagle be starving, he will not eat grain," was the motto of some of those who were thus dispossessed of their former rights; "discontent, rebellions, assassinations followed, but victory remained with the new order."

This is a proof that unemployment and change in the economic condition and social position of a class of men may produce very serious political consequences. This is a fact which the Government and the leaders of the people of India should constantly bear in mind.

Mr. Sharp goes on to say that at that time the university was in Japan practically a school for turning out Government officials, who gradually took the place of the hundreds of foreigners at first employed; the *samurai* now called *shizoku*, supplying perhaps 80 per cent., a proportion which declined as the *heimin*, or commoners, began to take advantage of their new rights, until now there are probably more commoners than gentry in the public service. The *samurai* were consequently driven to seek new fields of employment; but the idea still prevailed among all classes of the educated that for an educated man the public service was the only service. As Government offices came to have fewer and fewer vacancies, "there arose a new class of malcontents, young men who had obtained some education, but who were not able, or not qualified, to obtain posts. Hence came the *shoshi*, a class of political rowdies, who became notorious some years ago, but of whom little is heard now."

How did this change for the better come about? Let Mr. W. H. Sharp answer:—

"The removal of feudal restrictions on travel and occupations; the efforts of Fukuzawa and other influential men to develop the spirit of self-help, and to turn young men to professional and commercial careers; the influence of English economic doctrines; and I suppose, a certain amount of common sense on the part of those concerned; all tended to the solution of the problem."

"*But*," continues Mr. Sharp, "*it would scarcely have been solved so rapidly, but for the enormous expansion of Japanese life in the last few years; it is the opening up of numerous industries and professions which at present affords plenty of room for those qualified to avail themselves of it, and until this came about the mere provision of technical schools and the like produced little effect.*"

We learn further that "the recent growth of material wealth has caused many young men to turn their eyes to the more remunerative [than the public service] paths of commerce, technics, or industry; and the colleges of literature or science no longer attract the ablest or the most ambitious of the university students."

Student Government.

In these days when attempts are being made to teach students their place by fining, expelling, rusticating, locking out or flogging them, it may be of some use to remember that in Princeton University in America there obtains a system of student government, which is most markedly developed in the "honour system" in examinations and written recitations, under which

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every student signs a pledge on his paper that he has "neither given nor received assistance." There is no faculty or monitorial watch over students in examinations; the system is administered by a student committee, to which any dishonesty in examinations is to be reported, and which then investigates the charge, and if it finds it true reports the offender to the faculty for dismissal. This system of student government at Princeton extends to other spheres of discipline also. In Sir Rabindranath Tagore's school at Bolpur there is a system of self-government by students. Here, too, there is no watch kept over the boys in examinations.

Anglo-Japanese Relations.

The Kobe Herald tells us that the *Peking and Tientsin Times* suggests the "despatch of a member of the British Royal Family to convey the king's personal congratulations to the Emperor of Japan upon his coronation," and hopes that this would have far-reaching results in improving existing relations between Japan and England. *The Kobe Herald* goes on to say:

Referring to recent discussions in the House of Peers, our Tientsin contemporary does not pretend to say whether Baron Den really believed the absurd report that British subjects in China were instigating the Chinese to boycott Japanese goods, or whether he dragged this rumour into publicity merely to enable Baron Ishii to scotch it. But it does say that in view of the German intrigues which have been afoot ever since the commencement of the war to estrange Japan and her principal Ally, it seems high time that a serious effort were made to establish more cordial and more sincere relations between the two countries.

The Mission of Japan.

Japan too has begun to proclaim like every other belligerent country that her mission is to establish peace in this aggressive world. *The Kobe Herald* quotes an English translation of an article penned by Dr. Jakata, the Japanese Minister of Education, which has at least the quality of frankness. We cull the following from the same:

The principal reason for the outbreak of the present war is the existence of racial prejudice. There is no doubt about this. So if you wish to secure the future peace of the world, the first important problem to be solved is how to weaken and destroy the power of racial prejudice. Japan has tasted the bitter experience of falling into a difficult position on account of the racial prejudice of the white race. But to offer violence for violence, and prejudice against prejudice is no way to bring about the cessation of struggle and contention. The existence of such prejudice in the world presents a great obstacle to the development of the Japanese nation. As a fundamental principle of the Japanese nation in the future, we need, therefore, to live entirely above racial prejudice, playing our part on the world-stage in the humanitarian spirit of love, righteousness and friendship. In short, the ascendancy of militarism, aggressive policies and racial prejudice leads to world confusion. To try to remove the prejudice of others while harbouring prejudice oneself is the height of inconsistency. Looking at ourselves, we Japanese cannot say positively that we have no racial prejudice. From one point of view, we have a tendency to look at ourselves blindly as the "select people of God," as the Germans do. There seems to be too much self-confidence in us. Then, the self-confidence of the Germans is general, while that of the Japanese is restricted to warfare. Confidence in our ability to make great achievements in science, art, commerce and industry seems lacking. And then we have been victorious in the past and have no experience of defeat. From a certain point of view, therefore, this conception seems to be very dangerous for us. This is the point to which we must give the deepest consideration. Whether during the war or after the war, the Japanese nation should strive earnestly for peaceful achievements in commerce and industry.

Japan and Manchuria.

The Japanese are gradually capturing the trade of Manchuria. Even property there is passing from the Russians to the Japanese. *The Kobe Herald* quotes the Harbin correspondent of the *North China Daily News*, who says:

Thanks to the war Japanese imports are finding their way into northern Manchuria in ever-increasing quantities, for Russian wants must be satisfied now that neither Austrian nor German goods can enter, and old stocks are exhausted. Japanese imports for the use of the Chinese are also on the increase, for the wave of the Chinese settling movement not only along the whole course of the trans-Manchurian railway but also over the entire expansive Sungari plain, one of the richest granaries of northern Asia, is becoming larger and larger as years roll on and will not cease until the province of Heilungking can boast of twenty million or more inhabitants. The requirements of these Chinese settlers may be individually small, but on account of the number to be supplied the grand total is very respectable.

Piece-goods hold easily the first place amongst Japanese imports into north Manchuria, whilst other Japanese goods required by the Chinese include cotton yarns, haberdashery, matches, soap, paper, umbrellas (European style), hosiery, glassware, drugs and medicines, and dried sea and vegetable products. In Manchurian exports there is a great increase in Japanese activity, and this season Japanese exporters are very favourably placed; consequently a large portion of the export trade in North Manchuria has come into their hands.

Many Russian owned houses are also getting into Japanese hands. The Harbin householders are as a whole a motley crowd, drawn from all classes of society. The greater number made their money before or during the Russo-Japanese War and as most of them originally had been the reverse of well-off they considered that the best way to invest their capital was to put it into real estate.

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Harbin railway land, which has now such great value, is acquired on special leasing term from the railway authorities in regular lots, and as the title-deeds cost money the Japanese comes in handy. He lends money, on terms, however, which frequently result in his becoming owner of the property. In this manner numerous properties have in the past few years gone from Russian into Japanese hands, and the actual price paid by the latter for these buildings is usually far under the actual cost.

"If any time Russia decides to evacuate Manchuria," the correspondent opines, "Japan will step in and fill the breach created."

A Boy Sculptor.

Those who visited Mr. G. K. Mhatre's studio in Bombay in Christmas week last year must have been struck with some of the remarkable work done by the sculptor's son Master Shamrao, a boy of thirteen. His plaster model of the bust of his grandfather, Mr. Kashinath Mhatre, has won the second Sir Dorab Tata prize of Rs. 25 at the Art Exhibition held in the Bombay Town Hall in February last. We print side by side photographs of the boy's grandfather and the bust of "My grandfather" made by him. The likeness is striking; and there is life in the boy's work. We are also glad to be able to reproduce a photograph of a study by Master Shamrao named "The Grapes." There is no stiffness in the pose; it is natural; and the look of intelligence and cheerfulness in the girl's face is noteworthy.

Life-size. "GRAPES." By Shamrao G. Mhatre.

Successful Indian Students in England.

The announcement has been made at Cambridge University, says *India*, that certain papers which have been submitted to the Degree Committee of the Special Board of Mathematics, by Mr. Srinivasa Ramanujam, of Trinity College, have been pronounced as of merit as a record of original research. This carries with it the degree of B. A., advanced students not being permitted to enter for triposes or special examinations. Mr. Ramanujam only received the ordinary Indian school education, and was formerly a clerk in the

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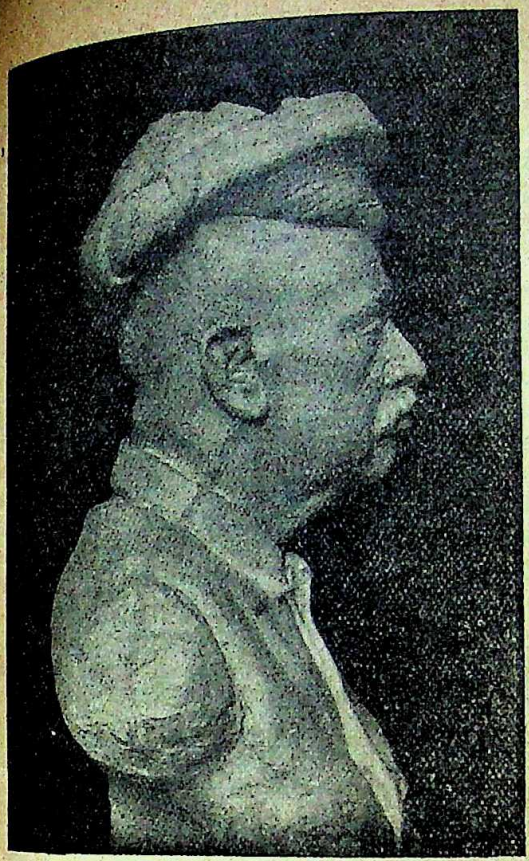
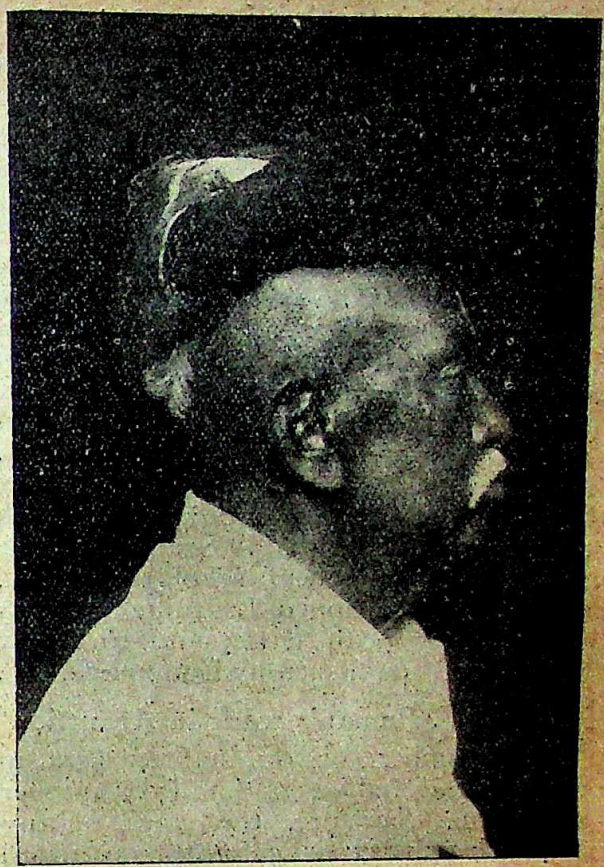


"My Grandfather."
Life-size. By Shamrao G. Mhatre.



Original photograph from life of Shamrao's Grandfather.

employment of the Madras Port Trust. His mathematical training remains a mystery. He is particularly brilliant in the theory of numbers and the theory of elliptic functions, and many of the theories he sent to Cambridge were quite new. Others had been anticipated by writers of whom he had never heard, and of whose work he was quite innocent. He discovered for himself a great number of things which the leading mathematicians of the last hundred years, such as Cauchi and Jacobi, had added to the knowledge of schoolmen. At Cambridge he has been learning modern mathematics, and in the opinion of a well-known expert, he is an infinitely finer mathematician than many who have become Senior Wranglers.

A meeting of the Senate of the University of London was held on February 23, when the degree of D.Sc, in organic chemistry was conferred upon Mr. Brajendranath Ghosh, of University College, and that of D.Sc. (Economics) upon Mr. John Matthai, of the London School of Economics.

Three Distinguished Students.

The name of Mr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A., P.R.S., is familiar to our readers. He has contributed to our pages some valuable articles on Indian economics, on the maritime activity of the ancient Hindus. These latter have subsequently appeared as part of his well-known work on the history of shipping and maritime activity in ancient India. His book on the Fundamental Unity of India appeared in our pages in its entirety. We are glad, and our readers, we know, will be glad to learn that Mr. Mukerji has obtained the degree of Ph. D. of the Calcutta University. He has a valuable work on Chandragupta Maurya ready, which will be published when the war is over.

Professor Radha Kamal Mukerji, M. A. a younger brother of Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, is another of our well-known contributors who has obtained a high academic distinction this year. He has been awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship, which is considered the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University. An original work relating to the foundations of Indian economics which he has written will shortly be published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.

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Mr. Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., whose original work "Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity" has been deservedly praised by competent persons in India and abroad, has also won the Premchand Roychand Studentship. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji can be proud of this fact, as Mr. Law has been his pupil for years. Mr. Law's achievement is specially noteworthy, as, being the son of Maharaja R. C. Law, he belongs to a very wealthy family. The Laws are subarna-baniks (*lit.*, gold-merchants) by caste, and, as such, more noted for their business capacity and wealth than for scholarship. This makes Mr. Law's academic laurels unique. Besides the book referred to above, of which many portions appeared in our *Review*, he has written another scholarly work, namely. "Promotion of Learning in India by early European settlers up to about 1800 A. D.," published by Longmans.

Prof. C. V. Raman's work in Acoustics.

The number of original workers in science among Indians is small; whatever recognition, therefore, the work of any one of them receives cannot but afford pleasure to patriotic Indians. We are glad to note that in the new edition of the text-book on sound by Prof. E. H. Barton, D. Sc., F. R. S. E., of University College, Nottingham, published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., three of the published investigations in acoustics by Prof. C. V. Raman are referred to.

The first is his theory of resonance under forces of double frequency. In this theory, Prof. Raman supplied the missing links necessary to reconcile the phenomena observed by Faraday, Melde and Lord Rayleigh with those indicated by the mathematical equations. The second is the work on the vibrations of bridge of the violin, the first instalment of which appeared sometime ago in the "Philosophical Magazine". The third comprises what Dr. E. H. Barton refers to as "the elegant experiments and photographic records" demonstrating an entirely new class of maintained vibrations discovered by Prof. Raman. A special feature of interest is that one of the publications referred to was printed and published in India by the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

An Authorised Auditor of Accounts of Companies.

It is satisfactory to note that Mr. J. C. Das, B.Sc. (California), A.L.A.A.(London), a well-known practising auditor of Calcutta, has been given an un-restricted certificate by the Government of Bengal entitling him to audit Joint Stock Companies, including Insurance Companies, throughout British India. Mr. Das is one of the pioneers in Bengal who went abroad for Commercial Education and was educated in this special line in Japan, America and England. As early as 1908 we published in the *Modern Review* the news of his passing the Accountantship Examination in America securing 99% marks in Higher Accountancy. Mr. Das is the Lecturer on Banking and Currency at the Government Commercial Institute of Calcutta and has been connected with the Institute for the last six years. Mr. Das has already established a reputation as a successful Auditor. During his extensive travels in foreign lands he had seen and studied the working of many business concerns and his advice and suggestions to business people here should be very valuable. He has been, for some time past, entrusted with auditing accounts of various Companies throughout Bengal and is credited to have discharged his duties to the satisfaction of all concerned. As a Certified Auditor he is a specialist in the competition field of this special branch of work. We are glad to be able to say these words of him and to commend him to the business public in India.

The proposed Swarnamayi College.

Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar intends to found a well-equipped College in Calcutta and name it after his aunt, the late Maharani Swarnamayi of blessed memory. It is proposed to be located in the commodious Samavaya Mansions in Corporation Street. In view of the congestion in the Calcutta Colleges and of the not negligible number of students who, for want of room, are every year refused admission to them, we welcome the proposed establishment of a new college.

Government want our Colleges to be entirely or largely residential. This College would be largely residential, there being room in the building for 500 boarders, in addition to class-rooms, office-rooms, hall, library, &c. Government want our Colleges to be endowed, as it is easier for endowed institutions than for unendowed ones to maintain discipline and endeavour to realise the ideals of education. This College will be endowed; and it will also be located in its own buildings. For the Maharaja, we hear, is owner of

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two-thirds of the Samavaya Mansions and will soon acquire the remaining one-third. For these reasons, we think Government and the University ought to help the Maharaja in every way to give effect to his public-spirited desire to promote the cause of high education.

On theoretical grounds, it would be more desirable to establish Colleges in the muffasil than in a crowded city. But we have to look some stubborn facts in the face. No district of Bengal is at present healthy; Calcutta is healthier than any muffasil district. The same causes which have led to the desertion of Bengal villages, partly impell Bengali students to flock to Calcutta. Considerations of health, then, would make a Calcutta College preferable to a college in a district town. There is also another and a very important determining factor. When a public benefactor proposes to make a gift of a building worth many lakhs situated in a city, it is not reasonable to ask him to incur fresh expense to build a similiar edifice in a country town at the cost of an equal amount of money. Money is not so cheap, nor are public benefactions in aid of high education so common in India that we can afford to dictate the how and where unnecessarily.

The building and site are as healthy as those occupied by any of the colleges in the northern part of Calcutta, and they are the majority, being more than 90 per cent. The proposed college would be within a few minutes' walk of the Maidan, and that is a great advantage. As for its proximity to a market and a theatre, Presidency College is within two minutes' walk of a theatre and a market. The Bethune College, the Scottish Churches College, and the Central College are within a few minutes' walk of several theatres and markets. There were, no doubt, unsavoury associations connected with Jaun Bazar Street, the former name of Corporation Street. But things have changed much latterly, and the vicinity of the Samavaya Mansions is quite respectable. And for that matter, a few minutes' walk can take one from the Scottish Churches College and some other colleges to the most infamous quarters of the town. No town or quarter of a town in Bengal is, we presume, proof against vicious inclinations or their gratification. The theatre near the Samavaya Mansions is a European theatre, and as such not likely to exercise so much influence on Indian students as Indian theatres do. Quite close to the proposed locality of the college is the Young Women's Christian Association, which, it is to be presumed, has not chosen a disreputable quarter for its location. The Free School, too, has existed in the neighbourhood for many decades. The Municipal Market close by is so orderly that even Indian ladies, not to speak of Indian gentlemen, go there to make purchases.

The most statesmanlike method of dealing with the unrest among students is to give them increasing opportunities of receiving a good education, and to remove, as far as possible, all reasonable causes of dissatisfaction. Any effort to cope with the situation by decreasing the facilities for high education or by preventing its further spread is bound to fail disastrously. The story of the disappearance of rowdyism among Japanese youth told in a previous note should be remembered in this connection. We are the people and of the people and know where the shoe pinches, better than any high placed official of the education, executive, police and other departments.

No part of Calcutta is either in fact or by law exclusively owned or occupied by Indians or Europeans, a circumstance favourable to the much-to-be-desired closer social relations of the races. The fact that the site of the proposed college is near a police station and the quarters where merchants, for the most part European, carry on business, would be a guarantee for good behaviour on the part of the students of the proposed college. We say this only to allay the apprehensious of persons who may have become unnecessarily alarmed at some recent occurrences. The real fact is, it is the easiest thing in the world to manage Indian students. They seldom give trouble, unless one provokes, harrasses, or insults them. To say that they are all or for the most part anarchists is a falsehood which interested parties alone would eagerly proclaim or accept.

In conclusion, we wish to say that taking all the circumstances into consideration, we do not think the University and Government can at present have a more acceptable proposal for a college. The best thing for them would be to sanction the establishment of the institution and make it gradually conform to a higher and

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higher ideal. The worst would be to refuse affiliation, and thereby lend additional support to the public suspicion, which already exists, that, in spite of the declaration of His Majesty the King-Emperor to the contrary, there is in high official quarters strong opposition to education in general and high education in particular.

Presidency College Affairs.

The Enquiry Committee are said to have finished their labours. Their report is awaited with some interest.

Though Mr. James did not show himself to be a strong, considerate or competent principal, we are bound to say that in the recent incidents, he has not had fair treatment. Though he was appointed one of the members of the committee of enquiry, he was really one of the persons whose conduct was the subject of investigation. We do not, therefore, see how it was unreasonable, improper, or illegal for him to object to the personnel of the Committee. Even persons accused of heinous offences have the right to object to be tried by a particular court, though, of course, the objection may or may not be considered valid. But the fact of making such an objection is never held to go against a person. Then, as regards Mr. James's insulting a member of the Executive Council of the Bengal Government, that ought to have been a quarrel for the parties to settle among themselves, or, failing that course, it could have been referred to a law-court. We are lay men unversed in law, high esoteric politics, or bureaucratic methods. We cannot understand how the insulting of one European official by another can be one of the grounds for the practical dismissal of the latter. It may have violated the dignity of the former, it may have been a social or a legal offence, but it certainly was not *lese majesty*.

The treatment of the students has been one-sided and unfeeling throughout. Though a committee of enquiry has been appointed, there has been no waiting for its report. The students have been punished, and punished heavily, before and during the sittings of the Committee. The order to leave the hostel put many students to great inconvenience and much expense. Many had no time even to take their meals, and some, though ill, had to leave in that weak condition. The holding of the annual examination at very short notice is another grievance. It is natural and right to expect students to pay the same respect to their *gurus* as to their parents. But even parents when punishing their sons are expected to give indications of the possession of a feeling heart.

Certificates of popularity depend for their value on circumstances. When during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, much was sought by the defence to be made of the fact of Hastings having been almost adored by some Indians, the reply was given that in India even serpents were worshipped.

Lord Carmichael on Presidency College Affairs.

Lord Carmichael's Convocation speech consisted mostly of observations on the Presidency College affairs. What he said was considerate, sympathetic and statesmanlike. He said :—

> Mistakes, if such have been made, must be brought home to those who made them. Misunderstanding must be cleared up. If the system has been at fault it must be changed. For we must have a cordial working together of teachers and the taught.

He quoted from the Manu *Samhita* to show what the old Indian traditional sentiments governing the relations between the teacher and the taught were. But he forgot, and many others have made the same mistake, that the whole system of education has changed, that the modern teachers do not stand *in loco parentis* as their predecessors in ancient India did, and that the modern teachers do not conform or come up to the old ideals. Under the circumstances, it is not reasonable to judge modern students by the old ideals. Ideals to be binding must be binding on both the teachers and the taught; and it should not also be forgotten that the old rules and penalties were laid down by the teachers, and they made things comfortable for themselves, it may be unconsciously, at the expense of the students.

Regarding the ideals of honour of Bengali students His Excellency said :—

> My experience about students is not so great as yours; but such as it is, it leads me to believe that Bengalee students—quite as much as any students elsewhere have high ideals of honour and of duty, and that their aim is honourably to live noble lives. Here as elsewhere, their ideal may not be always clearly defined; here as elsewhere students may at times confuse the true with the false; here as elsewhere, students may do foolish perhaps even wrong things

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in the heat of the moment, or at times deliberately: but I believe they are as generous here, and as ready to give and take as they are elsewhere.

We are in hearty agreement with the sentiments expressed in the following passage:—

I look back on things that happened in my own experience more than once in other countries—where a fault was committed against college discipline and the authorities did not know who had committed it. I ask myself what course did the college authorities take? What course did public opinion and student opinion expect them to take? Did they telephone to the Commissioner of Police to come and help them to find the culprit? Such an idea would have seemed to them absurd. They placed the punishment on the shoulders of the body of students directly concerned: but not with the object of inducing any student to give information concerning others. To try to obtain information in such a way from others than the guilty is repellant—to give information about others in such circumstances is dishonorabe—in student life, whether in England or in Bengal. No! They trusted to the honour of the offenders themselves; they believed that the offenders would value honour more than they dreaded punishment and would come forward to bear the punishment due to them. I know individuals will not always in fact do this. But I should always have expected my fellow students as a whole to feel that they ought to do it, and to look to individuals to justify that expectation. It is hard for me to conceive that this is not so here. Yet many people tell me it is not. If you know that it is not—and you who have just finished your time as students must know—for the sake of your good name; for the sake of your own chance of getting for yourselves many things which I know you want to get, and which I want you to get: and for the sake of your fellow countrymen whose future condition must depend on the reputation which educated Indians hold in the eyes of the world, I would beg you to try and bring about a change in student feeling. From my knowledge of Bengalis I feel sure that this idea of honour will appeal to you if only you clearly grasp it. I feel sure that Bengali students will never respect men who are so cowardly as to let others suffer for their fault. I do not believe that Bengali students are cowards, either morally or phisically.

That the Police Commissioner should have been allowed to meddle in the affair, shows the spirit in which things have been handled;—it shows that our students are looked upon in some official quarters (including some European Principals and Professors) more as possible criminals deserving of repression, than as young men who are to be educated to become free citizens. It is this fact which probably explains the failure of His Excellency's appeal to evoke a response from the assailants of Prof. Oaten. From what we know of our students, we think the assailants would have, as His Excellency expected, come forward, to bear the consequences of their act; if those consequences could be expected to take only the form of even the severest college disciplinary punishment. But as matters stand, the assailants, whenever discovered, would most probably be presumed to have connection with anarchists, and as such would be interned and dealt with in a severer manner subseqnently. For several years past and particularly during some recent months many of our students, including some of the best in character and intellect, are being dealt with in such a manner that their troubles would perhaps last as long as their lives. An inexpressibly gloomy thought for them and for the nation.

The Vice-Chancellor's Pronouncement.

In the course of his convocation address the Vice-Chancellor observed:

Our traditions, as well as civic and moral laws, forbid our taking the law into our own hands. Where unfortunately there is a just grievance, the redress must be left to the judgment of the authorities. If this great lesson be not learnt aright and assiduously applied in life all round, we shall never really graduate in true self-government.

Indications have been disagreeably in evidence of late that some students so far forget what is due to themselves, their guardians and their colleges as to let their protests take the shape of unwarrantable combinations and strikes,—sometimes worse—in preference to constitutional methods of redress for grievance, always and clearly open to them. When they forget themselves like this, they also forget that the mere fact of going on what is known as strike, not only makes them liable to academic penalties, but they also voluntarily resign their connection with the college, which may be more than difficult to re-establish if the college chooses to take other than a lenient view of their case. The University in which control and discipline are vested by law, cannot tolerate such a deplorable state of affairs and is determined sternly to put down disorder and violation of discipline in all shapes.

One would like to know how the university would deal with undisciplined professors. It would also be helpful if students were given some guidance as to what they should do when they do not get any redress by referring things to the judgment of the authorities. We suppose in such circumstances it is as legitimate and lawful for students to go on strike as it is for carters and mill-hands. Perhaps our graduates and undergraduates combined may be credited with the power to take as intelligent a view of things as our carters and mill-hands. Law and order we all understand and appreciate, but we cannot make a fetish of them as they are sometimes interpreted. We should not take

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it for granted either that the students are always right, or that their teachers are always right.

The Vice-Chancellor on the Expansion of High Education

We find ourselves in general agreement with the Vice-Chancellor's observations on the methods to be adopted in coping with the increasing number of students.

While all interested in the country's advancement must rejoice that high education is making big strides, there is the other side of the question of which note has to be taken. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the present arrangements are proving altogether insufficient. On the other hand stringent artificial measures advocated in some quarters for keeping down numbers would be no real solution. The normal method of coping with increasing numbers, would, therefore, be a proportionate increase in the number of colleges and of duplication of classes in existing colleges within proper limitations, for which I must plead again with all the earnestness I can command. The Government and the people, as well as the University, have enormous obligations in the matter that cannot be ignored. Infinite, patient, sympathetic and self-sacrificing efforts on a large scale will be promptly needed to cope with the situation, if we are to profit by the progress that has been given so excellent a start and that must not be dwarfed or arrested, because of its seeming rapidity.

While we undoubtedly need more colleges, the suggestion cannot, however, be entertained that they should be tolerated, except on sound lines, taking every circumstance into consideration, and upon compliance with the regulations.

I was much struck by the observations of a prominent and thoughtful European Member of the Senate in another concern of late, when he urged that "mere lack of brick and mortar should not be the standard of exclusion." That would be sad indeed, where there is a genuine and widespread desire for learning.

Lord Curzon, the author of the Universities Act and the promoter of the Regulations under which we work, strongly protested against the "monopoly of the best education by the few" and earnestly pleaded for its "diffusion among the classes who are worthy of it." His Lordship strongly urged that "the interests of the Government and the people in this matter are identical," for "an ignorant India is a discontented India," while "the really well-educated Indian is also the best citizen." Those who would discount a "discotented India" and would put a premium on and wish to see a rapid increase of our "best citizens," cannot possibly subscribe to the cult of artificially checking the numbers.

His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to tell the Benares assemblage that "the Government realizes that the greatest boon the Government can give to India is the *diffusion* of higher education." His Excellency would, thus, trust to no mere filtration downwards, but aims at diffusion. No one has the right to call a 'Halt.'

"Educational problems," in Lord Hardinge's words, "have a way of stirring up more feeling than almost any other social question." The difficulties I am now indicating are by no means new or exclusive and educational systems elsewhere have been equally liable to them. A noted writer describing a similar situation in another country spoke of two seemingly antagonistic forces—"one striving to achieve the greatest possible extension of education and the other to minimise and weaken it." "The one would spread learning among the greatest possible number and the other would limit it to the favoured few and make it renounce its highest claims." The struggle between the movement for limiting and concentrating education and for strengthening and securing its independence have long gone on in many countries including ours in the past, and the latter has generally prevailed. We have carefully to steer clear of thoughtless impetuosity and of equally thoughtless sneer and banter, against which every Vice-Chancellor and every earnest University worker has to show himself proof.

We hope these observations will be borne in mind by all concerned in discussing the application of the proposed Swarnamayi College for affiliation.

Indian Students and British Professors.

There is no doubt that there are well-meaning and fair-minded men among British professors in India. But the relation in which the British people have hitherto stood and still stand to India, not in theory but in practice, make it difficult for the best British professors to exercise on their Indian pupils the influence which an ideal teacher ought to be able to exercise on his pupils. We dwelt on some of the reasons in an article published in the April number of this *Review* in 1912, from which an extract is given below.

"In England the political status, aims and goals of both students and professors are the same. The student is, or may be, when he comes of age, as much a citizen as his professor. There is no desire, inducement or thought in the professor's mind to keep his students in political tutelage or subordination."

"Supervision and control of students with a political object in view is nowhere absent, degenerating in parts of our country into actual shadowing and spying. We are not here discussing how far such a state of things may or may not have arisen from political or administrative necessity, we are stating circumstances as they are. And these circumstances lead many, if not most, European professors, to bring to their work the minds of police superintendents to some extent, making them look upon their students as potential political offenders. We do not see how mutual love and confidence can grow in such an atmosphere. Nor do we see how manhood can develop under such circumstances."

"In England, professors and students can and do mix on terms of perfect *racial* and *social* equality. They belong to the same community, race and society. In India European professors and some Indian professors, too, cannot and do not mix on terms of *social* equality with their students. They belong to different communities, races and societies. However affable English professors here in India may be, the gulf between them and their students, generally speaking, is impassable, so long, at any rate, as India continues to be treated as the

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Cinderella of the British Empire. This may be a harsh truth, but it is a fact which it is perfectly useless to conceal or blink.

"In England the intellectual and cultural aims and goals of professors and students are the same and are not in any way antagonistic. An English professor there naturally desires and intends that his English students should in time equal him...nay, he must often be delighted with the prospect of his students leaving him behind in the race, and outshining him in original work and name and fame.—What a great stimulus all this must be to the work of both teachers and students! In India do the European professors welcome the prospect of their Indian students becoming their equals, not to speak of their being superior to them in culture, in intellectual equipment and strength, in original work and in position? Or do they work with such a prospect in view to bring about its realisation?"

China and Monarchy.

The Reuter's telegram announcing that China has definitely abandoned monarchy and resumed the Republic appears to be true. A month ago the *Asiatic Daily News* published an "Imperial Decree," announcing the official postponement of Yuan-Shih-Kai's accession to the throne. The following summary of the Decree was given by the *North China Daily News*:

"Memorials from various places have been received, requesting me to assume the Throne as soon as possible. The patriots have doubtless the aim of permanent peace in view. But the authorities must bear the responsibility of studying the signs of the times. During the present disturbance started by Yunnan and Kueichow and spreading to west Hunan and south Szechuan, where our people are being trampled upon, my painful thought of our people's suffering prevents me from enjoying my sleep and food. Moreover, there is no lack of the strangest rumours fabricated by treacherous persons. The latter have even made capital out of my earnest desire to save the country and the people. Should I mount the Throne at once, how can I statisfy my own conscience? As I have made up my mind to postpone the occasion, let all memorials and telegrams embodying such a request in future be not submitted to me."

Japan's Intention regarding China.

The *Asahi* of Osaka, a Japanese paper, explains that, judging from the past history of China,

the diplomatic policy of China is always to restrain one country by making use of another country. In 1196, China concluded a secret treaty of six conditions with Russia with a view to sweeping Japan's influence from the Corean peninsula. Trailing of this treaty, Russia was able to extend the Siberian Railway as far as Manchuria, and Russia then gradually encroached upon the East. She became very active, and in the end her policy gave rise to a collision between Japan and Russia which lasted for several years. There was no peace in the Orient at that time. That is to say, peace in the Far East invariably depends upon China, and the outlook is regularly disturbed by her favourite diplomatic policy. In other words, peace in the Orient cannot be truly safeguarded so long as Japan does not make China abandon her diplomatic policy vis-a-vis the various Powers. The shortest way to make China give up her chronic policy is to induce her to realise the powerlessness of her policy; and in order to make China realise that, the best way is to make China recognise Japan's superior position, which is paramount to that of all other Powers. Because this would mean that Japan was formally recognised as the Powers' representative in China. On the whole, the Osaka paper regards the recognition of Japan's superior position in China as of paramount importance. It is more important than the conclusion of an Alliance between Russia and Japan.

This means in plain language that Japan seeks to be the overlord of China. Should this ambitious desire be fulfilled, she might be able to lord it over the whole of Asia.

Further indication of Japan's intention is found in the speeches made at a political meeting held recently. In the course of the dinner which followed,

several men spoke. All of them said that President Yuan should be held responsible for the present unrest in his country, and that the disturbances gave Japan a capital opportunity for employing a strong hand in China and for driving him out of power and restoring peace.

The Resolution adopted at the meeting reads:—

"Resolved, that the present disturbances in China are entirely due to the maladministration of the Yuan government, and that we recognize the revolts in the various parts of China in opposition to Yuan-Shih-Kai's ambition to attain the Crown of China as justifiable actions on the part of the people of China, and are determined to see Yuan-Shih-Kai resign his post as soon as possible."

Professor Hamilton's Deputation to Japan.

Professor Hamilton has been deputed by Government to visit Japan and ascertain, among other things, what the Japanese Government has done to bring about the industrial prosperity of Japan. This cannot be a substitute for an investigation made on the spot by a representative of the people; it is rather an additional reason for us to send such a representative to Japan, in order that he may be able to write a report containing information similar to what Lala Lajpat Rai conveyed to his countrymen through the three articles on the Evolution of Japan which he recently contributed to this Review. We should never forget that when in the course of his address as President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce the Hon'ble Mr. Stewart was candid enough to declare that it must be very many

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years before India can supply even a fair proportion of her home requirements and that, incidentally, it will not particularly suit Britain when India can do so," he only gave honest expression to what the generality of the British people, including Anglo-Indian officialdom, have hitherto regarded as the proper economic relation between Great Britain and India. We are not eager to discredit Prof. Hamilton's report in advance, but wish that there should be a report from the people's point of view also to supplement and, if need be, to correct the former.

The Industrial Commission.

The terms of reference and personnel of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate and give advice on the industrial possibilities of India, are not entirely satisfactory. The President, Sir Thomas Holland, when head of the Geological Survey Department, was not known to be disposed to encourage Indians to desire to hold high posts in that department. As administration and exploitation, in Lord Curzon's phraseology, are two sides of the same shield, we do not think Sir Thomas would be friendly to the Indians' desire to exploit the resources of their own country. Sir Rajendranath Mukherji has great experience of engineering, railway construction and business in general; but we do not know what expert knowledge he possesses of manufacturing processes or concerns. So, we think, Dr. P. C. Ray ought also to be made a member, as well as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. The number of Indian members should be at least equal to that of the European members.

As regards the terms of reference, they should have included all that Sir Ibrahim asked for, *not excluding issues relating to the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India*; as these are vital, Sir Ibrahim wanted the following points among others, to be considered :—

(1) Whether representation should be made to the Home authorities through the Secretary of State for securing to the Government of India full fiscal autonomy, specially in reference to import, export and excise duties.

(2) Whether (*a*) protection, (*b*) granting of bounties and subsidies, (*c*) guaranteeing certain rates of interest on capital invested in approved industries, should be availed of in such cases and for such time as may be deemed necessary.

(3) Whether a special expert staff should be maintained to carry on research work and institute detailed enquiries into the possibility of successfully initiating and establishing new industries in India and to supply expert advice for the development of existing industries.

(4) What means should be employed for securing a sufficient supply of skilled labour.

(5) What special railway facilities in the matter of fares and otherwise are needed.

(6) Whether any special measures are necessary to attract capital and secure banking facilities.

Japanese State Aid for the Development of Japan's Chemical Industries.

Our readers have learnt from Lala Lajpat Rai's articles some of the methods and means adopted by the Japanese Government to create, and foster the development of Japanese industries. The following extract from the *Board of Trade Journal* gives additional information :—

The Japanese Government will pay three subsidies; one, to a company specialising in the manufacture of dye-stuffs whose capital is at least 6,000,000 yens; the second, to a company manufacturing glycerine and carbolic acid, whose capital is at least 1,200,000 yens, and the third to a company manufacturing drugs whose capital must be at least 500,000 yens. Any one who desires to organise a subsidised company for the manufacture of dye-stuffs and chemicals must apply to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce for permission to establish the projected concern, but in the case of drugs permission should be sought from the Minister for Home affairs. When part of the capital is paid up, the first general meeting of the shareholders completed, and the new company duly registered in the courts, the promoters of the Company are entitled to ask for a subsidy.

The Government guarantees to each Company a dividend of 8 per cent. per annum, making up any deficit. Each Company must lay aside one-twentieth of its net annual profit as a reserve fund. A special reserve fund is also to be provided in order that the Company may become self-supporting, as soon as possible, and to this fund will go half of the excess net profits after the dividend of 8 per cent. per annum has been paid. The balance of the excess may be distributed amongst the shareholders, the maximum dividend from this source not exceeding 4 per cent per annum; the residue will be included in the special reserve fund.

The conduct of the subsidised Companies will be under the strict surveillance of the Government.

Size of Colleges and Classes in Colleges.

European educational and other officials are greatly anxious to keep down the number of students in colleges and college classes. If the country could afford to have a very large number of colleges, we would not care to object. But as matters stand, to have small classes and small colleges is to deny education to a very large number of our youth. Moreover, we do not admit that it is better to have no education than to have education in large colleges and large classes. We have both taught and been taught in large

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classes and can speak from personal experience. It is sufficient only to have an adequate number of tutors; and that is far more easily and practicable than to establish a large number of colleges,—to which latter course also officials are opposed.

Large classes do not in themselves imply inefficient education. "The Student's Handbook to the University and Colleges of Cambridge," 1914-1915, tells us:

"A great part of University and College teaching consists of lectures, delivered to audiences varying from 10 to 300 students, under the formal conditions of the lecture room."

If in wealthy England and in such a superior seat of learning as Cambridge lecturing to even 300 students is not considered "bad" education, how is it "bad" in India to lecture to a class of more than 150, or, as in the Allahabad University, to even more than 60? As we have observed before, what would be reasonable to insist upon is the employment of asufficient number of tutors, as in Cambridge.

As for "individual teaching in colleges," Prof. J. N. Fraser, editor of *Indian Education*, writes in the March number of his journal:—

Much is said of the need for individual teaching in colleges and of the impossibility of giving this to large numbers. We think it would be more sensible to recognise at once that individual teaching in colleges is neither possible nor desirable. The place for individual teaching is the school: a young man is not fit to go to college till he is able to stand alone. College lectures should of course be suitable to the average student, and the professor should spare no pains to be audible and intelligible, but it is not his business to spend time after his lectures explaining points to the densely stupid and ill-prepared. To impose this on him is simply to ruin all college ideals. The students on whom a professor may and should spend time are the able students, and it should be left to him which he chooses to cultivate. A professor should make it his business to start small societies for the benefit of these and try to get them to do a little original thinking. But to ask him to give monotonously a few minutes per week to every student—good, bad and indifferent—is to mistake the nature of college work and ideals.

"The Empire means freedom."

In his pamphlet named "The British Empire and the War," published by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin, Mr. E. A. Benians says:

"The leading idea of our Empire is the association and free development of a group of peoples. The Empire means freedom."

This is true so far as the white people inhabiting the Empire are concerned. It is not true as regards the non-white and non-European peoples, who form the vast majority. The estimated total population of the British Empire in 1911 was 434,286,650, of which 60,000,000, or less than one-seventh were white. Where more than six-sevenths are not free, it is an abuse of words to say that "the Empire means freedom;" it would be truer to say, "The Empire means the administration and exploitation of vast territories by a very small minority."

The British Press on England's Blockade of Germany.

The British newspapers print figures to show that England is actually feeding Germany, and the London *Morning Post* alleges that Germany is obtaining "through neutral countries essential supplies to an amount exceeding the amount imported by her in times of peace."

It will be recalled that Holland and the Scandinavian neutrals are allowed by England to import what they will, under a gentlemen's agreement that such supplies will not be re-exported to Germany. How this works in practice we learn from Mr. Basil Clarke, the special commissioner of the London *Daily Mail* in Scandinavia. Writing of Denmark he says:

"She is exporting, of course. To whom? She is exporting to Germany, to Sweden, and a tiny morsel to Russia. But the vast bulk of her export goes to Germany—either directly, by train or ship, or via Sweden, where obliging workmen, dignified *pro tem* with the title 'merchant consignee' (but whose whole stock in trade consists perhaps of a hammer, some nails, and a batch of labels), change the labels on the goods and perhaps turn upside down the marked ends of the packing-cases, and then reconsign the goods to Germany.

"And they may even leave Sweden in the very railway-trucks and cases in which they have arrived and travel to Germany back through Denmark in sealed trucks over which the Danish customs have no control."

The British Board of Trade returns of foreign commerce show that the northern neutrals are importing abnormally large quantities of certain supplies, and from *The Daily Mail*, which quotes these official returns, we learn that while in 1913 Denmark imported 4,750,000 bushels of corn, in 1915 she took no less than 10,950,000 bushels, a curiously rapid trade-increase. Again, in 1913 Holland and the Scandinavian neutrals imported 1,417,000 barrels of flour, while last year's figures were nearly four times that amount, namely 5,100,000 barrels. The growth in the

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appetite of these countries for bacon during the same period is remarkable, for the amount imported grew from 30,900,000 pounds to 91,500,000 pounds. Equally strange is the desire for new shoes shown by these neutrals: in 1913 they bought 462,000 pairs, while two years later no less than 4,800,000, pairs were demanded. Cotton jumped from 53,000 to 1,000,000 bales, and, despite these large purchases, there seemed to be plenty of money for automobiles, for while these four little nations could only afford to import cars to the value of $1,300,000 two years ago, the amount expended in 1915 was $20,100,000.

"In 1913 the whole of Denmark's importation of rice did not reach 3,000 tons; in 1915 that of Copenhagen alone was much more than 16,000. From the Argentine that country imported in ten months of 1915 over 14,000 tons of linseed-oil, whereas in 1914 she imported none. The total Danish imports of pork were 950 tons in 1913; last year they had risen to 12,500 tons. The same story is told of lard, starch, meal, coffee, tea, and cocoa.

"Of course, all these commodities are consigned to Danish purchasers, under guaranties that they are not intended for the enemy. . . . . .

"No sane person will believe that the Danish people have suddenly developed such a passion for pork that they must increase their consumption by 1,300 per cent., or that every man, woman, and child in Denmark requires the daily bath in cocoa with which the 23,000 tons they now import would appear to be intended to provide them. The only possible inference from these figures is that we are being deluded, and are feeding Germany in our own despite."

No wonder the conclusion of the German press with regard to England's blockade of the German coast is that it is "a nuisance, not a menace."

Trade Relations with the Enemy after the War.

In England there is a considerable volume of opinion demanding that after the conclusion of the war there should be no *free* trade with what are now enemy countries. This one can understand. In India the Anglo-Indian demand seems to be that after the war the citizens of what are now enemy countries should not be allowed to trade in or with India. Such a state of things would be highly injurious to our interests. Germany and Austria are large purchasers of Indian raw materials, they are also among our suppliers of cheap goods. When peace has been concluded, why should India lose good customers? And why should she not have the advantage of buying from the cheapest foreign markets? It would, of course, be quite another matter if by the imposition of high protective tariffs on *all* imported manufactures (including British) and with other forms of state-aid, India could supply most of her own home requirements. But so long as she has to import manufactures largely, she must certainly have the liberty of choosing her suppliers. And in any case, as the present blockade shows, it would not be possible to stop the overseas trade of enemy countries. What, then, would be the advantage in paying middlemen belonging to neutral countries?

The "risk" of adverse Public opinion.

At a recent meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, an official member, Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar is said to have observed that if people accused Government of lip sympathy in the matter of fostering education, Government could not help incurring that risk. Under the system of Government at present obtaining in India, it is perfectly easy to make a defiant and cynical remark like the above. But it is certain that if there had really been any "risk" in flounting Indian public opinion and rousing public resentment, the Hon'ble member would not have had the courage to make any such observation.

Chancellorship of Calcutta University.

The ideal is that universities should not be under official control. But so long as such control exists, it is better that the official controlling authority should feel the force of public opinion than otherwise. If the Governor of Bengal were the Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the Bengal public would be in a better position to make its voice heard than is the case now with the supreme controlling authority dwelling on the far-off heights of Simla or among the distant dynastic monuments of Delhi. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, therefore, did well to move in the Imperial Council:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to consider the advisability of placing the University of Calcutta on the same footing with the Universities of Madras and Bombay in respect of the relations between the Calcutta University and the Head of the Local Government for purposes of administration and control."

He suggested that the resolution could be given effect to in the following way:

"This is what section 28, clause 2, of the Universities Act of 1904, says:—

The Chancellor may delegate any power con-

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ferred upon him by the Act of Incorporation or this Act to the Rector."

"Since, therefore, the Chancellor is at liberty to delegate any or all his powers, my submission is this. Let the Chancellor delegate his powers in respect of colleges within the territorial limits of Bengal to the Governor and let him retain control over the other Provinces. I think that section justifies such a course. So far as Bengal is concerned let the Chancellor delegate the powers that are vested in him—and the Section gives him the authority—in respect of the affiliated institutions in Bengal—and they are 41 in number, Sir, out of 48—retaining his power in respect of the institutions outside the territorial jurisdiction of Bengal.

This is quite reasonable. When Bihar, Burma and Assam have their own Universities, the Governor of Bengal may be made the Chanceller of the Calcutta University in name as well as in reality.

The Governor of Bengal has to do only with Bengal politics, whereas the Viceroy has his head full of Imperial politics. Under such circumstances, Bengali opinion has, in the long run, a greater chance of influencing the provincial Governor than the Viceroy. Besides, it is easier for the Bengalis to have access to their Governor than to the Viceroy.

Imperial and Provincial Budgets.

In the Indian viceregal and provincial councils, the official view of things prevails more by the number of the official and the nominated non-official votes than by its reasonableness and justice; by which we do not imply that all reason is on the side of the elected non-official members or that the official and the nominated non-official members always say unreasonable things. But the general situation is as we have put it. Therefore, while not saying that the detailed discussion of the imperial and provincial financial statements is entirely useless, we are of opinion that our energies ought to be concentrated more on obtaining such reforms as would constitute the elected non-official member a decided majority in the councils, than on a week's discussion of the budgets.

Military Expenditure

Military expenditure engrosses too large a proportion of our revenues. In the revised estimates for 1915-16, the total Imperial and provincial revenues amount to £82,506,000, and the military expenditure amounts to £21·8 millions, or more than one-fourth of the total revenues. Again, in the budget estimates for 1916-17, the total revenues amount to £86,199,000, and the net expenditure on military services amount to £22 million, or more than one-fourth of the total revenues.

Such is not the case in the only oriental country noted for its military strength, we mean Japan. In the working budget of Japan for 1915-16 the revenue amounts to 557,191,776 yen. The ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of the War Department comes up to 83,136,342 yen, or between one-sixth and one-seventh of the total revenue. It is only if we add the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of the Navy Department also, that the total defensive and offensive expenses amount to 155,040,531 yen, or more than one-fourth of the total revenue. It is to be borne in mind that India has no navy, and could, therefore, be insulted by the *Emden*. It is also superfluous to compare the Indian army with the army of Japan as regards strength, efficiency, national character, &c.

So far as the *amount* of expenditure on the Indian army is concerned, it may be necessary even to increase it. But as our army serves not only India, but also the British Empire outside India, and as the possession of India and its tranquility go to enrich Great Britain, the Imperial Treasury in London should bear an equitable share of our military expenditure. The fact that many of the greatest British generals had India for their training ground and field of experience lends additional strength to our contention.

If the commissioned ranks of the army were thrown open to Indians, there would be some consolation for the enormous military expenditure.

If India could be made more wealthy by her sons being enabled by education and by state encouragement, help and legislation to develop the resources of their country, £22 million would not appear too large an amount to spend on the army.

Education and the Police

It is recognized that on account of the war there must be retrenchment. But, whereas the emoluments of the highly paid covenanted civilians have increased, the provincial budgets for 1916-17 provide for smaller educational expenditure than in 1915-16, except in Bombay and Madras, as the following figures will show:—

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	Budget. 1915-16.	1916-17.
	Rs.	Rs.
Bengal	1,05,62,000	88,30,000
Bombay	76,86,000	77,54,000
Madras	77,69,000	80,87,000
United Provinces	67,31,000	64,54,000
Punjab	44,66,000	42,76,000
Burma	31,34,000	31,32,000
Behar and Orissa	37,65,000	37,22,000
Central Provinces	34,04,000	32,83,000
Assam	15,29,000	15,18,000
	4,90,46,000	4,70,56,000

There is thus on the whole a *decrease* of about twenty lakhs of rupees in educational expenditure.

The following table gives the expenditure on the police in the different provinces :—

	Budget. 1915-16.	1916-17.
	Rs.	Rs.
Bengal	1,05,35,000	1,09,62,000
Bombay	1,12,04,000	1,10,09,000
Madras	1,12,26,000	1,16,71,000
United Provinces	1,24,24,000	1,26,07,000
Punjab	64,26,000	70,11,000
Burma	1,36,08,000	1,39,99,000
Behar and Orissa	48,52,000	47,83,000
Central Provinces	36,21,300	37,00,000
Assam	25,29,000	25,33,000
	7,64,25,000	7,82,75,000

Except in Behar and Orissa, and Bombay, there has been an increase everywhere, resulting in a total *increase* of more than eighteen lakhs.

We do not certainly like to be killed, maimed, injured, or robbed ; and, therefore, appreciate the existence of the police,—except so far as they themselves are a source of unmerited trouble. But we certainly consider education not less important than policing. To be plain, we consider the work of the educator far more important, indispensable and essential than that of the policeman. And why ? That requires the consideration of another question, namely,

Why Policing is required.

The police department is needed because men are morally not as good as they ought to be, and also because some men are economically not as well off as they require to be. In other words, the better men become morally and economically, the less does society require the aid of the police. Here comes in

The work of the Educator.

It is by education that moral and material improvement can be brought about. So that the more a state spends on the right sort of education, the less would it require to spend on the police.

We can imagine an ideal condition of society in which the need of police interference would be *nil* or next to nothing, but the educator will be required in all states of society. In fact, with the progress of humanity, the work of the educator will gain in importance, and receive increasing appreciation.

It may be an unpleasant truth, but it is a truth all the same, that a government which spends more on the police than on education, is still wedded to the traditions of uncivilized rule. Militarism and police-rule are akin. When Englishmen denounce German militarism, do they bear in mind this fact ?

The "ma-bap" theory.

British officials in India think or profess to think that they are the "ma-bap," the parents, of the people, though in reality they are public servants or servants of the public. But let us take it for granted that they are really *in loco parentis*, and stand in the relation of parents to the dumb millions.

What does the father of a family do for his children ? Does he think it more important to keep some strong men armed with big sticks to prevent the boys and girls from fighting among themselves, than to make good arrangements for their education, so that they may be disposed to live together amicably ? The answer is obvious.

Kalidasa in his *Raghuvansa* says of King Dilipa :

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।
स पिता, पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥

"He was in the position of a father to his people.....because he arranged for their education, protection and maintenance."

It is not a mere accident that the great poet mentions education first among the duties performed by the great king Dilipa.

Sanitation and the Police.

People pay more to lawyers than to physicians ; property is considered more valuable than health and life. A similar state of things is observable in the expenditure incurred by some governments. They spend more on the police than on sanita-

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Let us consider the question only from the point of view of economic gain or loss; and for that purpose let us take a particular province, namely, Bengal.

Economists consider that a human life has a certain money value, depending on its earning capacity. In England this value is taken to be Rs. 25,000 per life. In our country the average income per head is officially estimated to be about Rs. 30 per annum, and the average duration of life is less than 24 years. Therefore the value of an Indian life would be Rs. 720. Let us take it to be Rs. 500. In Bengal in the year 1914, there were 489 cases of murder and 302 of culpable homicide; or, say, there were altogether 800 persons killed. The death of 800 persons involved an economic loss of Rs. 500 multiplied 800, or only four lakhs. In the same year 1914, the number of deaths from cholera, a preventible disease, was 89,224, involving an economic loss of Rs. 4,46,12,000, or more than four crores. In the same year 10,61,041 persons died of fevers. It would not be an overestimate to assume that five lakhs of these deaths were due to malarious fever, a preventible disease. These five lakh deaths mean an economic loss of twenty-five crores of rupees. There were deaths from other preventible diseases which we do not take into account. It is not the deaths alone which cause economic loss. The periods of illness and convalescence, the permanent invalidation of many, the expenses of treatment, the unproductive expenditure of time in nursing the sick,—these all cause economic loss. The seriousness of this kind of loss will be understood from the following figures. In Italy some 15,000 persons die of malaria every year, and it is estimated that two million attacks lead to 15,000 deaths. In Bengal the death of 5 lakhs then mean sixty-five million attacks of malarious fever. It is difficult even to imagine how enormous must be the economic loss caused by these attacks.

The work of the police in 1914 related, partly, to a matter of 800 deaths involving an economic loss of four lakhs of rupees; the work of the medical and sanitation departments, if supposed to be confined only to dealing with cholera and malarious fever, related to an economic loss of at least some thirty crores of rupees. But in the Bengal Budget for 1916-17, provision has been made for about four times as much expenditure on the police as on the medical and sanitary departments.

Of course, the prevention and detection of murders and culpable homicides is not the only work of the police. They have to deal with dacoities, robberies and thefts, &c., also. But the economic loss caused by these latter crimes cannot certainly come up to even one crore per annum.

The moral and intellectual deterioration caused among the people by disease and death is undoubtedly greater than the same kinds of deterioration caused by the crimes with which the police deal.

What want of Sanitation and Education means.

When his children fall ill, the head of a family does not say, "When in some future year I have sufficient income, I shall call in a doctor to prescribe medicine for them;" for in the meantime the children may die. He denies himself as much as possible, dispenses with the services of servants, curtails all other expenditure, and, if necessary, borrows, and gives his children the benefit of medical treatment; or he takes them to a charitable dispensary.

But in the National Household, which is the country, we find year after year Government refraining from taking adequate steps to save the lives of the people, millions of whom die every year of preventible diseases. We are expected to wait for some future time when the public treasury overflows with wealth. That time may or may not come. But in the meanwhile who is responsible for the deaths caused in the National Household? Who is the head of this Household, and how can his responsibility be brought home to him?

Similarly, the civilized and intelligent head of a family stints himself in every possible way and has recourse to all possible economies in order to give his children a good education. He does not say, "When five or ten or twenty or fifty years hence, the circumstances of the family improve, I will send the children to school;" for by that time they would be long past the school-going age, or he and they might all die. If the family be utterly indigent it is another matter.

The National Household called India is certainly not utterly indigent; for it can employ able and intelligent men as

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servants, and pay them salaries on a scale higher than any that prevails in the richest countries. But in this big Household the vast majority of the children grow up in ignorance. They do not receive any literary, scientific, agricultural or technical education. We are told to wait for the golden times to come. But who is responsible for the barren lives of the boys and girls, men and women, growing up in ignorance and uselessness in the meanwhile? Is there any responsible head of the National Household who will listen to and redress this grievance?

The Enhanced Salt Duty.

The Budget for 1916-17 is estimated to leave a surplus of £ 1,052.000. This has been brought about by increased taxation, of which one of the items is the increased salt duty of Rs. 1-4 instead of Rs. 1. The increased salt duty will bring in only £ 600,000. Considering that the grocers have almost doubled the price of salt, Government would have done better if they had not exhanced the duty on the poor man's salt. This would, no doubt, have reduced the surplus to some extent. But as surpluses have a tendency to cause extravagant expenditure on useless things, it is a bad policy to raise by taxation more than what is strictly needed.

Abolition of Indentured Labour.

The Viceroy has promised that eventually indentured labour will be abolished. When our laborers cease to be helots in any country, this will be recognized as the greatest humanitarian achievement of the Viceroy.

We should have been pleased if Lord Hardinge could have fixed the farthest date by which abolition must take effect.

Political Evolution.

In a recent speech Lord Hardinge brought forward the theory of political evolution, as applied by Britishers to India, in order to reconcile us to the indefinite postponement of national self-rule. As we have shown the fallacions character of this theory in our notes on Fitness for Self-rule in the February number, we need only refer the reader to that issue. The reader should also read once more Mr. Lajpat Rai's first article on the Evolution of Japan.

Duty on Cotton Goods.

In the speech referred to above the Viceroy held out hopes of duties being enhanced on imported cotton goods and of the excise duty on such things made in India being entirely abolished. We shall congratutate ourselves when these hopes are fulfilled. The time for rejoicing is not yet.

Flogging in School Discipline.

In the notorious Madras incident in which some boys and young men were flogged in the Wesley School, it has been said in justification of the flogging teachers that English public school traditions allow such punishment. That may or may not be strictly true. But it is absurd to hold that whatever is British must be good. Great educational theorists have been opposed to whipping or flogging. Locke is opposed to whipping, for "what is beaten into boys excites their repuguance for that very reason." Montaigne protests with all his might against the use of the rod. It is, however, by John Amos Comenius that there is stated in a wonderful metaphor, the real objection to mere brutality: "A musician," he says, "does not dash his instrument against a wall, or give it cuffs or blows, because he cannot draw music from it, but continues to apply his skill till he extracts a melody. So by our skill we have to bring the minds of the young into harmony,....."

Corporal punishment is entirely forbidden in Belgium, Italy and France. But it is needless to make this note exhaustive.

We will only add, without entering into details, that, recent studies have shown the danger of premature or perverted sexual developments as a result of corporal punishment, especially on the posterior parts of the body. One of the possible grave results is the danger of arousing anti-social feelings that may last through life. "Many of the criminals, anarchists, and the like, are thought to owe their hatred of society to unjust punishments in childhood." A large proportion of juvenile suicides has been traced to this cause.

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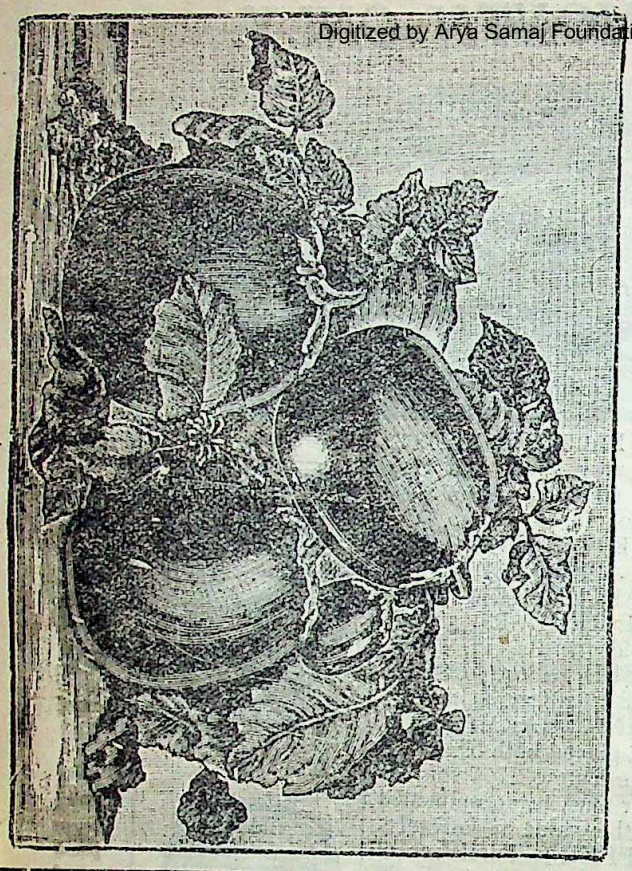

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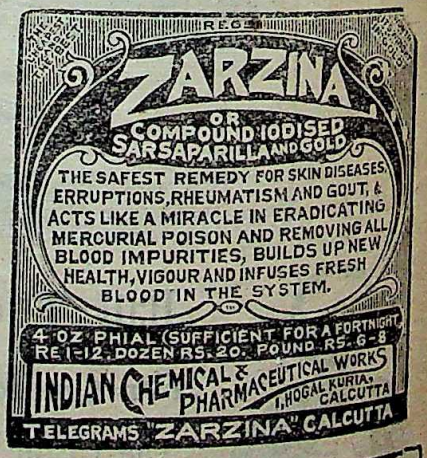

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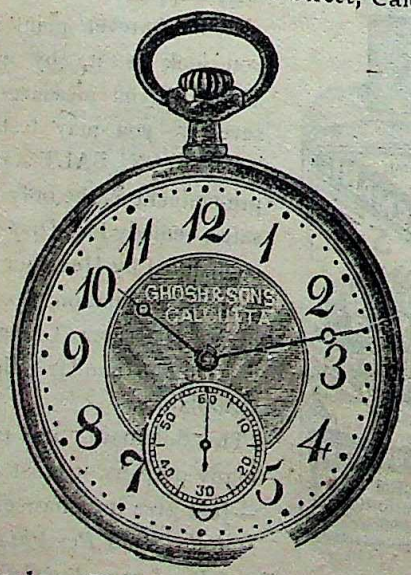

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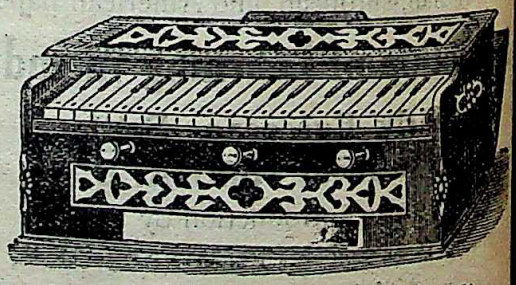

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No. 113

THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

Contents :

Page

Frontispiece—Raja Bir Singh (in colors)—from an old painting 475
My Reminiscences (illustrated)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore, D. Litt., and Surendranath Tagore, B. A. 475
The Quiver-Adorning Plum Blossom—Yone Noguchi 480
Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official—Politicus 482
"The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History"—"Nimrod" 490
The Unnamed Child (poem)—Devendranath Sen, M. A., and Sir Rabindranath Tagore ... 498
The Great Age in which Shakespeare Lived—Dr. J. T. Sunderland, M. A., D. D. 499
Indian Financial Reform and Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co.'s Anti-Gold Crusade—S. V. Doraiswami, B. A. 502
Danish Peasant Schools—Nagendranath Gangulee, B. Sc. (Illinois) 507
Browning and Bergson—Prof. Surendranath Das Gupta, M. A. 510
Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji—C. F. Andrews, M. A. and W. W. Pearson, M. A., B. Sc. 514
India in America (illustrated)—Lala Lajpat Rai 525

Page

Gleanings—The art of Mimicry in War (illustrated) 532
Stray Thoughts on the Baroda Exhibition of Periodicals—Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B. A. Ll. B. 535
Civics in Secondary Schools—C. Rajagopalachar 539
Dabhoi or the City of the Darbha Grass (illustrated)—M. Ruthnaswamy 539
Indian Periodicals [Indian Journalism: Then and Now; Tibetan Literature; Indian Trade during the War; Lord Curzon's War Poems; Eugenics and the New Social Consciousness; Pauperism in Bengal; Mysore Economic Activities; Tamil Literature; The Passing of War] 545
Foreign Periodicals—[Stephen Phillips; Women and Fear; French Literature and the War; Science in England; The Poetic Spirit] 550
Round the World with my Master (illustrated)—A Disciple of Dr. J. C. Bose 552
Reviews and Notices of Books—Vidhushekhara Shastri; K. M. Jhaveri, M. A., Ll. B.; V. G. Apte; N. K. Vaidya; S. V. Puntambekar, B. A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law; and others ... 559
Notes (illustrated) 566
A Prayer (poem)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore ... 582

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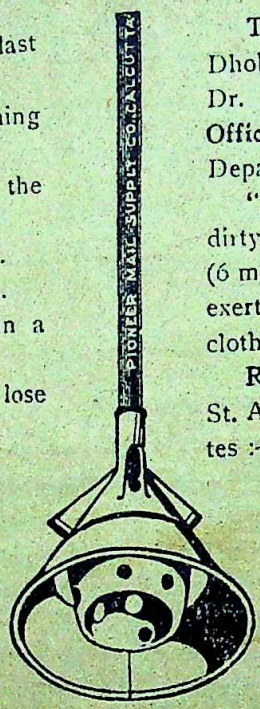

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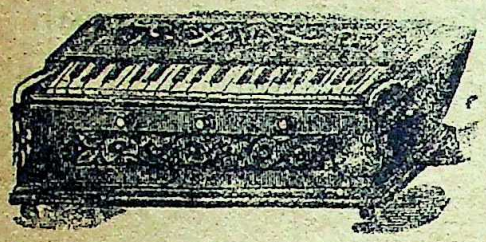

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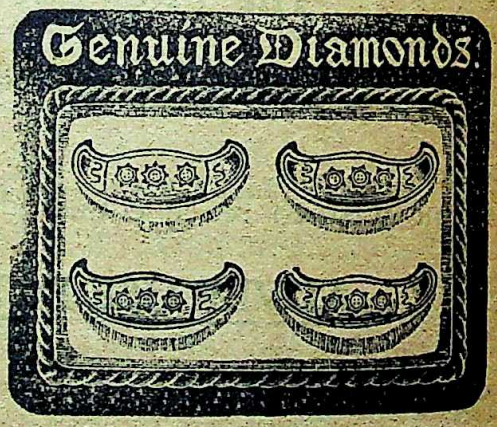

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CONTENTS

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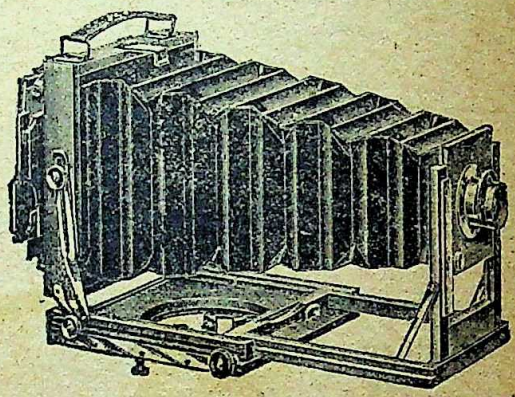

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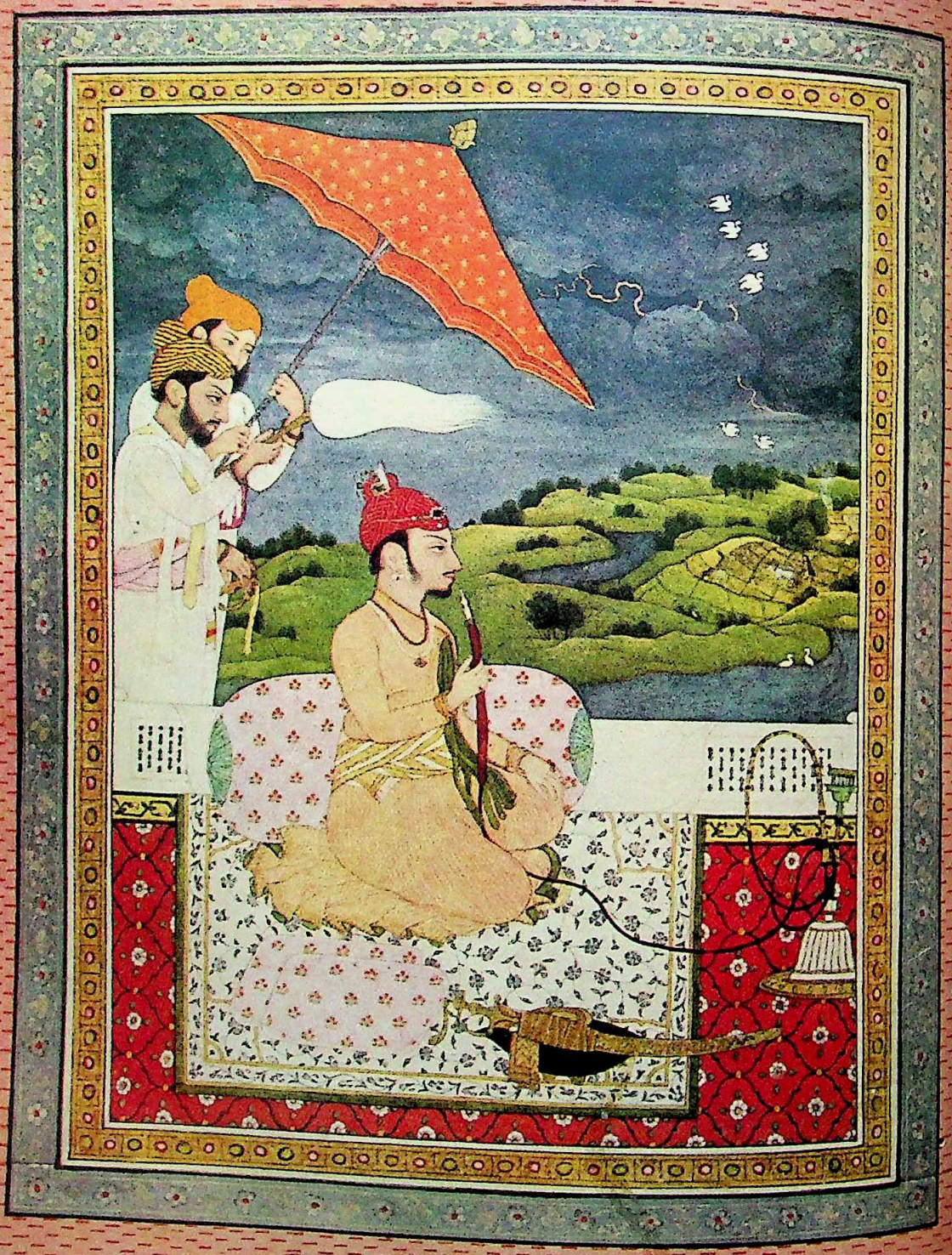

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XIX No. 5 MAY, 1916 WHOLE No 113

MY REMINISCENCES

By Rabindranath Tagore.

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(15) *At the Himalayas.*

We stayed about a month in Amritsar, and, towards the middle of April, started for the Dalhousie Hills. The last few days at Amritsar seemed as if they would never pass, the call of the Himalayas was so strong upon me.

The terraced hill sides, as we went up in a *jhampan*, were all aflame with the beauty of the flowering spring crops. Every morning we would make a start after our bread and milk, and before sunset take shelter for the night in the next staging bungalow. My eyes had no rest the livelong day, so great was my fear lest anything should escape them. Wherever, at a turn of the road into a gorge, the great forest trees were found clustering closer, and from underneath their shade a little waterfall trickling out, like a little daughter of the hermitage playing at the feet of hoary sages wrapt in meditation, babbling its way over the black moss-covered rocks, there the *jhampan* bearers would put down their burden, and take a rest. Why, oh why, had we to leave such spots behind, cried my thirsting heart, why could we not stay on there for ever ?

This is the great advantage of the first vision : the mind is not then aware that there are many more such to come. When this comes to be known to that calculating organ it promptly tries to make a saving in its expenditure of attention. It is only when it believes something to be rare that the mind ceases to be miserly in assigning values. So in the streets of Calcutta I sometimes imagine myself a foreigner, and only then do I discover how much is to be seen, which is lost so long as its full value in attention is not paid. It is the hunger to really see which drives people to travel to strange places.

My father kept his little cash-box in my charge. He had no reason to imagine that I was the fittest custodian of the considerable sums he kept in it for use on the way. He would certainly have felt safer with it in the hands of Kishori, his attendant. So I can only suppose he wanted to train me to the responsibility. One day as we reached the staging bungalow, I forgot to make it over to him and left it lying on a table. This earned me a reprimand.

Every time we got down at the end of a stage, my father had chairs placed for us outside the bungalow and there we sat. As dusk came on the stars blazed out wonderfully through the clear mountain atmosphere, and my father showed me the constellations or treated me to an astronomical discourse.

The house we had taken at Bakrota was on the highest hill-top. Though it was nearing May it was still bitterly cold there, so much so that on the shady side of the hill the winter frosts had not yet melted.

My father was not at all nervous about allowing me to wander about freely even here. Some way below our house there stretched a spur thickly wooded with Deodars. Into this wildnerness I would venture alone with my iron-spiked staff. These lordly forest trees, with their huge shadows, towering there like so many giants—what immense lives had they lived through the centuries ! And yet this boy only the other day was crawling round about their trunks unchallenged. I seemed

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to feel a presence, the moment I stepped into their shade, as of the solid coolness of some old-world saurian, and the checkered light and shade on the leafy mould seemed like its scales.

My room was at one end of the house. Lying on my bed I could see, through the uncurtained windows, the distant snowy peaks shimmering dimly in the starlight. Sometimes, at what hour I could not make out, I, half awakened, would see my father, wrapped in a red shawl, with a lighted lamp in his hand, softly passing by to the glazed verandah where he sat at his devotions. After one more sleep I would find him at my bedside, rousing me with a push, before yet the darkness of night had passed. This was my appointed hour for memorising Sanscrit declensions. What an excruciatingly wintry awakening from the caressing warmth of my blankets!

By the time the sun rose, my father, after his prayers, finished with me our morning milk, and then, I standing at his side, he would once more hold communion with God, chanting the Upanishads.

Then we would go out for a walk. But how should I keep pace with him? Many an older person could not! So, after a while, I would give it up and scramble back home through some short cut up the mountain side.

After my father's return I had an hour of English lessons. After ten o'clock came the bath in icy-cold water; it was no use asking the servants to temper it with even a jugful of hot water without my father's permission. To give me courage my father would tell of the unbearably freezing baths he had himself been through in his younger days.

Another penance was the drinking of milk. My father was very fond of milk and could take quantities of it. But whether it was a failure to inherit this capacity, or that the unfavorable environment of which I have told proved the stronger, my appetite for milk was grievously wanting. Unfortunately we used to have our milk together. So I had to throw myself on the mercy of the servants; and to their human kindness (or frailty) I was indebted for my goblet being thenceforth more than half full of foam.

After our midday meal lessons began again. But this was more than flesh and blood could stand. My outraged morning sleep *would* have its revenge and I would be toppling over with uncontrollable drowsiness. Nevertheless, no sooner did my father take pity on my plight and let me off, than my sleepiness was off likewise. Then ho! for the mountains.

Staff in hand I would often wander away from one peak to another, but my father did not object. To the end of his life, I have observed, he never stood in the way of our independence. Many a time have I said or done things repugnant alike to his taste and his judgment; with a word he could have stopped me; but he preferred to wait till the prompting to refrain came from within. A passive acceptance by us of the correct and the proper did not satisfy him; he wanted us to love truth with our whole hearts; he knew that mere acquiescence without love is empty. He also knew that truth, if strayed from, can be found again, but a forced or blind acceptance of it from the outside effectually bars the way in.

In my early youth I had conceived a fancy to journey along the Grand Trunk Road, right up to Peshawar, in a bullock cart. No one else supported the scheme, and doubtless there was much to be urged against it as a practical proposition. But when I discoursed on it to my father he was sure it was a splendid idea—travelling by railroad was not worth the name! With which observation he proceeded to recount to me his own adventurous wanderings on foot and horseback. Of any chance of discomfort or peril he had not a word to say.

Another time, when I had just been appointed Secretary of the Adi Brahma Samaj, I went over to my father, at his Park Street residence, and informed him that I did not approve of the practice of only Brahmins conducting divine service to the exclusion of other castes. He unhesitatingly gave me permission to correct this if I could. When I got the authority I found I lacked the power. I was able to discover imperfections but could not create perfection! Where were the men? Where was the strength in me to attract the right man? Had I the means to build in the place of what I might break? Till the right man comes any form is better than none—this, I felt, must have been my father's view of the existing order. But he did not for a moment try to discourage me by pointing out the difficulties.

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"A LITTLE WATERFALL TRICKLING OUT, LIKE A LITTLE DAUGHTER OF THE HERMITAGE PLAYING AT THE FEET OF HOARY SAGES."

From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

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U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

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As he allowed me to wander about the mountains at my will, so in the quest for truth he left me free to select my path. He was not deterred by the danger of my making mistakes, he was not alarmed at the prospect of my encountering sorrow. He held up a standard, not a disciplinary rod.

I would often talk to my father of home. Whenever I got a letter from anyone at home I hastened to show it to him. I verily believe I was thus the means of giving him many a picture he could have got from none else. My father also let me read letters to him from my elder brothers. This was his way of teaching me how I ought to write to him; for he by no means underrated the importance of outward forms and ceremonial.

I am reminded of how in one of my second brother's letters he was complaining in somewhat sanscritised phraseology of being worked to death tied by the neck to his post of duty. My father asked me to explain the sentiment. I did it in my way, but he thought a different explanation would fit better. My overweening conceit made me stick to my guns and argue the point with him at length. Another would have shut me up with a snub, but my father patiently heard me out and took pains to justify his view to me.

My father would sometimes tell me funny stories. He had many an anecdote of the gilded youth of his time. There were some exquisites for whose delicate skins the embroidered border of even Dacca muslins were too coarse, so that to wear muslins with the border torn off became, for a time, the tip-top thing to do.

I was also highly amused to hear from my father for the first time the story of the milkman who was suspected of watering his milk, and the more men one of his customers detailed to look after his milking the bluer the fluid became, till, at last, when the customer himself interviewed him and asked for an explanation, the milkman avowed that if more superintendents had to be satisfied it would only make the milk fit to breed fish!

After I had thus spent a few months with him my father sent me back home with his attendant Kishori.

(16) *My Return.*

The chains of the rigorous regime which had bound me snapped for good when I set out from home. On my return I gained an accession of rights. In my case my very nearness had so long kept me out of mind; now that I had been out of sight I came back into view.

I got a foretaste of appreciation while still on the return journey. Travelling alone as I was, with an attendant, brimming with health and spirits, and conspicuous with my gold-worked cap, all the English people I came across in the train made much of me.

When I arrived it was not merely a home-coming from travel, it was also a return from my exile in the servants' quarters to my proper place in the inner apartments. Whenever the inner household assembled in my mother's room I now occupied a seat of honour. And she who was then the youngest bride of our house lavished on me a wealth of affection and regard.

In infancy the loving care of woman is to be had without the asking, and, being as much a necessity as light and air, is as simply accepted without any conscious response; rather does the growing child often display an eagerness to free itself from the encircling web of woman's solicitude. But the unfortunate creature who is deprived of this in its proper season is beggared indeed. This had been my plight. So after being brought up in the servants' quarters when I suddenly came in for a profusion of womanly affection, I could hardly remain unconscious of it.

In the days when the inner apartments were as yet far away from me, they were the elysium of my imagination. The zenana, which from an outside view is a place of confinement, for me was the abode of all freedom. Neither school nor Pandit were there; nor, it seemed to me, did anybody have to do what they did not want to. Its secluded leisure had something mysterious about it; one played about, or did as one liked and had not to render an account of one's doings. Specially so with my youngest sister, to whom, though she attended Nilkamal Pandit's class with us, it seemed to make no difference in his behaviour whether she did her lessons well or ill. Then again, while, by ten o'clock, we had to hurry

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through our breakfast and be ready for school, she, with her queue dangling behind, walked unconcernedly away, withinwards, tantalising us to distraction.

And when the new bride, adorned with her necklet of gold, came into our house, the mystery of the inner apartments deepened. She, who came from outside and yet became one of us, who was unknown and yet our own, attracted me strangely—with her I burned to make friends. But if by much contriving I managed to draw near, my youngest sister would hustle me off with: "What d'you boys want here—get away outside." The insult added to the disappointment cut me to the quick. Through the glass doors of their cabinets one could catch glimpses of all manner of curious playthings—creations of porcelain and glass—gorgeous in coloring and ornamentation. We were not deemed worthy even to touch them, much less could we muster up courage to ask for any to play with. Nevertheless these rare and wonderful objects, as they were to us boys, served to tinge with an additional attraction the lure of the inner apartments.

Thus had I been kept at arm's length with repeated rebuffs. As the outer world, so, for me, the interior, was unattainable. Wherefore the impressions of it that I did get appeared to me like pictures.

After nine in the night, my lessons with Aghore Babu over, I am retiring within for the night. A murky flickering lantern is hanging in the long venetian-screened corridor leading from the outer to the inner apartments. At its end this passage turns into a flight of four or five steps, to which the light does not reach, and down which I pass into the galleries running round the first inner quadrangle. A shaft of moon light slants from the eastern sky into the western angle of these verandahs, leaving the rest in darkness. In this patch of light the maids have gathered and are squatting close together, with legs outstretched, rolling cotton waste into lamp-wicks, and chatting in undertones of their village homes. Many such pictures are indelibly printed on my memory.

Then after our supper, the washing of our hands and feet in the verandah before stretching ourselves on the ample expanse of our bed; whereupon one of the nurses Tinkari or Sankari comes and sits by our heads and softly croons to us the story of the prince travelling on and on over the lonely moor, and, as it comes to an end, silence falls on the room. With my face to the wall I gaze at the black and white patches, made by the plaster of the walls fallen off here and there, showing faintly in the dim light; and out of these I conjure up many a fantastic image as I drop off to sleep. And sometimes, in the middle of the night, I hear through my half-broken sleep, the shouts of old Swarup, the watchman, going his rounds from verandah to verandah.

Then came the new order, when I got in profusion from this inner unknown dream-land of my fancies the recognition for which I had all along been pining; when that, which naturally should have come day by day, was suddenly made good to me with accumulated arrears, I cannot say that my head was not turned.

The little traveller was full of the story of his travels, and, with the strain of each repetition, the narrative got looser and looser till it utterly refused to fit into the facts. Like everything else, alas, a story also gets stale and the glory of the teller suffers likewise; that is why he has to add fresh colouring every time to keep up its freshness.

After my return from the hills I was the principal speaker at my mother's open air gatherings on the roof terrace in the evenings. The temptation to become famous in the eyes of one's mother is as difficult to resist as such fame is easy to earn. While I was at the Normal School, when I first came across the information in some reader that the Sun was hundreds and thousands of times as big as the Earth, I at once disclosed it to my mother. It served to prove that he who was small to look at might yet have a considerable amount of bigness about him. I used also to recite to her the scraps of poetry used as illustrations in the chapter on prosody or rhetoric of our Bengali grammar. Now I retailed at her evening gatherings the astronomical tit-bits I had gleaned from Proctor.

My father's follower Kishori belonged at one time to a band of reciters of Dasarathi's jingling versions of the Epics. While we were together in the hills he often said to me: "Oh, my little brother,* if I only had you in our troupe we could have got up a splendid performance. This would open up to me a tempting picture

* Servants call the master and mistress father and mother, and the children brothers and sisters.

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"IN THIS PATCH OF LIGHT THE MAIDS HAVE GATHERED AND ARE SQUATTING CLOSE TOGETHER, WITH LEGS OUTSTRETCHED, ROLLING COTTON-WASTE INTO LAMPWICKS, AND CHATTING IN UNDERTONE OF THEIR VILLAGE HOMES."

From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

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of wandering as a minstrel boy from place to place, reciting and singing. I learnt from him many of the songs in his repertoire and these were in even greater request than my talks about the photosphere of the Sun or the many moons of Saturn.

But the achievement of mine which appealed most to my mother was that while the rest of the inmates of the inner apartments had to be content with Krittivasa's Bengali rendering of the Ramayana, I had been reading with my father the original of Maharshi Valmiki himself, Sanscrit metre and all. "Read me some of that Ramayana, *do !*" she said, overjoyed at this news which I had given her.

Alas, my reading of Valmiki had been limited to the short extract from his Ramayana given in my Sanskrit reader, and even that I had not fully mastered. Moreover, on looking over it now, I found that my memory had played me false and much of what I thought I knew had become hazy. But I lacked the courage to plead "I have forgotten" to the eager mother awaiting the display of her son's marvellous talents ; so that, in the reading I gave, a large divergence occurred between Valmiki's intention and my explanation. That tender-hearted sage, from his seat in heaven, must have forgiven the temerity of the boy seeking the glory of his mother's approbation, but not so Madhusudan,* the taker down of Pride.

My mother, unable to contain her feelings at my extraordinary exploit, wanted all to share her admiration. "You must read this to Dwijendra," (my eldest brother), she said.

"In for it !" thought I, as I put forth all the excuses I could think of, but my mother would have none of them. She sent for my brother Dwijendra, and, as soon as he arrived, greeted him, with : "Just hear Rabi read Valmiki'sRamayan, how splendidly he does it."

It had to be done ! But Madhusudan relented and let me off with just a taste of his pride-reducing power. My brother must have been called away while busy with some literary work of his own. He showed no anxiety to hear me render the Sanscrit into Bengali, and as soon as I had read out a few verses he simply remarked "Very good" and walked away.

* Name of Vishnu in his aspect as slayer of the proud demon, Madhu.

After my promotion to the inner apartments I felt it all the more difficult to resume my school life. I resorted to all manner of subterfuges to escape the Bengal Academy. Then they tried putting me at St. Xavier's. But the result was no better.

My elder brothers, after a few spasmodic efforts, gave up all hopes of me—they even ceased to scold me. One day my eldest sister said : "We had all hoped Rabi would grow up to be a man, but he has disappointed us the worst." I felt that my value in the social world was distinctly depreciating ; nevertheless I could not make up my mind to be tied to the eternal grind of the school mill which, divorced as it was from all life and beauty, seemed such a hideously cruel combination of hospital and gaol.

One precious memory of St. Xavier's I still hold fresh and pure—the memory of its teachers. Not that they were all of the same excellence. In particular, in those who taught in our class I could discern no reverential resignation of spirit. They were in nowise above the teaching-machine variety of school masters. As it is, the educational engine is remorselessly powerful ; when to it is coupled the stone mill of the outward forms of religion the heart of youth is crushed dry indeed. This power-propelled grindstone type we had at St. Xavier's. Yet, as I say, a memory I possess which elevates my impression of the teachers there to an ideal plane.

This is the memory of Father DePeneranda. He had very little to do with us—if I remember right he had only for a while taken the place of one of the masters of our class. He was a Spaniard and seemed to have an impediment in speaking English. It was perhaps for this reason that the boys paid but little heed to what he was saying. It seemed to me that this inattentiveness of his pupils hurt him, but he bore it meekly day after day. I know not why, but my heart went out to him in sympathy. His features were not handsome, but his countenance had for me a strange attraction. Whenever I looked on him his spirit seemed to be in prayer, a deep peace to pervade him within and without.

We had half-an-hour for writing our copybooks ; that was a time when, pen in hand, I used to become absent-minded and my thoughts wandered hither and thither. One day Father DePeneranda was

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in charge of this class. He was pacing up and down behind our benches. He must have noticed more than once that my pen was not moving. All of a sudden he stopped behind my seat. Bending over me he gently laid his hand on my shoulder and tenderly inquired: "Are you not well, Tagore?" It was only a simple question, but one I have never been able to forget.

I cannot speak for the other boys but I felt in him the presence of a great soul, and even to-day the recollection of it seems to give me a passport into the silent seclusion of the temple of God.

There was another old Father whom all the boys loved. This was Father Henry. He taught in the higher classes; so I did not know him well. One thing about him I also remember. He knew Bengali. He once asked Nirada, a boy in his class, the derivation of his name. Poor Nirada* had so long been supremely easy in mind about himself—the derivation of his name, in particular, had never troubled him in the least; so that he was utterly unprepared to answer this question. And yet, with so many abstruse and unknown words in the dictionary, to be worsted by one's own name would have been as ridiculous a mishap as getting run over by one's own carriage, so Nirada unblushingly replied: "*Ni*— privative, *rode*—sun-rays; thence Nirode— that which causes an absence of the sun's rays!"

* Nirada is a Sanscrit word meaning *cloud*, being a compound of *nira*=water and *da*=giver. In Bengali it is pronounced *nirode*.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE QUIVER-ADORNING PLUM BLOSSOM

A PRIEST while on his way visiting various places of interest, now stood by the River of Ikuta in the Settsu province, where a young man who looked to be one of the villagers was seen gazing on the plum tree at the river bank; the young man murmured that, although a flying flower or falling leaf might be taken to express the world's mutability, your perception might make of them a symbol of everlasting glory. "But a man," he continued, "who is only susceptible to beauty and colour, simply becomes a slave of worldly passion, and never thinks of the swift changes of the world and life. I myself, being still infatuated by the fleeting world, must ever wander in the highroads of dream." And he seemed loth to leave the tree. The priest approached the young man and asked him if the tree on which he was gazing was of any special interest. On being told that it was called "Ebira no Ume or the Quiver-Adorning Plum Blossom," the priest begged him to dwell at length upon the history of the tree. The young man began to narrate the scene of battle between the Taira and Minamoto clans of the olden age:

"The castle of Ichi no Tani which was held by one hundred thousand fighters of the Taira clan could be reached through the Forest of Ikuta; it was Noriyori Minamoto who marched thither to storm it. In the camp of the Minamoto clan were Kagetoki and Kagesuye, father and son. Kagesuye, being a youth with much inclination for poetry, took quick notice of one plum tree in the forest, now in its most beautiful blossoming with a splendid scorn of the winter's frosts or snows; he loudly praised its mighty courage, as the very leader of the season. 'Who will be the leader of the battle?' Kagesuye exclaimed. He broke off one blossoming twig of the tree and thrust it into his quiver. Lo, he rushed into the thick of the battle exclaiming, 'Oh, gods of war, look upon your beloved Kagesuye!' Not only the soldiers of his own side but also those of the Taira clan, were rapt in admiration at the distinguished sight of the brave youth bearing, as his warrior's emblem, the beautiful plum blossom; Kagesuye's deeds on that day, needless to say, matched the flower which trampled down all threats of chill air and frost. He gained the name of a harbinger or leader, at least in that

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battle. Afterwards the plum tree, that very tree, became a god of protection for the Minamoto clan; and then people began to call it the 'Quiver-adorning Plum Blossom.' That is the story of the tree under whose shade I am standing."

Seeing that the priest showed a deep interest in his story, the young man was much encouraged, and continued:

"One hundred thousand soldiers of the Taira clan shut themselves in Ichi no Tani, feeling quite strengthened by their victories over the armies of Yoshinaka and Yoshiyuki at Mizushima of Bitchu and Muroyama in the Harima province; they looked to be invincible, covering the ten miles of hills and valleys with their red flags, between the Forest of Ikuta on the east and the Castle on the west. And there on the seas were many hundred junks also flying Taira's red flags. This castle of Ichi no Tani was of a great strategical strength, having the harbours of Suma and Akashi to the left and right, facing the seas directly in front, and carrying the mountain on its back. As the season was not yet free from cold, Wakaki no Sakura, the famous cherry tree at Suma, was some weeks from its blossoming; but the plum trees were in their zenith. It was the plan of the Minamoto clan to march down from both sides at once; the army under Yoshitsune Minamoto pressed on Ichi no Tani from the mountain in the postern, their white flags fluttering in the vigorous air looked as if the remaining snows or groups of storks. Against those white flags there were Taira's red flags without intermission, appearing like fishing fires in the offing. And these fishing fires, nay the red flags, blown by a storm dashing down from the mountain, were going to die away. The war junks were now seen drawing speedily anear the shore to rescue from imminent danger the army of the Taira clan. Oh, what a rush and flurry!"

As it was already evening the priest asked the young man if he might avail himself of his hospitality and be given a bed. The young man looked strangely and exclaimed: "Alas, I have no home myself. But if you ask for a bed under the impression that I am the master of this plum tree, I will certainly fulfil your desire. Pray, lie down by the tree and have a good rest to-night!"

"What you say sounds strange. Who are you that you say you are the master of the plum tree?"

"Let me reveal myself to you, Holy Priest. I am the ghost of Kagesuye who entreats you to say a sacred mass for him. There is a proverb that it is a matter of affinity even for two people to see each other under the shade of the same tree; pray, do not treat me as a stranger. And I beg you to sleep here tonight; I, the master of the tree, wish to earn the name of being your host." And the ghost disappeared before he had finished his words.

Now the priest spread his only robe under the tree, on which he sat and offered a mass for the ghost. Was it a dream or reality that a young handsome warrior appeared in the depth of the night, his quiver adorned with a beautiful branch of the plum tree? The youthful warrior said that his soul could not yet forget the battle and bloodshed, and as in his days of life, suffered an agony and the torture of hell in meeting with an enemy on a heinous hill of corpses or by the monstrous river of blood. The priest asked him who he was; he answered: "I am naught but Kagesuye Kajiwara who made his presence to receive your offering of mass. Oh, behold, Holy Priest, how the enemy in frenzy attack and assault! Is it the rain that falls on us? It's the rain of swords and clattering furious war-cries. Oh, hearken, Holy Priest, to the scream of seas and the tremble of trees; is the world going to be overturned? The thunders and lightnings rush down through the violent clouds and winds toward the wild forest of red flags of the Taira clan. What a ghastliness over the land and water! Here is the Ikuta River where I made a name for bravery; indeed I was the very first who dashed into Taira's encampment to storm it. Since the season was early Spring, the plum trees were blooming; one of their beautiful branches in my quiver cast away its undaunted proud odour into the air. And I dare feel proud thinking how I too scattered my bravery as that plum branch its fragrance, to gain my final victory, when I was seized by eight warriors of the enemy."

Hearing the voice of a crow and then a temple bell which announced the dawn, Kagesuye Kajiwara, nay his ghost, looked about him, turning very pale and restless, and said:

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"The time comes when I have to bid you farewell, Holy Priest. All the flowers return to the roots of their tree; and the bird to its old nest. But whither shall I return? Oh, Holy Priest, say a sacred mass that my soul may regain its final rest!"

The priest awoke from his dream by the plum tree, and saw the petals of the blossom carried by a wind far away.

YONE NOGUCHI.

RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN OFFICIAL *

SLEEMAN'S *Rambles and Recollections*, completed in 1839 and published in 1844, enjoys a deservedly wide reputation and is as valuable to-day as it ever was—even more valuable in some respects. His claim that 'the opportunities of observation, which varied experience has given me, have been such as fall to the lot of few' is quite justifiable. 'His knowledge of the customs and modes of thought of the natives of India, rarely equalled and never surpassed, was more than half the secret of his notable success as an administrator.' His bulky volumes have been reduced to manageable proportions by the art of the printer and the editor combined, and the result is a handy book which in excellence of get-up as well as of the matter contained in it leaves nothing to be desired.

The sympathy which characterises the whole book is evident in the very first chapter, where he says:

"Sir Thomas Munro has justly observed, 'I do not exactly know what is meant by civilising the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient; but, if a good system of agriculture, if unrivalled manufactures, if the establishment of schools for reading and writing, if the general practice of kindness and hospitality, and above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy towards the female sex are among the points that denote a civilised people, t en the Hindoos are not inferior in civilisation to the people of Europe.'

However flattering such an eulogium may be to our feelings, we must in fairness admit that the very book in which this extract finds place contains ample evidence of the fact that a progressive deterioration had taken place in India in regard to every one of these particulars, and the observation required to be considerably modified before being applied to the author's own times. The deficiency in 'the theory and practice of good government,' of which Sir Thomas Munro gave a hint, was no doubt responsible for these baneful consequences. The self-contained village communities, which are so highly praised both by Sleeman and Munro, were adapted to a state of society which, owing to the increasing contact with the great world outside, was rapidly vanishing, and whose arcadian simplicity and contentment were only comptatible with a political isolation which was no longer possible. The Hindus with no sense of cohesion, patriotism and nationalism, and the Muhammadans, who had forgotten the art of government and were divided by factions and dissensions, fell easy victims to the exigencies of the situation, and the result was only too manifest in Sleeman's pages.

Sleeman gives an instance of a *Suttee* from his personal knowledge which impressed him very deeply and which would go to show that at its best the practice was ennobled by the genuine martyrdom of devoted and faithful wives, whom nothing could prevent from mounting the funeral pyre and who perished in the flames with unflinching courage in the hope of immediately uniting their souls with those of their husbands.

"Soon after the battle of Trafalgar I heard a young lady exclaim, 'I could really wish to have had a brother killed in that action'. There is no doubt that a family in which a *suttee* takes place feels a good deal exalted in its own esteem and that of the community by its sacrifice."

The Government officers throughout India were for the most part opposed to the abolition of the custom. Nevertheless when Lord William Bentinck put a stop to it,

* By Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K. C. B. Revised annotated edition by Vincent A. Smith. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915. Pp. 667.

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'not a complaint or murmur was heard.' One cannot but contrast the attitude of the Government of those days with that of its modern successors when even such a harmless and mere enabling measure of social reform as the intermarriage of Hindus, supported though it was by a large body of official and non-official opinion, was vetoed by the Government.

Only once in Sleeman's *Rambles* do we find a reference to Bengalis, but the solitary instance is one among many which prove that Bengal was the pioneer of education in British India. At page 29 he speaks of 'Gurcharan Babu, the Principal of the little Jubbulpore College' who 'was educated in a Calcutta College, speaks and writes English exceedingly well; is tolerably well read in English literature, and is decidedly a *thinking man*.' The context shows that he was a firm believer in the doctrine of transmigration of souls.

The religious toleration of the Hindus, the intelligence and politeness of the agricultural classes of India, the orderliness and the absence of female outrage which characterise the immense crowds assembled at Hindu fairs, the kindness of Hindus to birds and its contrary among Europeans, all these and many other points of excellence have been noted by the author with evident sympathy and admiration. The evils of the *Begar* system, encouraged by Europeans from ignorance or indolence, are graphically described. One important feature of the book is that Sleeman gives *verbatim* reproductions of the conversations he had at various times and on various subjects with notable Indians as well as common cultivators. They give us a better glimpse of the spirit of Indian life and thought than verbose descriptions in which the writer's own mentality is apt to get inextricably mixed up. These dialogues tend to show that side by side with a good deal of shrewd practical common sense there was in the Indian mind a proneness to superstition and belief in the miraculous to which must be attributed much of the decay of Indian civilisation.

"Ninety-nine out of a hundred among the Hindoos implicitly believe, not only every word of this poem [The Ramayana] but every word of every poem that has ever been written in Sanskrit.....The Hindoo religion reposes upon an entire prostration of mind, that continual and habitual surrender of the reasoning faculties, which we are accustomed to make occasionally.....with the Hindoos.....the greater the improbability, the more monstrous and preposterous the fiction, the greater is the charm it has over their minds; and the greater their learning in Sanskrit the more are they under the influence of this charm."

"There was a time, and that not very distant, when it was the same in England, and in every other European nation; and there are, I am afraid, some parts of Europe where it is so still. But the Hindoo faith, so far as religious questions are concerned, is not more capacious or absurd than that of the Greeks and Romans in the days of Socrates and Cicero —the only difference is that among the Hindoos a greater number of the questions which interest mankind are brought under the head of religion."

[Regarding the parallel here drawn the editor's remark in the footnote is: "This comparison is not a happy one."] The same catholicity and soundness of judgment is to be found in the author's observations on Indian veracity, to which subject a whole chapter is devoted. Sleeman says that truth does not flourish in the atmospheres of the court and the camp, both in India and in Europe, but in the Indian village communities the virtues of honesty and truthfulness most prevail.

"I believe there is no class of men in the world more strictly honourable in their dealings than the merchant classes of India."

The whole chapter is replete with wise reflections, and brings out much of the hollowness of European standards of judgment in these and cognate matters. One or two extracts must suffice:

"How much of untruth is tolerated in the best circles of the most civilised nations, in the relations between electors to corporate and legislative bodies and the candidates for election? between nominators to offices under Government and the candidates for nomination? between lawyers and clients, vendors and purchasers, between the recruiting sergeant and the young recruit?"

Again,

"Take the two parties in England into which society is politically divided. There is hardly any species of falsehood uttered by the members of the party out of power against the members of the party in powers that is not tolerated or even applauded by one party....' "The circumstances under which falsehood and insincerity are tolerated by the community in the best societies of modern days are very numerous.... As long as the motive is not base, men do not spurn the falsehood as such."

The fear of public opinion is the only controlling agency in such matters.

"The man who would not hesitate a moment to destroy the happiness of a family by the seduction of the wife or the daughter, would not dare to leave one shilling of a gambling debt unpaid—the one would bring down upon him the odium of his circle, but the other would not; and the odium of that circle is the only kind of odium he dreads. Our own penal code punished with death the poor man who stole a little food to save his children from

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starvation, while it left to exult in the caresses of its own order, the wealthy libertine who robbed a father and mother of their only daughter, and consigned her to a life of infamy and misery."

The Editor in a footnote remarks:

"All that the author says is true, and yet it does not alter the fact that Indian society is and always has been permeated and paralysed by almost universal distrust. Such universal distrust does not prevail in England. This difference between the two societies is fundamental, and its reality is fully recognised by natives of India."

In the face of the universal distrust which is at the root of the present European war, and the apalling capacity for mendacity which it has revealed among Western nations, it is hard to maintain any such distinction between the European and the Indian variety of falsehood, and as for its being 'fundamental,' it implies a belief in the ineradicability of racial characteristics, which is opposed to all sound political thinking. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that a good deal of mutual distrust and low cunning prevails in the vitiated atmosphere and the narrow outlook of the small Indian towns where a dominant ruling race and a subject population divided by castes, creeds and petty selfish interests are brought face to face. The evil is very largely the result of our political subjection, which in itself is the result of deep-rooted defects in the Indian character. In the tracts governed by Indian princes of his time, the author sees the beneficent results of the dominance of the Brahmins in certain Marhatta countries, who spent the greater part of the incomes in tanks, groves, temples, and other works of public utility, with its concomitant evil, the decay of the military spirit, and *per contra*, he also notices the evils of military states such as Scindhia and Holkar whose capitals were mere standing camps. This makes him reflect as follows:

"A Hindoo prince is always running to the extreme; he can never take and keep a middle course. He is either ambitious, and therefore appropriates all his revenues to the maintenance of soldiers, to pour out in inroads upon his neighbours; or he is superstitions, and devotes all his revenue to his priesthood, who embellish his country at the same time that they weaken it, and invite invasion, as their prince becomes less and less able to repel it."

The author gives a graphic description of the famine of 1833 and he has nothing but praise for the patient resignation with which the people bore the calamity. "I must say," he declares, "that I have never either seen or read of a nobler spirit than seems to animate all classes of these communities in India on such distressing occasions."

"*Company ke amal men kuchh rozgar nahin hai*" —There is no employment in the company's dominion, is a common maxim, not only among the men of the sword and the spear, but among those merchants who lived by supporting native civil and military establishments with the luxuries and elegancies which, under the new order of things, they have no longer the means to enjoy."

Two favourite themes of the author are the evils flowing from the absence of a law of primogeniture and of a rich mercantile class in India.

"The eternal subdivision of the landed property reduces them too much to one common level, and prevents the formation of that middle class which is the basis of all that is great and good in European societies—the great vivifying spirit which animates all that is good above it in the community."

Again,

"To this concentration of capital in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, which forms the great characteristic of European in contradistinction to Asiatic societies in the present day, we must look for those changes which we consider desirable in the social and religious institutions of the people, where land is liable to eternal subdivision by the law and the religion of both the Muhammadan and Hindoo population; where every great work that improves its productive powers, and facilitates the distribution of its produce among the people, in canals, roads, bridges, &c., is made by Government; where capital is nowhere concentrated in great commercial or manufacturing establishments, there can be no upper classes in society but those of office; and of all societies, perhaps that is the worst in which the higher classes are so exclusively composed. In India, public office has been, and must continue to be, the only road to distinction, until we have a *law of primogeniture*, and a *concentration of capital*. In India no man has ever thought himself respectable, or been thought so by others, unless he is armed with his little 'hukumat'; his 'little brief authority' under Government, that gives him the command of some public establishment paid out of the revenues of the State. In Europe and America, where capital has been concentrated in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, and free institutions prevail almost as the natural consequence, *industry* is everything; and those who direct and command it are happily, looked up to as the source of the wealth, the strength, the virtue, and the happiness of the nation. The concentration of capital in such establishments may, indeed, be considered, not only as the natural consequence, but as the prevailing cause of the free institutions by which the mass of the people in European countries are blessed. The mass of the people were as much brutalised and oppressed by the landed aristocracy as they could have been by any official aristocracy before towns and higher classes were created by the concentration of capital."

The editor, who was in India one of the most talented members of a privileged bureaucracy, says in a foot-note that 'few

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readers are likely to accept this proposition.' The evils of capitalism were no doubt not very evident in Sleeman's days, and the socialists had not yet begun to make themselves heard. But what Sleeman contended was that the growth of a middle class, so necessary for the progress of arts and civilisation and free institution, could only be fostered by the diffusion of wealth and power among the many instead of its being confined to a few officials, and for such diffusion of wealth and power it was also necessary to stop the progressive pauperisation of the people by the eternal subdivision of property. In this sense his remarks seem to us to hold as good of the India of today as they did in Sleeman's own times.

We learn from this book that the Raja of Tehri used to spend, at the most moderate estimate, three lakhs of rupees a year, or one-fourth of his annual revenue, in celebrating the marriage of the *Salagram* and the *Tulsi* plant, at which vast numbers of Bairagis and Brahmans used to be fed for days together, and that such events were by no means rare among wealthy people in the country. In the kingdom of Oudh, 366 news-writers were employed by the Nawab, and paid 3194 rupees per month, at the rate of four or five rupees each. The 'great confederacy' of the Marhattas had been broken up by being deprived of its Peshwa, 'the head which alone could infuse into all the members of the confederacy a feeling of nationality.' 'There is not now the slightest feeling of nationality left among the Maratha states, either collectively or individually.' [Editor's note: During the early years of the twentieth century a spirit of Maratha nationalism has been sedulously cultivated, with inconvenient results.] Regarding the vandalism (the editor calls it 'barbarian stupidity') which used to be practised in Sleeman's times, he says:

"The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful marble baths of this palace [the Taj] to send home to George IV of England, then Prince Regent, and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fretwork and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our Government, by order of the then Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck. Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down, and sold in the same manner."

[The editor cites other instances, and notes; 'It is painful to be obliged to record so many instances of vandalism committed by English officials.']

Elsewhere Sleeman speaks of John Wilton, Opium Agent at Dinapore, who in 1810 complained that he had not been able to save more than one hundred thousand rupees that season out of his salary and commission upon opium purchaser by the Government from the cultivators.

'They were sinecure posts for the drones of the service, or for those who had great interest and no capacity.'

Sleeman speaks of the plundering of Bharatpur in 1826. From the editor's note we learn that Lord Combermere himself took six lakhs. 'The plundering,' Metcalfe observed, 'has been very disgraceful, and has tarnished our well-earned honours.' Shrewd reflections like the following occur every now and then:

"We often find Englishmen in India, and I suppose in all the rest of our foreign settlements, sporting high Tory opinions and feelings, merely with a view to have it supposed that their families are, or at some time were, among the aristocracy of the land."

Again,

"I have heard many Muhammadans say that they could trace the decline of their empire in Hindustan to the loss of the Rajput blood in the veins of their princes. Better blood than that of the Rajputs of India certainly never flowed in the veins of any human beings; or what is the same thing, no blood was ever believed to be finer by the people themselves and those they had to deal with. The difference is all in the imagination, and the imagination is all-powerful with nations as with individuals. The Britons thought their blood the finest in the world till they were conqured by the Romans, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. The Saxons thought theirs the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Danes and the Normans. This is the history of the human race. The quality of the blood of a whole people has depended often upon the fate of a battle, which in the ancient world doomed the vanquished to the hammer; and the hammer changed the blood of those sold by it from generation to generation. How many Norman robbers got their blood ennobled, and how many Saxon nobles got theirs plebianised by the Battle of Hastings; and how difficult it would be for any of us to say from which we descended—the Britons or the Saxons, the Danes or the Normans; or in what particular action our ancestors were the victors or the vanquished, and became ennobled or plebianised by the thousand accidents which influence the fate of battles."

The author describes the life led by the Anglo-Indian official of his time, taking the cantonment of Meerut, 'justly considered the healthiest station in India,' as his text.

'I visited it in the latter end of the cold, which is the healthiest season of the year; yet the European ladies were looking as if they had all come out of

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their graves, and talking of the necessity of going off to the mountains to renovate, as soon as the hot weather should set in. They had literally been fagging themselves to death with gaiety, at this the gayest and most delightful of all Indian stations..... Up every night and all night at balls and suppers, they could never go out to breathe the fresh air of the morning; and were looking wretchedly ill.....There is assuredly no society where the members are more generally free from those corroding cares and anxieties which 'weigh upon the hearts' of men whose incomes are precarious, and position in the world uncertain.....We return to the society of our wives and children after the labours of the day are over, with tempers unruffled by collision with political and religious antagonists, by unfavourable changes in the season and the markets, and the other circumstances which affect so much the incomes and prospects of our friends at home.....There is, however, one great defect in Anglo-Indian society; it is composed too exclusively of the servants of government, civil, military and ecclesiastic, and wants much of the freshness, variety and intelligence of cultivated societies otherwise constituted."

The editor's remark is characteristic.

Now all is changed. The rupee has an artificial value of 1s. 4d., the members of the services are numerous and ill-paid, while living is dear.

In making this remark the editor has been guilty of suggesting one or more falsehoods. If the rupee has an artificial value, the white servants of the crown have their exchange compensation allowance, and, in some cases, other allowances. "The members of the services are ill-paid" indeed! Why, of all public servants in the world, including those in the richest countries, the European servants of the Indian Government are paid on the most extravagant scale. The reader may refresh his memory by reading Lala Lajpat Rai's article on "The Cost of Administration in India, Japan and the United States of America" in the January number of this Review, and an editorial note on "Salaries in England and India" in the December (1915) number. As for living being dear, it is certainly not dearer than in the richest countries of the world where the salaries of the public servants are smaller than those in India.

Sleeman's views regarding the duties and responsibilities of the Service also reveal his largeheartedness:

"How exalted, how glorious, has been the destiny of England, to spread over so vast a portion of the globe her literature, hr language, and her free institutions! How ought the sense of this high destiny to animate her sons in their efforts to perfect their institutions which they have formed by slow degrees from feudal barbarism; to make them in reality as perfect as they would have them appear to the world to be in theory, than rising nations may love and honour the source whence they derive theirs, and continue to look to it for improvement."

Regarding Indian village communities, Sleeman's observations and the editor's comments both deserve notice.

"As ships are from necessity formed to weather the storms to which they are constantly liable at sea, so were the Indian village communities framed to weather those of invasion and civil war, to which they were so much accustomed by land; and in the course of a year or two, no traces were found of ravages that one might have supposed it would have taken ages to recover from."

Mr. Vincent Smith remarks:

"The rapid recovery of Indian villages and villagers from the effects of war does not need for its explanation the evocation of a spirit of moral and political vitality. The real explanation is to be found in the simplicity of the village life and needs,.....Human societies with a low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life are, like individual organisms of lowly structure and few functions, hard to kill."

In our opinion there is some truth in this, but does not the Indian scheme of life demonstrate the fact that the highest intellectual development is compatible with plain livin g, and is it not a higher and a nobler ideal than the mad race for wealth which is among the most potent causes of the present European Armageddon? But to return to our author. How true is the following observation:

"In India, where the people have learnt so well to govern themselves [in their village communities] from the want of settled government, good or bad government really depends almost altogether upon good or bad settlements of the land revenue. Where the Government demand is imposed with moderation, and enforced with justice, there will the people be generally found happy and contended, and disposed to perform their duties to each other and to the state; except when they have the misfortune to suffer from drought, blight, and other calamities of season."

Sleeman was quite averse to ryotwari settlement nor was he in favour of large Zamindari settlements, and he considered that the evils of both the systems could be cured by 'village settlements in which the estate shall be of moderate size, and the hereditary property of the holder, descending by the right of primogeniture.

The sentiments which Sleeman expressed towards Akbar are worthy of him:

"Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets; and feeling as a citizen of the world, I reverenced the marble slab that covers his bones more, perhaps, than I should that over any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted."

The author had a high opinion of Persian culture, and more than once

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expresses the opinion that a Mahomedan gentleman of education 'is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts,... and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times'. His head is 'almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these branches of knowledge as the young man raw from Oxford.'

"He therefore thinks himself as well fitted to fill the high offices which are now filled exclusively by Europeans, and naturally enough wishes the establishments of that power could open them to him."

Many in these days will be startled to hear that "the profession next in rank after that of the soldier robbing in the service of the sovereign was that of the robber plundering on his own account." Sleeman knew that the state of things in Europe a century or two earlier was no better:

"There was a time in England, it is said, when the supply of clergymen was so great compared with the demand for them, from the undue stimulus given to clerical education, that it was not thought disgraceful for them to take to robbing on the highway and all the high roads were, in consequence, infested by them."

But gang robbery was very frequent in India in those unsettled times, and what is more, the aristocracy and landed gentry were in league with such robbers, and the law's delay, of which Sleeman complained bitterly, and the corruption of the Police, made its suppression very difficult in British India, though Sleeman did succeed in suppressing the Thugee, which was gang robbery in the most aggravated form. The editor notes that even honorary magistrates and other men of position have been known to be receivers of stolen property, and that the introduction of men of good birth, drawing high salaries, in the ranks of the Police, has not improved its *morale*. But the wise reflections of Sleeman on this point are as true now as when they were made, namely, that you must pay these officers on a scale high enough to place them above temptation, and unless you do so, you must be very imperfectly acquainted with human nature and with the motives by which men are influenced in all quarters of the world, to expect that they will be zealous and honest in the discharge of their duties.

The theory of 'no conviction, no promotion,' seems to be of good old origin, for we find Sleeman writing as follows:

"A Magistrate's merits are too often estimated by the proportion that his convictions bear to his acquittals among the prisoners committed for trial to the sessions."

In the Revenue and Judicial Services, where the prospects were much better than in the Police service, the author found

"A degree of integrity in public officers, never before known in India, and rarely to be found in any other country. In the province where I now write [the Sagar and Nerbudda territories], which consists of six districts, there are twenty-two native judicial officers, Munsifs, Sadar Amins, and Principal Sadar Amins; and in the whole province I have never heard a suspicion breathed against one of them; nor do I believe that the integrity of one of them is at this time suspected."

Here, as usual, the editor comes forward with a disparaging remark to the effect that the standard of integrity among the higher Indian officials 'is still a long way from the perfection indicated by the author's remarks.' This remark is as undeserved as it is cruel, for in regard to the Provincial Services, the Public Service Commission of 1886 has endorsed entirely the high opinion expressed by Sleeman.

A feature of Hindu social life which is often noticed by Sleeman is the stream of pilgrims he met with everywhere during his peregrinations, and he is not slow to notice the great privations they endured in the cause of their faith. The chapter on the public spirit of the Hindus is as instructive as it is entertaining. It gives us a pleasing picture of the Hindu social structure.

"If by the term public spirit be meant a disposition on the part of individuals to sacrifice their own enjoyments, or their own means of enjoyment, for the common good, there is perhaps no people in the world among whom it abounds so much as among the people of India. To live in the grateful recollections of their countrymen for benefits conferred upon them in great works of ornament and utility is the study of every Hindoo of rank and property."

There are many other passages in a similar strain. Then he proceeds to estimate the number of temples, groves, mosques, tanks, wells, &c., in the district of Jubbulpur of which he was in charge, and supports his statements by figures.

Sleeman's observations on the disarmament of the people and its effect on robbery are so applicable to the present situation that they deserve quotation:

"Some magistrates and local rulers, ...have very unwisely adopted the measure of prohibiting the people from carrying or having arms in their houses, the very thing which, above all others, such robbers most wish; for they know, though such magistrates and rulers do not, that it is the innocent only, and

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the friends to order, who will obey the command. The robber will always be able to conceal his arms, or keep them out of reach of the magistrate; and he is now relieved altogether from the salutary dread of a shot from a door or a window. He may rob at his leisure, or sit down like a gentleman and have all that the people of the surrounding town and villages possess brought to him, for no man can any longer attempt to defend himself or his family."

For the Sepoy Army Sleeman has nothing but praise: 'No army in the world was certainly ever more moral or more contented than our native army.' It is characterised by 'a general and uniform propriety of conduct, that is hardly to be found among the soldiers of any other army in the world, and which seems incomprehensible to those unacquainted with its source—veneration of parents cherished through life, and a never impaired love of home, and of all the dear objects by which it is constituted.' But Sleeman's observations on throwing open the commissioned ranks of the army to educated Indians shows that his political views could not in some essential respects rise superior to the narrow outlook of the average Anglo-Indian circle. According to him the effect of such a course will be that

"Our native army will soon cease to have the same feelings of devotion towards the Government, and of attachment and respect towards their European officers that they now have. The young, ambitious, and aspiring native officers will soon try to teach the great mass that their interest and that of the European officers and European government are by no means one and the same, as they have been hitherto led to suppose; and it is upon the good feeling of this great mass that we have to depend for support."

The Rajput, the Brahman, and the Pathan who has chosen the sword for a profession, does not consider it essential also to possess the qualifications of a clerk; and according to Sleeman, 'this is a tone of feeling which it is clearly the interest of Government to foster than discourage.' The editor has no comment to make on Sleeman's views on this point, from which it would appear that they are in accord with his own. But loyalty not based upon enlightened self-interest proved its unreliability in the Sepoy Mutiny, and the only way to make the masses feel that their interest is the same as that of their rulers is to make it so in reality, by throwing open the higher ranks of the civil and the military career to educated natives.

Regarding the handsome Mausoleums of the Mogul times, where apartments were usually set aside for Koranic studies. Sleeman says:

"These buildings were, therefore, looked upon by the Hindoos, who composed the great mass of the people, as a kind of religious volcanoes, always ready to explode and pour out their lava of intolerance and outrage upon the innocent people of the surrounding country."

And then follow certain reflections which, we regretfully observe, are only compatible with a conviction in the efficacy of the divide and rule policy.

"The recollection of such outrages, and the humiliation to which they give rise, associated as they always are in the minds of the Hindoos with the sight of these buildings, are perhaps the greatest source of our strength in India; because they at the same time feel that it is to us alone they owe the protection which they now enjoy from similar injuries. Many of my countrymen, full of virtuous indignation at the outrages which often occur during the processions of the Mohurrum, particularly when these happen to take place at the same time with some religious procession of the Hindoos, are very anxious that our government should interpose its authority to put down both. But these processions and occasional outrages are really sources of great strength to us; they show at once the necessity for the interposition of an impartial tribunal, and a disposition on the part of the rulers to interpose impartially."

A similar somewhat Machiavellian—we are sorry to have to use the word in connection with such a habitually fair-minded man as Sleeman—reason is given for the preservation of the remaining Native States, which might be justified on the grounds of justice and equity alone, but which Sleeman probably thought would not find much favour with his countrymen. Sleeman advocated their preservation on two grounds; first, because the apprehension was already too prevalent among the native chiefs that the British Government desired by degrees to absorb them all, "and secondly, because, by leaving them as a contrast, we afford to the people of India the opportunity of observing the superior advantages of our rule."

[Editor's Note: 'The methods of Government in the existing Native States have been so profoundly modified by the influence of the Imperial Government that these states are no longer as instructive in the way of contrast as they were in the author's day.] Yes; the contrast in some cases is not to the advantage of the British Government.

A word or two on the Editorial notes. The meticulous accuracy with which the author's mistakes in spelling proper names,

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in giving the distances and describing the physical and toprographical features of localities, have been corrected in the notes, seems to us to be typical of the difference between the present race of Anglo-Indians and their predecessors. Everything has now been reduced to measure, duly labelled and entered in a gazetteer or cyclopaedia, and an Anglo-Indian of the present generation can easily surpass the older type in giving references and quoting exact figures and statistics and parallel passages. But the real soul of the people with whom they came into contact was far better understood and expressed by the older generation of administrators, who mixed intimately with the people, as apart from mere physical environments and ethnological peculiarities, which after all, constitute only the outer shell and not the inner core. In his brief preface, the author writes to his sister that 'the work may, perhaps, tend to make the people of India better understood by those of my countrymen whose destinies are cast among them, and inspire more kindly feelings towards them.' We regret to observe that the impression created by many of the editorial notes will be of an opposite character. The editor says: 'Modern investigation has proved that Hindoo medicine, like Hindoo astronomy, is largely of Greek origin.' Even if we ignore such positive statements on doubtful controversial subjects, there are others, i.e.—'In some provinces, especially in Bengal, the action of the High Courts has almost paralysed the arm of the executive' —which cannot be excused, though they appear in footnotes, and may claim the obscurity of a small type. 'The Rajas at Simla might now be considered by some people as an encumbrance,' but only by those to whom the sight of even the chiefest in rank among Indians is odious. 'The service of the British Government is sought because it pays, but a foreign Government must not expect love. Respect for the British rule depends upon the strength of that rule.' After this frank and to us only a half-true statement, the difficulty which the editor feels in reconciling official professions with the actualities of the administration need not occasion surprise:

"The contemplation of the vast administrative machinery working with its irresistible force and unfailing regularity in obedience to the will of rulers whose motives are not understood, undoubtedly has a paralysing influence on the life of the nations of India, which, if not counteracted, would work deep mischief. Something in the way of counteraction has been done, though not always with knowledge. The difficulties inherent in the problem of reconciling foreign rule with self-government in an Asiatic country are enormous."

The editor's last word on Indian civilisation seems to be these:

"India cannot truly be described as an uncivilised or barbarous country, but side by side with elements of the highest civilisation, it contains many elements of primitive and savage barbarism."

The editor is not certain that British rule grows more and more upon the affections of those subject to it, and 'the less is said about the supposed affection of mercenary troops for a foreign Government, the better,' and quotes from Lord William Bentinck's minute, 'as a corrective to the author's too effusive sentiment,' where he says:

".....we cannot be blind to the fact that many of those ties which bind other armies to their allegiance are totally wanting in this. Here is no patriotism, no community of feeling as to religion or birthplace, no influencing attachment from high considerations, or great honours and rewards. Our native army is also extremely ignorant, capable of the strongest religious excitement, and very sensitive to disrespect to their persons or infringement of their customs.....In the native army alone rests our internal danger, and this danger may involve our complete subversion.....All these facts and opinions seem to me to establish incontrovertibly that a large proportion of European troops is necessary for our security under all circumstances of peace and war....."

Commenting on Sleeman's account of the murder of Mr. Fraser, the Governor-General's representative at Delhi at the investigation of a Muhammadan nobleman, Mr. Vincent Smith writes as follows in one of his footnotes:

"This sinister incident shows clearly the real feeling of the Muhammadan populace towards the ruling power. That feeling is unchanged, and not altogether confined to the Muslim populace."

We suppose if an Indian journal were to vilify the entire English race on the strength of the not uncommon instances of fatal assaults committed by Europeans on Indians with little risk to themselves so far as the Anglo-Indian jury are concerned, the Editor would not hesitate to call it a 'gutter rag.' And yet he does not hesitate to blacken the character of a whole nation on the strength of a single incident.

But when all is said, the fact remains that trust alone begets trust, and at the time when the Editor was inditing all

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these notes, the Indian sepoys were dyeing the battlefields of France with their life-blood in the cause of their British employers. If neither his antiquarian researches nor the part played by India in the present war has led the editor to entertain kindly feelings towards the people of the country, we may well nigh despair of the average Anglo-Indian official who does not possess either the ability or the thoughtfulness of Mr. V. A. Smith.

POLITICUS.

"THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY"

II.

TURNING to the grand superstructure of the theories which the learned excavator of Pataliputra has attempted to raise on the basis of his supposed discoveries we have no hesitation to say that some of his queer observations fail to appeal to our conviction and common sense. In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1915, he says:

".....It should be understood that stratigraphical evidences cannot lie and that by careful observation and scrupulous tabulation they can be made to yield as certain information as to the nature of a structure as actual remnants of the same in situ."*

But his conviction was not so strong only a year ago. In his Report for the year 1913-14 he admits that

".....It is understood by everybody thal all such synthetic readings of stratigraphical evidences as are published from time to time in the course of an excavation are essentially *tentative* and always subject to revision in the light of accumulating evidences."†

From what we have quoted above it seems legitimate to conclude that the conviction of the learned excavator has grown stronger in the meantime and he now comes forward with assertions which to us seem not in any way better warranted. The excavations at Pataliputra are not finished yet. But we find that the learned gentleman has already veered round and changed his opinion. We have already seen how easily stratigraphical evidences can mislead a person and how very difficult the true interpretation of such a piece of evidence really is.

Now, let us, for the sake of argument, accept the explanation put forward by Dr. Spooner of the evidences revealed in the strata of earth laid bare by his excavations of Pataliputra, and proceed to examine his conclusions based on these so-called evidences. Let us admit that the fragments of polished stone discovered at Pataliputra really form part of the remains of a pillared hall, that though the columns stood above the level of the stylobate, their lower parts escaped destruction somehow and sank vertically into the earth leaving behind round shafts filled up with ashes, and that at the end of the first season indications of eight rows of monolithic polished pillars, with at least ten pillars in each row" have been discovered. Granting that Dr. Spooner's assumptions are true and that "the building consisted of a vast pillared hall, presumably square, with stone columns arranged in square bays over the entire area, placed at distances of 15 feet, or ten Mauryan cubits, each from each," we cannot help concluding that the learned antiquarian has been overpowered by the glamour of the weird appearance of the ruins of the ancient city; for immediately after the above statement he says: "Square halls with multiple rows of pillars in square bays are commonplaces in modern Indian architecture, but the ancient period has hitherto none to show." We wonder how such a statement could emanate from a member of the Archaeological Department! How many ancient sites has the Department excavated with that thoroughness as it has brought into play at Sarnath, Kasia and Taxila, and how many located? and also in how many undertakings has the Department spent sixty thousand in three years? Dr. Spooner is perhaps the best person to answer these questions and surely these questions must have occurred to him when he wrote what

* Journal of the Roy. As. Soc., 1915, p. 65.

† Annual Rep., 1913-14, p. 47. The italics are ours.

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has been quoted above. It is a pity that the voice of Sridhara Ramakrishna Bhandarkar has been silenced for ever. For more than once the late scholar endeavoured to bring to their senses those who despite of their high pretensions consciously fell into such quagmire and proceeded to propound such arrant absurdities. It is a pity that in India the archaeologist needs always reminding that his work is only begun and that years of toil and labour must pass in the systematic excavation of old sites before any generalisation on the results of spade work is to be attempted. Egypt has almost been thoroughly explored and the Egyptologists have only recently acquired the right of generalising on the evidences adduced from the study of stratigraphy. Whereas in India a regular spade work has been begun only about twelve years ago. In Magadha the metropolitan district of India for about a thousand years, the surface only has been scratched here and there, and not more than three or four sites have been proved. It would be premature, nay hasty to generalise from such scanty evidences as are alleged to have been discovered by Dr. Spooner. Any theory formulated from such scanty and flimsy resources does not carry any weight in the domain of scientific study.

Dr. Spooner's next statement shows very clearly that he began his researches with a preconceived notion.

"When the plan of our building seemed to be so clearly un-Indian, while our columns showed the peculiar Persian polish, it seemed to me not impossible that even in its design, the building might have been under Persian influence."*

Two assertions have thus been made in the above statement. In the first place, it has been said that the Persian influence predominated, and secondly, that the plan of the building was "un-Indian." When one starts in a research work with a preconceived notion, it is no wonder that whatever he may happen to find would seem to him to corroborate his own ideas. Dr. Spooner's subsequent statements or assertions clearly point to such foregone conclusions. As soon as the thought flashes into his mind that the building is altogether "un-Indian" in character, a statement which he has not cared to prove and that the Persian influence is a predominating element in the new find, he very naturally jumps to the conclusion that the so-called Mauryan hall is only a replica of the Persepolitan hall of hundred columns. But the hall at Persepolis lacks a plinth or a stylobate, whereas the one said to have been discovered at Pataliputra seems to have been built on a stylobate. The pillars at Pataliputra are fifteen feet apart, while in the case of the hall at Persepolis the intervening distance between a pair of them is twenty-one feet. †

This difference in the method of construction of the two buildings does not count for much with the learned excavator of Pataliputra who holds that the Persepolitan hall affords a striking parallel to the one he has discovered.

Further assertion with regard to the Persian character of the hall discovered by Dr. Spooner is to be found in the following passage :—

"Nay, more, the one big column which we had recovered showed a mason's mark familiar at Persepolis. The form was not identical perhaps, but the resemblance was nevertheless unmistakable and very striking."‡

The only fragment found in the excavated area is a part of a column bearing several mason's marks which we had the opportunity of examining during our visit. They formed a very close approach to the *crux ansata*, the symbol of life in Egyptian mysticism. They cannot, we are sure, be taken to represent any other thing. Dr. Spooner admitting that the forms on the Pataliputran column are not identical with anything similar found at Persepolis is rather dogmatic in his assertion with regard to the Persian influence, and finds, we are quite at a loss to understand how, marks having a "striking" and an "unmistakable" resemblance to those at Persepolis. The origin of the symbol is certainly to be sought in Egypt. It might have been imported into India and Persia simultaneously, or what is more probable it might have passed into Persia through India. This opens up a vew vista of researches with regard to the origin of this symbol and its migration from its original abode to those countries where it has been subsequently found. The mere occurrence of the symbol, even if the indentity were established, would not advance a step

* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 66.

† An Rep. Arch. Surv. of Ind. East. Circ., 1913—14, p. 51.

‡ J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 67.

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further the arguments in favour of the Persian influence on the ground of its being a common mason's mark at Persepolis.

Such are the queer evidences brought up by Dr. Spooner to establish his conclusions which cannot be at all regarded as scientific or logical. In this strange land many things are allowed to pass as genuine provided they happen to bear the hall-mark of officialism.

Dr. Spooner does not find any loophole in his own arguments and has no hesitation in making the following statement :—

"Enough has been said already to explain why it seemed to me reasonable to assume, as a working hypothesis for the conduct of future operations, that the structure under excavation really did betray strong Achaemenian influence, and that indeed it looked, at even that early stage of work, curiously like a copy of the Persian Hall."*

Dr. Spooner next tries to prove that the Mauryas copied the design of the palace at Persepolis. His preconceived notions led him to this assumption. He takes Lord Curzon's plan of Persepolis, works out the south-west corner of his pillared hall which probably never existed anywhere else but in his dreams, and starts through the jungle with his accessories and instruments for the sake of a mere theory and even that not standing on any sure basis. We had better quote his own words:—

"The whole story of that wonderful day cannot be given here. It will be found in my Annual Report for 1913-14."†

Turning to the Annual Report of the learned excavator, we find him taking seven massive platforms "located in the eastern half of the south side," as marking the southern limit of the building. He refers, we believe, to several massive solid wooden structures, discovered at Patna, and photographs of which were published in the "Statesman". We do not exactly understand why he takes these to be the southern limit of the building. Let us, however, accept the conclusion provisionally and consider what he says with regard to the other points:—

"Having then marked out a theoretical south-west corner for my pillared hall, I proceeded to measure out a distance of 200 feet to the south, and found myself thereby brought to a large and lofty mound."‡

Admitting that the wooden foundation marks the southern limit of the so-called hall, what on earth can help one to ascertain the south-west corner of the building when the western limit is altogether unknown? The wooden platforms might have been erected for a portion of the southern limit where the soil was very soft. Dr. Spooner does not claim to have discovered a line of such platforms extending over 275 ft. which is the length of the southern facade of the stylobate. Were it so, it would have been a much more easy task for the learned excavator of Pataliputra to determine the corners, and perhaps, in that case his conclusions might have carried conviction. But as it stands now, it cannot be said with any degree of certainty that Dr. Spooner has succeeded to hit the south-west corner of his Pataliputra hall. Not resting satisfied with what he thought he had discovered, the learned Doctor proceeds to discover the palace of Xerxes. The location of this desideratum has been made by Dr. Spooner at a place 200 ft. from the imaginary south-western corner. This is an unexplored mound which he at first took for "an ordinary stupa mound."

"But the other sides were found to the prevailingly intact, and all to be straight lines, north and south, and east and west, running to sharp and well-defined right angle corners. No stupa ever left this configuration."*

But instances are not rare. A Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey Department who took part in the exploration of Sahr-i-Bahlol should not, perhaps, need reminding by a lay man outside the Department of the square stupas of Ale Masjid. No attempt has yet been made to explain these. If Dr. Spooner had devoted some of his time to the exploration of the ruins of Behar he would have found that the plinths of all mediaeval stupas are square. Hundreds of such structures were exposed by Cunningham and Beglar at Bodh-Gaya and by Marshall and Oertel at Sarnath. Then comes a very queer remark from the learned explorer to the following effect:—

"Lord Curzon's plan then shows to the west and to the north-west of his south-east edifice, two natural hills. There are no counterparts to these in Patna."†

In the plan printed in vol. 2 of Lord Curzon's work, one of these "natural hills"

* J. R, A. S. 1915, pp. 67-68.
† *Ibid.* p. 68.
‡ Annual Rep., 1913-14.

* Annual Report, 1913, p. 53.
† Annual Report, 1913, p. 53.

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has been marked as a mound. It is almost beyond our power to conceive what led the learned scholar to call them "natural hills." Let us read what Lord Curzon writes on this point:—

"Before leaving this place, let us notice that between the terrace that precedes it on the north, and the hindermost pillars of the great Hall of Xerxes, is a space of ground about a hundred yards in length, which is now occupied only by a mound, rising in parts to a very considerable height above the true level of the platform."*

We do not understand how one could expect to find counterparts to these at Patna. To the west of the mound at Kumrahar Dr. Spooner finds a mound in the jungle which he at once identifies with the palace of Darius. He admits, the distance is not exact, but all the same he sticks to his theory. In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society he further adds:—

"There were even ridges and other minor indications at other points corresponding to further members of the Achaemenian group of structures; but these were less conclusive than the main mounds and their significance was uncertain."†

In his Report for the year 1913-14 he remarks on this point—

"The north inner wall of Darius's palace according to Lord Curzon's plan, lies almost exactly in one line east and west, with the south wall of the throne-room away off to the east. The corresponding edge of the main body of our mound was found to be in corresponding bearing to our seven wooden platforms at the other site." ‡

The mound at Kumrahar which Dr. Spooner supposes to be the ruins of Darius's palace, in the replica of Persepolis, at Pataliputra, has not yet been excavated; and therefore its outlines may be taken to correspond roughly with the outer walls. It would be rather an abnormal strain on the imagination to suppose that a corresponding inner wall might be regarded as forming the interior of an unexplored mound. It should be noted here that Dr. Spooner has taken the boundary walls between the fields and some elevated village roads to be the ridges. We could not find anything in them which might lead us to believe that they were the remains of walls or staircases as supposed by the learned explorer. We have to quote another instance of Dr. Spooner's American method of archaeological investigation. The palaces of Persepolis were built on an immense platform with a raised stone plinth which is still to be found intact. At Patna there is no such platform and the remains of a high stone plinth has not been so much as even traced. So the learned Doctor says:—

"It seemed perfectly futile to expect anything like a counterpart to the actual platform, at Kumrahar, for all the neighbourhood of Patna is a level plain. However, preconceived notions were by this time laid aside, and I proceeded to the west to look. Due west of the second mound a modern water channel lay, which obscured the surface and threw that particular tract out of reckoning. But going south-west from the south-west corner of the mound to a very short distance from it, I came upon the most astonishing resemblance of them all. There actually was a terrace, after all. The land on which I had been walking theretofore was then disclosed as definitely elevated land some two feet higher than the fields around it."*

The platform at Persepolis was "faced with gigantic blocks of stone, constituting a perpendicular wall that rises to a height varying from twenty to nearly fifty feet above the plain."† According to Dr. Spooner the remains of the platform at Pataliputra corresponding to the platform at Persepolis is only two feet in height. The explorer has not succeeded in discovering even the slightest indication of a stone-faced stylobate or plinth and perhaps it did not occur to him that this very slight variation in height is due to the accumulation of rubbish. Such are the methods employed in unravelling the mysteries of an ancient capital of the Mauryas. They were altogether unknown to the Indologists until the advent of the American scholar in the field. Even the most reckless and hasty people of the type not uncommon in the Department have never ventured to adopt them.

With these discoveries to stand by, the learned gentleman proceeds to examine the Indian literature for further evidences of Zoroastrian influence. "But does this mean," questions the explorer, "that really very little Persian influence is traceable in India?" In answer to this question he states that the edicts of Asoka only echo Darius's, and that "Dr. Marshall tells us his columns and his capitals were wrought by Greco-Persian masons." There may or may

* Curzon's Persia, vol II, p. 175.
† J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 69.
‡ Ibid., p. 54.

* An. Rep., 1913-14, p. 54.
† Curzon's Persia, Vol 2, p. 151.

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not be an echo of Darius's edicts in the rock and pillar edicts of Asoka, but one pauses for breath when the explorer of Pataliputra calls to his aid the all-knowing chief of the Department, to prove that the columns and the capitals of Asoka were wrought by the Greco-Persian masons. Any action or utterance of this remarkable personage forces us to remember that he was chosen by Lord Curzon's Government to fill the highest post in the Archaeological Department not on account of his proficiency as an Orientalist but for reasons better known to himself and his patrons than to the public, that his want of knowledge in Indology prevents and shall always prevent him from being a reliable authority on any branch of Indian antiquities, and that his statements, always unsupported by substantial proofs, have never found general acceptance. Was it not he who some years ago blazoned forth his discoveries of the antiquities of the 12th century at Bhita in the district of Allahabad in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society? Well, afterwards when his fit of enthusiasm subsided to a considerable extent he became more modest in the pages of his Annual Report for the year 1911-12 where he curtailed a considerable portion of his statements with regard to the excavation. Sir John was probably dreaming when he thought of the Greco-Persian masons working at the shafts and capitals of Asoka's monoliths. We are sure he has not a grain of authority in support of this statement—nay, we challenge the whole Archaeological Department to come forward with any substantial piece of evidence in corroboration of the assertions of their chief. Dr. Thomas seems to be perfectly right when he says "we must look to the facade of Darius's tomb to realize how the Mathura lion capital fitted into place."* The lion capital of a pillar or a pilaster is purely an Assyrian design copied both in Persia and in India.

After enumerating the capitals of the Asoka pillars and citing the instance of his imaginary pillared hall as signs of the so-called Persian influence on Indian civilisation, Dr. Spooner proceeds to bring up an array of literary evidences in support of his theory.

"Megasthenes," he says, "will bear us testimony that the Indian court was almost wholly Persian in his day. Mr. Vincent Smith has brought together the details in his invaluable History, and the picture which he paints for us of Chandragupta's Court is Achaemenian in every line and tint."*

These remarks do not demand any comment on our part, as they show quite clearly the undercurrent of thought and ideas that were running through his mind. Should Dr. Spooner feel inclined to contest this point, we can assure him, he would not find us falling back. We find another queer remark which may very easily be misconstrued :—

"When the edict pillars of Asoka testify to Persian influence, not by their style alone, but by their substance and their very script, it is clear that he, at least, drew definitely on the west for inspiration."†

When Dr. Spooner passes any remark about the script, it appears that he is sure that the script of all the inscriptions of Asoka testifies to the much-talked of Persian influence. This statement is partially borne out by two of the rock edicts, viz., at Manshera and Shahbazgarhi, written in Kharoshthi script. This script owed its development to the later Aramaic and was written from right to left. The situation of Manshera and Shahbazgarhi necessitated the adoption of this script. Once they were included in an Achaemenian Satrapy and so perhaps the script remained in those regions as the residual of an exotic political supremacy at least for some time after the foreign yoke was removed. Parallel instances are not wanting in modern times. The Persian language was retained in the courts of Bengal for more than a century after the assumption of the *dewani* by the East India Company.

We learn from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman that a reservoir, originally constructed by the Vaisya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor under Maurya Chandragupta, was subsequently fitted up with conduits by the Yavana king Tushaspha for Asoka the Maurya.‡ This reservoir was subsequently repaired during the reign of Skandagupta. But a new light is thrown on the origin of this reservoir of water. The learned explorer of Pataliputra informs us that "it is believed that the famous waterworks he (Tushaspha) carried out were copies of

* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 71.

* *Ibid.*
† J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 71.
‡ Epi. Ind. VIII, pp. 36 *et seq.*

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the Babylonian." But by whom is it so believed? A statement unsubstantiated by evidence does not induce belief. Where are the references? Such a vague assertion as this unsubstantiated by evidence and unsupported by reasoning has no place in history.

Dr. Spooner's conclusions are almost always as queer as the finds at Pataliputra are scanty.

"At the court," says the learned Doctor, "where the Indian monarch washed his royal hair according to the Persian Calendar and built the royal highway from his palace in imitation of Darius's, his palaces themselves may very well have been as imitative as the royal road. We therefore need no longer hesitate to give our archaeological evidences at Kumrahar their full face value."*

Well, I am afraid, there is not much to be said in favour of the views taken up by Dr. Spooner with regard to the hair-washing ceremony of Maurya Chandragupta, which the learned explorer says was observed in accordance with the Persian Calendar. Let us see what Mr. V. A. Smith has to say on this point.

"In accordance with the Persian custom," he writes, "which had much influence upon the Indian court and administration, the king ceremonially washed his hair on his birth-day, which was celebrated by a splendid festival, at which the nobles were expected to make rich presents to their sovereign.†"

Nothing has been said by Mr. Smith with regard to the Persian Calendar. The birth-day is as sacred to the Indians in the modern times as it was in the ancient days. This can never be called an observance of the Persian Calendar. We have not got any detailed account of the ceremony, which on the authority of Strabo and of Herodotus Mr. Smith understands to be a Persian custom. This might have been a custom common to both the Indians and the Iranians. Moreover bathing, besprinkling the head with water, or washing the hair, as Strabo and Herodotus puts it, is the ceremony of purification insisted on by all the Grihyasutras on all auspicious, memorable and sacred days, or as a preliminary to other ceremonies. There would be nothing unIndian in washing oneself on his birthday which would always be regarded as memorable and observed with due ceremonies. The authority of Strabo and Herodotus does not seem to be so unquestionable as Mr. Smith and Dr. Spooner are inclined to think. Their accounts of India were got mostly from secondhand reports, or at least they might safely be regarded as such as there is no evidence which would go to show that either of them ever visited the land.

Neither is there any authority for our believing that the highway to Darius's palace was imitated at Pataliputra. Such statements on the sole authority of a foreigner cannot be relied upon. For one from the West, who first lights on Persia and probably her western satrapies and then sojourns to other Oriental countries, and if he were more familiar with Persia and the Persians, it would be natural to expect him to compare every remarkable thing that he might happen to visit with things he found in a land where he would be more at home and less regarded as a foreigner. Persia and Media by their contiguity to Greece would not so much be regarded as a strange land by a Greek as India would be.

Our intrepid explorer now proceeds to his next conclusion. His idea is that the important finds of his own excavations at Pataliputra "shows us upon the threshold of the historical period a dynasty of almost purely Persian type—how purely Persian we shall see as we go on."*

In connection with this our learned explorer has almost unwittingly uttered a piece of genuine historical truth. This is about the introduction of the use of stone in Indian architecture. Asoka has hitherto been credited with having introduced the use of stone as a building material and the Greeks have shared with the Persians the honour of inspiring him. Serious scholars have often been led to doubt the correctness of this statement. Nothing can be brought up in support of this utterly unwarranted assertion. But it is implicitly believed to be true by such Indian archaeologists as Sir John Marshall, whose lack of knowledge of Indian history and literature leads him to believe that the origin of every Indian art and craft must be sought in Greece. Dr. Spooner very aptly remarks—

"A Greek himself, Megasthenes would surely not have failed to boast of his own nation's influence at a foreign court which he openly admired, had such

* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 72.
† Early History, 3rd ed. p. 124.

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* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 72.

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existed. For Chandragupta's time the evidences point to Persia only."*

The statement is not quite clear. Perhaps what Dr. Spooner means is that India was indebted to Persia for the introduction of stone in the Indian architecture. For the history of Chandragupta's reign we have no evidence save the fragmentary statements of Megasthenes. The *Arthasastra* has yet to be proved to be a genuine work of Chanakya before it can be admitted into the arena of contemporary accounts. Before even the commencement of Chandragupta's reign the Persian Empire was destroyed and the Persians had ceased to be a nation of any consequence. The Empire was cut up and parcelled out among the generals of Alexander, and its individuality was almost entirely stamped out under the Hellenic supremacy. When Persia revived out of the ashes of her former glory, under the semi-Hellenised earlier Parthian rulers, her old Achaemenian magnificence and splendor had altogether disappeared. So that one has not got far to seek the evidences to the effect that during Chandragupta's reign, Persian civilization had already lost its glamour, and Persia had altogether ceased to be a centre of influence.

Now for the structures, the remains of which Dr. Spooner imagines to have discovered at Pataliputra, he tells us that "these (at Kumrahar) so far as can be judged were wholly built of wood. Possibly portions were made of brick, but stone was used sparingly, for certain features only." † These remarks so far as we can understand point directly to the failure on the part of the explorer to discover evidences of a stone structure. A few fragments of stone pillars he has succeeded to find, and so he asserts that they are the indications, or rather the very remains of a large pillared hall. And the consequence is that he is led to imagine the building was mainly of wood wherein bricks might have been partly used. Fergusson's conception of the brick walls of the Persepolitan palaces, and corroboration of Lord Curzon ‡ thereof are perhaps to a large extent responsible for this assertion.

The next assertion of the learned explorer is still less worthy of a skilled archæologist. "At Kumrahar," he says, "what we see is the first use of dressed stone for building purposes, when stone is still subordinate to wood, and largely restricted to columnar use and use in decorative adjuncts to the structure."

The three different stages in the learned Doctor's imagination are clearly shown in this statement: first, that there was a building of some sort at Kumrahar, the only remains of which are a few fragments of stone pillars; secondly, that this building was mainly of wood; and thirdly, that stone pillars were used in its construction. But one question arises and that is this: what prevented the builders from using stone in the construction of the stylobate, floor and the bases of the pillars? Dr. Spooner is not right, perhaps, in pleading the want of stones as building materials. These builders generally used stones quarried at Chunar or Mirzapur. If they could transport such heavy monoliths from such distant places, of course, at a heavy cost, one cannot at all understand the reason which prevented them from using stone for the floor and the stylobate. At the same time, various sorts of stones are to be found in different parts of Bihar, which could have been easily utilized. In putting forth this remark our learned scholar betrays a regrettable lack of reserve which is an indispensable qualification of an archæologist. He says that he has discovered the first use of dressed stone for building purposes at Kumrahar, and hence he must be sure of his grounds. He is absolutely sure that no older building made of dressed stone will ever be discovered. He is confident of the fact that Jarasandha's Baithak at Rajgir and the causeways up the Gridhrakuta and Giriek hills are later in date. It pains one to find such statements disfiguring the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

A laboured attempt is perceptible on the part of Dr. Spooner to prove that his imaginary hall at Kumrahar was older in date than Asoka. The ghosts of the Chinese travellers are marshalled in and a curious jumble is made of their statements. Fa Hien* says that the genii had built Asoka's halls and palaces by piling up the stones and thus raising up the walls and gates; therefore the hall at Kumrahar must

* J. R. A. S., p. 72.

† An. Rep., 1913, p. 53.

‡ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 73.

* More correctly: Fa Hsien.

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belong to an older order of architecture, because we have neither walls nor gates of piled stones in the case of the building in question. Again, Hiuen Thsang* mentions an old terrace at Pataliputra, which was older than the palace of Asoka. This the learned scholar identifies with the ruins at Kumrahar. "Thus," remarks Dr. Spooner, "both our Chinese authors seem to indicate that our remains were not those of the Asokan palaces. That they are not of later date is obvious from the monuments themselves. We therefore must assign them either to Bindusara or to Chandragupta."†

We have already attempted to point out that our learned explorer had no sufficient ground to state that the so-called hall at Kumrahar was built of bricks and wood and where only pillars of stone were used. His arguments for an older order of architecture as compared with the Asokan remains described by Fa Hsien as made of piles of stones are also vague and insufficient. The second part of his argument is more real and tangible, but with his usual ingenuity he has distorted it to suit his own requirements. Hsuan Tsang saw an old terrace at Pataliputra. He calls it old in order to distinguish it from the Asokan buildings. Well, that is all. But what on earth could lead one to suppose that the terrace in question *must*‡ be attributed either to Chandragupta or to Bindusara? What bar must there be against its being assigned to a king or the kings of an older dynasty, say to Ajatasatru, who is said to have removed the capital from Rajagriha to Pataliputra? What is Dr. Spooner's justification for using the word *must* in this connection? The ascription of the buildings to the earliest Mauryan times is altogether baseless and their Persian character is a bit of worthless statement utterly exotic in the domain of history.

Now we come to the last of the arguments of Dr. Spooner. He equates Ahura Mazda to Asura Maya and identifies the Mauryan palaces at Pataliputra with those built by Maya and described in the Mahabharata. The equation Ahura Mazda=Asura Maya is childish and has been rejected by Messrs V. A. Smith § and A. B. Kieth.* The word "*asura*" may be transformed into "*ahura*," a word already existing in the language, but such transformation would be difficult in the case of the word "*Mazda*". Dr. Thomas is of opinion that its Sanskrit equivalent would be *Medha*.† *Azes* may be *Aya*, but *Mazda* cannot so easily be transformed into "*Maya*." Hence the identity must be rejected as unproved and we have but to stick to the older explanation of Maya Danava as a foreign architect of undetermined identity. But the Doctor finds in the description of the palaces built by Maya in the Mahabharata a true description of the palaces at Pataliputra.

"Nowhere in ancient India has anything of the type described in the Mahabharata been met with prior to the excavations of Pataliputra."‡

The learned explorer forgets the fact that even in his own province a very few old sites have been explored and hence these pronouncements should not have been made by him. He quotes a few verses from the Sabhaparva and finds his "English quotation from Curtius and Strabo" sounding "curiously like the Mahabharata." On a closer comparison of these two accounts it will be found that both the passages are so vague that it is absolutely impossible to find a parallel between them. There are no details given and the description as it appears was not intended to convey any clear idea. There mention is made of palaces (प्रासादाः), of gardens (उद्यानानि) and of artificial lakes (सरांसि). This description might apply to any city on the face of the earth. Why then should Dr. Spooner say that nowhere in ancient India anything of this type had been discovered?

Mention is made of caves, it is true; but this comes after the word *nagarani*, and perhaps, the caves in the suburbs, a feature of the ancient Indian towns, were meant. No caves had been found at Pataliputra; and the truth of Hsuan Tsang's statement might be regarded as doubtful. Here again we have to pause over the authority of a statement made by Dr. Spooner's Departmental Chief whom he has quoted. We have to listen to the second hand statement that the men who

* Or more correctly Hsuan Tsang. Also wrongly written Yuan Chwang.
† J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 76.
‡ The italics are ours.
§ J. R. A. S, 1915, p. 802.

* *Ibid*, 1916, p. 138.
† *Ibid*, 1915, p. 78.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 81.

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fashioned the Mauryan caves in the Barabar hills near Gaya, betrayed familiarity with the royal rock-cut graves at Persepolis.* The mere fact that the statement has emanated from Sir John Marshall does not heighten its value; unless it is supported by unimpeachable evidence it is incapable of general acceptance. We must wait for the appearance of the original statement over the signature of Dr. Spooner's chief with such corroborative evidences as would make it entertainable. The mere mention of caves makes Dr. Spooner forget himself and carries him altogether into a transport of joy beyond the pale of reasoning. He has found some record of the existence at Pataliputra of each and everything in Maya's list, and some of these, the caves particularly, are known to have been exclusively of Persian character." But if there were caves at Pataliputra, who can say that they exhibited the same characteristics as those at Barabar? The earlier caves might have been differently constructed with peculiarities of their own. Every capital had pavilions, gardens and lakes and was surrounded by walls and moats. Mr. A. Berriedale Kieth rightly points out that "the actual similarity seems to be of utmost vagueness." The language of a critic is altogether different from that used by our learned explorer. In his ecstasy he applies the description of the capital of the Kurus to Magadha. Any seeming similarity seems to be quite enough for him now.

Coming to the description of the throne-room or the *Sabha*, Dr. Spooner understands it to be the description of a sort of modern Persian throne-room.

"I take the poet," says the learned explorer, "to be referring, in all alike, to a type of throne-room or *sabha* familiar to his contemporaries, but now lost to human memory, in which the actual pillars as merely structural necessities, were lost to the consciousness of the beholder by reason of his absorption in the symbolism of a different and more conspicuous feature. This feature was the literal presence of a number of sculptured representations of divine and semidivine beings so sculptured and disposed as to impress the beholder as literally supporting on their upstretched arms, the various floors of the Sabha."*

What Dr. Spooner wants is to prove that this throne-room of various floors is actually the *talar* or the Persian throne-room. It has been supposed by some that the hall of hundred pillars was actually such a *talar* or the throne-room; but there is no definite evidence with regard to this point. It is a matter of regret that a sober-minded arthaeologist can be so led away as to construct a house of cards to be pulled down at the slightest push of reason. The parallel between the description of the Pandava capital and that of the Mauryas is purely imaginary, like his discovery at Kumrahar.

* *Ibid*, p. 84.

* *Ibid*, p. 87.

NIMROD.

THE UNNAMED CHILD

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI OF DEBENDRA SEN

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

She is a child of six months, lacking the dignity of a name.
She is like a dewdrop hanging on the tip of a *Kamini* bud;
like the peep of the first moon through the tresses of the night;
like a pearl in the earring of the tiniest little fairy.
Her elder sister clasps her to her breast, crying,
"You are sweet as my new pet doll,"—
and her baby brother likens her to a pink sugar drop.
Thus while the whole household casts about in vain for a simile to fit her,
she nods her head opening her eyes wide.

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THE GREAT AGE IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE LIVED

By Jabez T. Sunderland.

THE three hundredth anniversary of the death of Shakespeare should call public attention, not alone to the poet who shed such luster on his time, but also to the extraordinary age in which he lived, which forms such a splendid background to his life and work, and which did so much to make his achievements possible.

Has England ever seen another age so great as that of Shakespeare? Has the modern world produced any other in which so many great events of so many different kinds transpired, or in which lived so many men, cast in so various molds, who made permanent marks upon their own and succeeding times? Could any age less great than that into which the poet was born, have stimulated his genius to such splendid fruitage as we see in his dramas?

Let us get clearly in mind the two essential dates. Shakespeare lived to the age of 52 years,—his birth occurring in 1564 and his death in 1616.

Notice first a few of his literary contemporaries in England. The brilliancy of his work is so great that it tends to obscure, and sometimes causes us wholly to forget, the work of other writers with whom he was associated. But as a fact, historians would be compelled to rank the literary output of his age as distinguished and as surpassed perhaps only once in English annals, even if there had been no Shakespeare.

England in Shakespeare's day has been very well called a nest of singing birds. There was a June of poetry and song. We must not think of the drama as confined to Shakespeare, or even to Shakespeare and a few others. The old time medieval "Mysteries" had developed into the "Miracle Plays," and they into the "Moralities," and they again into the true drama. The drama had become popular, and an ever-increasing number of adapters of plays, revisers of old plays, re-writers and improvers of plays, and finally creators of new plays, made their appearance. Shakespeare was one of this large and growing number, and his genius finally lifted him to an eminence far above the rest. But there were other writers who attained distinction, and whose plays were worthy to live and have lived.

Perhaps the greatest of these was Ben Jonson, who was born ten years later than Shakespeare. Jonson possessed much more learning of the schools than did his brother poet. He conformed more closely to the generally accepted rules of the dramatic art. He wrote a large number of plays. In the construction of his plots, he was perhaps superior to Shakespeare. In his own day his fame was nearly or quite as great as Shakespeare's. The two dramatists were warm friends. But Shakespeare had that mysterious something which we call genius, while Jonson had only great talent, or, if genius, a distinctly lower order of genius; and so Shakespeare's plays have lived and grown in fame, while Jonson's are not much known to any one to-day, except to the historian of the drama, or to the special student of literature.

Two very distinguished play-writers who were contemporaries and friends of Shakespeare, and who have sometimes been called rivals and sometimes imitators of him, were Beaumont and Fletcher,—whose work was almost wholly done together, in collaboration with each other. Their plays attained great popularity and the popularity continued long after their death.

In all English literature there are only a very few names, possibly not more than two or three or four, that are more resplendent than that of Edmund Spencer, who was Shakespeare's senior by eleven years. His great poem, the "Faerie Queene," was published just as Shakespeare was discovering himself,—just as he was beginning to launch out as a writer of original plays.

Perhaps there was no finer character

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in the England of Shakespeare's day than Sir Philip Sidney. He was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth and was considered the first gentleman of his time. He attained distinction in arms, fighting in the Netherlands to help the Dutch people to preserve their liberties against the encroachments of Philip II. of Spain. But he was a writer of great eminence, as well as a scholar, a courtier and a soldier. His "Arcadia," published when Shakespeare was doing his very best work, was held in high esteem by his age, and his "Sonnets" were thought the finest in the language. Both have permanent places in English literature.

I mention only one other of the writers who gave luster to the age of Shakespeare, namely, Francis Bacon. Bacon wrote essays of much literary value and importance, and near the end of his life some verse of little or no importance. His great writings were scientific and philosophical. His "Advancement of Learning," published when Shakespeare was in his prime, and his "Novum Organum," published shortly after Shakespeare's death, have their place among the great books of the modern world.

Let us now notice a few of the great contemporaries of Shakespeare outside of the field of letters, and some of the great events that transpired during his life or near it. Looking at the world outside of England, we find that America was discovered only 72 years before Shakespeare's birth. Only a little longer had the passage to Asia around the Cape of Good Hope been known. Hudson's Bay was discovered about the time that Shakespeare was making his plans to retire from strenuous London to Stratford, the village of his birth, and there begin to take his ease. The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock four years after Shakespeare's death.

Shakespeare's time was the world's greatest age of discovery. The spirit of Columbus had passed into hundreds of daring men of every leading European nation. Numberless explorers were pushing out over unknown seas and through unknown lands to learn more about that wonderful new world which lay hidden beyond the great Western ocean.

It was in the generation immediately preceding Shakespeare's birth that Cortez conquered and devastated Mexico, and Pizarro conquered and destroyed Peru. Sabastian Cabot, who had pushed his discoveries by sea so far, died only seven years before Shakespeare saw the light. Sir Francis Drake, who was the first Englishman to sail around the world, was a contemporary of Shakespeare.

Great things were going on in the world of thought and letters and knowledge in Shakespeare's time. Great schools and universities were springing up. The universities of Milan in Italy, Leyden in Holland, Barcelona and Parma in Spain, Giessen, Groningen and Jena in Germany, and others, were established during Shakespeare's life; not to mention Trinity College, Dublin; Edinburgh University, Scotland; and a number of the great schools and colleges of England.

Painting, sculpture and architecture flourished. Michael Angelo died the year before Shakespeare was born; Titian, when Shakespeare was a school boy. Rembrandt was born when Shakespeare was at work on his great tragedies. The Louvre in Paris was begun when Shakespeare was seven years old; the Escurial in Spain, when he was nine; St. Peter's in Rome was complete two years before he died.

Contemporary with Shakespeare we find in France, Montaigne the essayist and Rabelais the satirist; in Italy, Tasso, the distinguished poet; in Spain, Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderon, the greatest names in Spanish literature.

In science we find Tycho Brahe, the great astronomer; Kepler, the discoverer of Kepler's laws; Galileo, the inventor of the telescope, and the man who was imprisoned for heresy for saying that the earth revolves about the sun.

It is noticeable that the Calendar was reformed in Shakespeare's time,—that is, the Julian Calendar was abolished and our present Gregorian was adopted.

Contemporary with Shakespeare we find in philosophy Descartes, and in political philosophy, Hugo Grotius, who laid the foundations of international law.

Great political events were going on in Shakespeare's time. Perhaps the most important of these on the Continent was the fierce and cruel war waged by Philip II of Spain against Holland, for the purpose of subjugating that liberty-loving people. There was never a more heroic struggle than that of the Hollanders.

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William, Prince of Orange, was their leader. His assassination occurred when Shakespeare was 20, but, although their great leader had fallen, the Dutch people carried on the struggle, and in two years more the Spaniards were driven from the country, and Holland was saved.

Great religious events were transpiring when Shakespeare was living.

Calvin died the year Shakespeare was born. Throughout all Shakespeare's life the terrible Inquisition was flourishing in Spain and elsewhere. The new Protestant Reformation was pushing forward in many countries. The Catholic Church was pushing forward in many countries. The Catholic Church was intensely active endeavoring to stem its progress, and to promote its own counter-reformation. The most tragic event connected with the religious work at that period was the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which occurred when Shakespeare was eight years old.

So much for events outside of Great Britain. In Great Britain itself events not less important were transpiring.

The occupant of the British throne when Shakespeare came on the scene was Queen Elizabeth, who had been ruling five years, and who continued for 29 more. She was proud, haughty, domineering, fond of dress and of show, anything but a gentle, winning or loveable woman. But she was intellectually keen, able, and far-sighted. She had a powerful will. She was able to manage men and affairs with great skill. She was a successful and a great ruler, confessedly one of the very greatest that has ever occupied the British throne.

In 1603, thirteen years before Shakespeare's death, Elizabeth died, and James I succeeded her. He was a very different character from Elizabeth. He was good-natured, but weak. His reign was anything but a great one in English history. He was called the "Wisest fool in Christendom." Macaulay said of him: "He was made up of two men,—a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot, who acted."

Perhaps the two most memorable or at least the two most exciting, political events that occurred in England during Shakespeare's life, were the Gun-powder Plot, in the second year of James's reign, and the destruction of the famous Spanish Armada, which took place under Elizabeth, when the young poet was just beginning his career in London. We can well imagine the tremendous excitement of the English people, when the news came to them of the fitting up of the powerful Armada by Philip. Spain was then the first nation of Europe, her armies were the most formidable, her sea power was the greatest. She had lately been enriched by the vast wealth obtained from Mexico and Peru. And now her stern, wilful and relentless monarch had determined to crush England. This armada was the iron hand with which he was to do it.

The alarm was great everywhere, and increased as the great naval armament neared completion, and finally as it began to move, and drew nearer and nearer to the British shores. But the winds and waves were against the invader, and became the effective allies of the stout and alert British seamen. The great and supposed invincible armada was beaten back, divided, scattered, defeated; its ships were destroyed; the armed forces which it was conveying to British soil were drowned; the pride of Philip and Spain was brought low, and England was saved. We may be sure that such an event could not fail to make a deep impression upon a young man of 24, with the keen mind and the susceptible nature of Shakespeare, as indeed it made a deep and most lasting impression upon the whole English nation.

I have spoken of Shakespeare's age as being the great age of geographical discovery,—the age when the leading nations of Europe were pushing out into the unknown parts of the world, trying to find new lands and to get possession of them. England was not behind other countries in the spirit of adventure manifested among her people, and in the efforts which they put forth to plant the British flag in new lands.

No British name represents that spirit of adventure and discovery better than Sir Walter Raleigh, the scholar, the writer, the brilliant courtier of Queen Elizabeth, the daring admiral and lover of the sea, the traveler and explorer in the new world, and the man who attempted to found the colony of Virginia, which he named after his patroness, the Virgin Queen.

We shall not understand the England of Shakespeare's day if we do not bear in mind the intense religious activity every-

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where manifest, and the stirring religious events of far-reaching importance which were taking place.

It was during Shakespeare's early life that the Nonconformists arose, and that Puritanism began to attract attention. In the generation before Shakespeare, under Queen Mary, there had been severe persecutions of Protestants, with much shedding of blood. Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley and Bradford had been cast into prison. When Elizabeth succeeded Mary on the throne, there was still persecution, but now it was of Roman Catholics. During Elizabeth's reign no fewer than 204 Roman Catholics were executed, 90 died in prison, and 105 were banished.

Up in Scotland, during Shakespeare's time, John Knox was doing his powerful work.

It was during Shakespeare's life,—five years before the end,—that the authorized translation of the Bible was made,—what is known as King James's version, which has kept its place as the standard version up to our own time.

From all these events,—religious, political, military, commercial, literary and scientific,—taking place in England, on the continent of Europe, in all parts of the world, on land and on sea, we may get something of an idea of how stirring, how revolutionary, and how great an age it was in which Shakespeare lived and wrote.

Europe never saw a time when mightier forces were at work in human society, or when changes took place of greater import to nations, institutions and civilization itself.

Is it any wonder that in such an age great men were produced? If a poet with the many-sided, world-compassing genius of Shakespeare was ever to come to mankind, was it not in such an age, and in such a land as England, that he would be likely to appear?

New York, 1 Feb., 1916.

INDIAN FINANCIAL REFORM AND MESSRS. SAMUEL MONTAGU & CO'S ANTI-GOLD CRUSADE

I

IN all his dealings for some years past with Indian currency and finance, the Secretary of State for India has shown an increasing regard for certain British interests and a proportionate disregard for Indian ones. The arrangement by which City financiers are permitted to combine membership of the Secretary of State's Council with directorships of outside companies is highly objectionable and has been the main cause of the gross mismanagement of Indian financial affairs by the India Office. The appearance of Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co., in the role of apologists for existing currency methods in India, the very close and confidential relations between them and the India Office, their persistent campaign against Indian currency reform, and their secret purchases of silver for the India Office in 1912 throw a flood of light on the subject. As the authorities have maintained that the Samuel Mantagu silver purchases have resulted in a handsome saving to the Indian Treasury contrary to facts—and as this transaction furnishes an instructive commentary on the methods of the India Office—manipulated by Lord Inchcape, Sir Felix Schuster and Mr. Lionel Abrahams—I propose to confine my observations to the silver question.

The total amount of the silver for the purchase of which secret instructions were given by the India Office to Messrs. Samuel Mantagu & Co., between the 4th March, 1912, and the 11th September, 1912, was 5 millions £. Lord Swaythling claimed a great victory for the India Office in circumventing the machinations of a certain speculative syndicate in the Indian silver market. Lord Crewe in the House of Lords (Nov. 14., 1912) said with the utmost confidence that by buying through Messrs. Montagu, many hundreds of thousands of pounds had been saved to the revenues of India. Mr. Harold Baker stated in the House of Commons that there had been a minimum saving of

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£175,000. (Many hundreds of thousands had dwindled to a hundred and seventy-five.) Mr. Asquith said that the India Office adopted the course which any wise and prudent man of business dealing with his own affairs or still more acting as a trustee on behalf of his beneficiaries, would have pursued.

On January 8, 1912, Messrs. Montagu in an unofficial letter to Sir Felix Schuster, chairman of the India Office Finance Committee, suggested that the time was not far distant when the Indian government would find it prudent to strengthen their position by coining rupees. The letter further said:

"The net is being spread in the sight of the bird. If, therefore, you postpone your purchases until you are absolutely pressed for currency, the chances are that you will have no other supply available beyond that that is being nursed for you by Indian speculators. The inevitable result being that you will have to pay more or less whatever you are asked by them."

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's speech, made after the date of this letter in introducing the Indian Budget in the Legislative Council, (March 1912), spoke of a change in the habits of the Indian people with reference to silver as having

"defeated the calculations of the silver speculators. It has also absolved me from the necessity of undertaking further coinage inspite of very considerable pressure from interested quarters."

Sir Fleetwood Wilson's speech and Messrs. Montagu's letter contradicted one another. The idea that any one could make a corner in silver was absurd. The world's annual output of silver amounts to about 28 millions £. How could the mysterious Indian ring with a stock of about 2 or 3 millions £ corner the world's market? Messrs. Montagu wrote

"We should not in the least disturb the market, because we should make no purchases at fixing."

As a matter of fact, they did disturb the market, and the price did go up. But if it had been true, they were not acting in the best interests of their clients, who had entrusted them with the silver to obtain the best market price that they could. When Messrs. Montagu began purchasing, the price of silver had been 26⅝ d. per oz., and when they finished, it was 29, and the average price paid was 28¼. Definite offers were made in India from Bombay and Calcutta at 25½ d. and 26 d. per oz. The following evasive answers given by Mr. Baker in the House of Commons are instructive:—

Mr. R. Gwynne asked the Under Secretary of State for India if he was aware that a definite offer of silver to the value of approximately 2 millions £ was made to the Government in Calcutta at 25½d. per ounce in January last; and if he would explain why this offer was refused, seeing that silver was purchased shortly afterwards in this country through Messrs. Samuel Mantagu and Co. at an average price of 28¼d.

Mr. Harold Baker: The Secretary of State has enquired of the Government of India, who report that they are unable to trace the offer in question.

Mr. Gwynne: Will the hon. gentleman ascertain whether a definite offer was not made on January 5 by the Specie Bank?

Mr. Baker: If the honorable gentleman will give me further information I will inquire. A search has been made, but nothing has been found." (Nov. 12, 1912).

Sir Shapurji Broacha, while examining Sir Felix Schuster before the Indian Famine Commission, made the following remarks:—

11,150.—We have a witness coming who says Bombay is a larger market than London in silver and that the silver should be purchased in Bombay. Lord Inchcape told us yesterday that silver should be purchased always in London.

11,151.—I know that in 1904-5 I got a large amount of silver in Bombay on an order from the Comptroller-General, but the Home Government stopped any such action in future. Therefore India has been deprived of any benefit of the silver market that she has.

11,152.—I know for a fact that 2 or 3 millions could have been bought last year in India at 2d. lower than it was bought in London, in fact I know that 2 millions were offered by a native banker.*

It would now be evident, in spite of official utterances, that the operation of Messrs. Montagu & Co. has resulted in a heavy direct loss to the Indian Exchequer. The average price paid in London was 28¼d. per oz. In India silver had been offered at 25½d. and 26d. In 1911 the London price of silver was about 24d. per oz. So far from there being a tremendous 'scoop' as the official apologists claim, India has directly lost more than £500,000 If the indirect losses resulting from the sales of council bills and the storage charge paid to the Bank of England for the paper currency gold held in London be taken into account, the total loss from the Samuel Mantagu transaction would amount to not less than £750,000. Messrs. Samuel Mantagu & Co's method of calculation of the so-called profit is original and highly ingenious. They say:

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency. Vol, II, p. 114 [Cd. 7237.]

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"It was eminently desirable to maintain secrecy to the last moment, especially in view of the fact that a powerful group of speculators whose adroituess was a byword, had been on the pounce for years with appetite sharpened by long waiting. A comparison of the avarage price of 1907, the level to which the purchases of the Indian Government drove the market —viz., 30 $\frac{3}{16}$ d.—with 28¼d., the average at which the whole of the first 5 millions £ was acquired by the India Council, indicates the handsome saving which the Indian Government effected by making its purchases with such secrecy."

By comparing the silver price of 1912 with that of say 1885 or 1890 you may as well proclaim a saving of some millions.

II

Apart from the financial loss, the secret contract given to Messrs. Montagu is open to objection on grounds of public policy. Lord Swaythling, the head of the firm, and Mr. Gerard Montagu, a partner, are the brothers of Mr. Edwin Montagu who was then the Under Secretary of State for India with the right to attend the Finance Committee meetings. Sir Stuart Samuel M. P., another partner, is a brother of the Post Master General and cousin of the Under Secretary. Mr. Franklin who was so prominent in carrying on the negotiations, is a brother-in-law not only of the Under-Secretary but of the Post Master General also. Sir Felix Schuster the chairman of the India Office Finance Committee is also the Chairman of Messers. Samuel Montagu's bankers. It is not a convincing or satisfactory answer to say that Mr. Edwin Montagu was ignorant of the contract when it was entered into, and that Sir Felix Schuster acted in the best interests of India. The deal was initiated in an unofficial letter to Sir Felix Schuster: no record of the verbal arrangement was made and the whole question of brokerage was arranged verbally and was not committed to writing till the completion of the first purchase. The Bank of England believed that under a verbal arrangement with Lord Inchcape, subsequently confirmed in writing, the silver purchases for the India Office were to be exclusively undertaken by them. The note of the terms upon which the Bank of England relied was written on India Office paper in Mr. Abrahams' own handwriting. Sir Felix Schuster in his evidence before the Finance Commission said that the verbal agreement between Lord Inchcape and the governor of the Bank of England giving the Bank the monopoly of purchasing silver for the India Office for seven years, had not been committed to writing and that no written record confirming that existed in the India Office. What an astounding revelation! What a search-light it throws on the hole-and-corner methods of the triumvirate Lord Inchcape, Sir Felix Schuster, and Mr. Lionel Abrahams, who above all others have been the evil geniuses of the India Office finance department! Lord Morley the Radical was the Secretary of State for India when Lord Inchcape concluded this scandalously unbusinesslike agreement with the Bank of England.

So far as Indian interests are concerned it does not matter whether the Bank of England get the business or any other agency. London is not the proper place to buy silver, for several reasons. (1) The money, the Indian Government remit to England, and to finance the silver purchase, has to be remitted at a loss of exchange. Recently the silver purchase business has been regarded as wholly a matter for the India Office. The officials of the Government of India were not even consulted on what terms they could get silver in Bombay. If silver was purchased in India, there would have been no necessity for the extra sale of Council Bills over and above the Budget amount, the accumulation of cash balances in London and the transfer of the paper currency gold from India to London. That is exactly the reason why the financial autocrats at the India Office insist on purchasing silver when and as they deem fit regardless of the wishes of the Indian Government and the interests of the Indian tax-payer. (2) There are only four firms in London who do business in silver. They are financially very powerful and hold the greatest silver monopoly known to the world. They act not only as brokers but also as dealers and merchants. Everyday they meet and jointly declare the 'fixing price' of silver. (3) This increases the financial patronage of the India Office, which has entered the London money market as a big money lender. The financial duties of the India Office are to make disbursements on behalf of the government of India and to manage the flotation of sterling loans. The India Office should not be permitted to enter into general banking business in London with Indian cash balances.

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The Bombay market is broad and natural and there are no combinations or understandings amongst dealers or brokers. The European side is composed of nine powerful exchange banks who employ three firms of brokers. On the Indian side are the principal joint-stock banks, 1000 jobbers and dealers, all of whom do business through some 100 Indian brokers. Besides Bombay there are other silver markets in India. The duty on silver in India is unfair and is resented by merchants, and bankers. It should be abolished entirely as it prevents the outflow of silver from India to the neighbouring silver centres of the Far East and gives the London silver market an unfair advantage over the Indian silver market. For the last 14 years the India Office has disapproved the purchase of silver in India by the Government. No explanation has been forthcoming as to why some 65 millions £ were purchased exclusively in London when on several occasions large blocks could have been secured in the Indian markets easily and more economically. If the India Office does not interfere and if the Indian government empower the Bombay Mint Master to invite tenders every fortnight for stated amounts of silver and give the tenderers the option of delivering the bullion within 45 days from the date of the acceptance of the tender, there would be no corner and the government would be in a position to dictate terms as all the silver markets—the Bombay, Calcutta, London, New York, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Hongkong, and Shanghai markets—would participate. The present frantic, heavy, and unbusiness-like method of making intermittent purchases should be abolished, and all future purchases should be made in India in strict conformity with Budget estimates.

III

The India Office clique who flouted Indian opinion by investing Indian money (the Indian Gold Standard Reserve) in securities of the colonies against which a deep-seated grievance exists in the minds of the Indian public, have deliberately done their best to check the inflow of gold to India by excessive sales of council bills at below specie point and over and above the budget estimates of the Indian government. In March 1912 Sir Vithaldas Thakersay in the Legislative Council moved a resolution to open the Indian mints to the free coinage of gold. Responsible leaders like Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Mr. Mudholkar, Mr. Dadabhoy, and others supported the resolution and made it plain that Indians do not want a prodigious coinage of token rupees to be forced upon them. Every heavy coinage of silver means a delay and unobstacle in the introduction of a gold currency in India. That is why the silver speculators of London and the City financiers in the India Office Finance Committee divert Indian gold to London and force millions of debased rupees on the Indian public (a rupee is rated at 16d. but is worth only 9d.).

It is very difficult to understand why Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co. have set themselves up as the unofficial apologists for the India Office's management of Indian financial and currency affairs.

(1) In their 1911 bullion circular they said, "The provision of suitable currency for such a vast and comparatively poor population demands delicate handling." Unfortunately that kind of handling has been conspicuous by its absence. Delicate handling would mean the retention of gold in India in the form of gold coins in the hands of the portion of the Indian public which could hold and use gold without inconvenience, and in reducing the circulation of token coins as in other gold standard countries.

(2) Messrs. Montagu say:

"The natives of India would have had some strenuous things to say if the government had got a heavy premium on silver coin by refusing to supply silver rupees when demanded and thus had checked the exportation of India's super-abundant harvest by forcing down the value of the crops."

This is a direct misrepresentation of the demands for a gold currency. There is no reason why proposals for the restriction of the rupee coinage and for a gold currency should be construed into a demand that government should refuse to supply rupees when required.

(3) The next statement is that "the aspirations of Indian financiers are being met by the importation of gold coined and uncoined in substantial quantities." Indians do not want the import of gold to be controlled by the India Office authorities in any way. What Indians want is the establishment of a gold mint in India the cessation of the India Office manipulation of Indian Exchange and Council Bills, and the holding of India's gold reserves in India.

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(4) Messrs. Mantagu say that "it is a known fact that the Indian treasury has never refused to issue either sovereigns or silver rupees on demand and if the people of India require gold for circulation they have but to ask and it will be available." These are inacurate statements. Sovereigns have been refused on many occasions when they were held in large quantity and not long ago they were not available at all in many treasuries. Government are under no obligation to give gold for rupees. But rupees are unlimited legal tender and people could not refuse them. It is not fair to force the public to take rupees and make them depend on the whims of the executive to give them doles of sovereigns in exchange.

(5) In their annual bullion circular of 1912, Messrs. Mantagu with an aid of superior knowledge say that "The Indian authorities have held before them the practical object of holding exchange steady with the West rather than the establishment of a theoretical single standard." The authorities are not permitted to form policy as they choose. The Indian Government have accepted as part of their policy a gold standard and a gold currency. To maintain exchange without a gold currency has not been the official policy nor is it one acceptable to Indians.

(6) Messrs. Mantagu were the first to make the outrageous suggestion to impose a stiff import duty on gold. Messrs. Mentagu & Co., stop at nothing to compel the public to use silver coins at any cost so that gold reserves may be collected in London to the delectation of 'approved borrowers' and bullion dealers and joint stock bankers.

(7) Messrs. Mantagu add insult to injury by saying that there are only sentimental and no practical reasons for the outery against present methods. It is interesting to note that Lord Crewe took up a similar line of defence in the House when he prejudiced Indian grievances as sentimental. To say that criticism is sentimental or nothing new is no answer.

(8) Messrs. Montagu say "It must be remembered that silver rupees have been from ancient times the only coins familiar to the varied and populous nations of India." This is historically untrue. For more than fifteen centuries gold mohurs and gold pagodas were current in India. It was Lord Dalhousie who demonetised India's gold mohur in 1852.

(9) "No demand on the Treasury is made for gold now, for notes are preferred." Absurd again! In 1910-11 more than £7 millions in gold was taken by the public from the treasuries.

(10) In Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co's annual bullion letter dated 1st January 1913, those portions relating to Indian gold imports were served up on every hand under such heads as "India's Hunger for Gold," Rococo Rajah," "India's Buried Millions," "Sick men who eat gold," and so forth. Indian currency policy is defended thus:

"The increasing volume of India's external trade renders the maintenance of a steady exchange with gold countries rather than the minor detail of currency, vital to its prosperity."

After all currency has become a minor detail, not vital as the maintenance of exchange.

(11) "Out of the total production of gold in 1912 nearly 40 per cent probably remains within territory financially dependent on England, and for that reason the currency laws of the British Empire have great influence on the movements of gold and are of grave import to the world."

The 'minor detail,' of currency has suddenly become a matter of world-wide importance!

(12) Messrs. Montagu's most amazing announcement is this:

"The bulk of hoarded wealth in India is buried so that at the present time nearly all the gold dug from South Africa is by a fresh digging operation deposited again beneath the soil in South Asia."

This is false. The annual output of gold from South Africa now exceeds £40 millions. In 1911-12, the total net imports of sovereigns into India was £18 millions; of which £9 millions was added to the government treasuries, and £9 millions was taken by the public. Messrs. Montagu's fanciful anecdotes of the Indians who make sovereigns into window panes, and swallow gold leaves for medicinal purposes show what an unscrupulous campaign against Indian currency reform, this firm of bullion dealers have been conducting for years. It is an ugly feature of the situation that in their anti-gold crusade, they have been backed up by the India Office under a liberal administration.

S. V. DORAISWAMI.

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DANISH PEASANT SCHOOLS

NOW that the question of educating the young rural population of India is before the Government and the public, a short account of Danish Peasant Schools may be interesting to the readers.

Let us for a while go beyond the valley of fear and death where war demons are at present taking heavy tolls of human life, and wander about the smiling villages of Denmark. There we shall meet the simple peasant folks cultivating their own land in an attitude of supreme indifference to the monstrous horror of war.

That little country of Denmark has always been the object lesson to the world as regards the improvement of her rural population. The high standard of intellectual culture of the Danish peasant and the marvellous progress made by their agricultural and economic institutions have always impressed the students of rural economy. The secret of it all lies in the introduction of a rational system of education, and in the efforts of a group of Danish patriots to whom patriotism is almost a part of their religion. I shall briefly summarise the information I could collect with regard to the origin, the development and the results of peasant schools in Denmark through which 47 % of the young rural population come out with decent education. These peasant schools are designated as the "High Schools" in Denmark.

The movement of elevating the rural population of Denmark owes its origin to the Danish poet Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig. The fact that imagination has creative power is amply proved by the success of these Danish national institutions, the foundation of which was first laid by a poet. This noble Danish patriot holds a unique position in the literature of his country. His writings have had a great influence over his own countrymen. So, when, in the year 1844, he appealed to his countrymen in the following words, he had sown the germs of his ideals in a fertile soil. He declared thus in a meeting of several thousand citizens :

"It was necessary to elevate the people, and for that purpose to revive their religious and patriotic sentiment ; that no beauty is too high for them ; that the purest sources of intellectual and moral life must be placed within their reach ; that with the new schools a living, real, and national education should be created."

The Poet's voice woke up the citizens of Copenhagen. They rallied round him to offer their services to the cause of national education. The workers sought his help to build up the organisation with detailed precision in order to be able to give his ideals a practical shape, but the poet only formulated the principles and inspired others with the enthusiasm necessary for their application. Grundtvig must have seen clearly with the vision of a true poet that a too rigid programme would exclude any possibility of variation and thus a power of adaptability as the circumstances change would not be preserved.

This is indeed a lesson to us who are so apt to lay undue stress on the importance of rules and regulations in the *educational* organisations.

The perusal of the guiding principles of the schools is highly instructive ; as I read them I was struck by the remarkable uniformity of *ideas* among the leaders of thought. How often the same principles as formulated by the Danish poet were declared to be the basis of sound education by our own poet Rabindranath.

The principles of this educational organisation are as follows :—

(1) The instruction must be exclusively oral. The professor must not use any book, any notes ; he must come into relation with his pupils by means of a real familiar conversation. The poet founder of the organisation insisted on this point. The voice alone, he says, "coming from a human breast, can give words strength and wings." He used to argue that if the main object was to communicate with souls, we could only do the work "with the word that is heard, that goes into the unseen to awake the invisible mental life."

(2) As the age of 18 to 25 years is considered to be most susceptible (according to Poet Grundtvig) to lasting impressions,

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the young persons of that age should only be admitted to the Schools.

(3) No attempt should be made to impart technical education. The education must be general in character, aiming at opening new horizons in every direction and cultivating the patriotic, religious, aesthetic and moral sentiments. When this is attained, the schools will turn out such men who would be capable of learning agriculture or any other profession with profit.

(4) The teaching of history, specially the national history and national poetry should form an essential part of the instruction. Grundtvig was very keen on the methods of teaching history. He says "History must be related in *poetic* language, as it passed from mouth to mouth in the recitations of the Scalds. He emphatically discouraged the practice of learning a mass of facts, statistical tables, etc., by heart in chronological order.

(5) Instruction should be given in the mother tongue. It is necessary that each student while leaving school, will be able to speak and write Danish *perfectly*. Such a principle is quite easy to follow in a country like Denmark, for the Danish elementary schools keep the child in school until he is 14 or 15 years old. During this period the elementary instructions in various branches of study prepare him for continuing further studies. Grundtvig's idea was to resume instruction in the vernacular language in "the High Schools" and carry it on to a degree of refinement very rare among the peasants. In this, according to the latest report, "The High Schools" have had considerable success.

(6) The fees must be paid by each student; the fees are quite low, but no student is exempted from payment.

(7) The system of education dispenses with all examination and all diplomas. To follow the Grundtvigian principle, there should not be seen even oral examinations. Sometimes the pupils are questioned collectively, never *individually*.

As we have seen, no diploma is given by the High Schools. "To most of us this feature of organisation will not seem to be quite feasible. The Government of Denmark once proposed that the schools should organise examinations, giving a diploma entitling the students to enter the Copenhagen Agricultural School. The answer to this proposal by the followers of Grundtvig is characteristic:—

"Our object is to awaken the spiritual life, by means of free lectures, to excite patriotism through a right understanding of the language, nature and history of our country. We wish to do for the civic life of the people what the Church is doing for their religious life. The moment in which we succeed in teaching our pupils, in rousing their appreciation for what is high and noble in human life, is more important for us than that in which they acquire a grammatical idea or solve a mathematical problem. We want them to do that also, but as subordinate to the principal work. Our pupils must leave us full of desire to devote themselves to noble ends. What information they lack they will easily acquire later, but it is evident our education cannot adapt itself to an examination programme."

There is another principle laid down by the Poet which is related to the civic instruction. While he realised that the school must not be a "political tribune," he strongly recommended that the pupil must be given a sufficiently clear idea of the existing political conditions.

So much, then, for the principles of "the High Schools." Let us now pass on to the other phases of the system of education. The followers of Grundtvig are the directors of the Schools, and they are called the Grundtvigians.

All the pupils of "The High Schools" are sons or daughters of peasants. There are at present 80 such schools in the county districts of Denmark. But as the fees are to be paid, these schools are not within the reach of the *poor* peasant, and the agricultural labourers. With the increase of small landowners in Denmark, peasants are becoming prosperous, and the Grundtvigians are setting up schools among the poorer peasants.

There are no regular courses, but discussions on such subjects as history, geography, Danish language and literature, social economy and elements of natural history, physics and chemistry are held. The young men come in the winter when the field work leaves them more leisure. During a residence of a few months the pupil could not be taught the large number of subjects mentioned above, and therefore the courses have not a definite programme. The directors are of opinion that discussions are more helpful in getting an idea of certain subjects than by mere following a text book. These discussions in the high schools awake the curiosity of the pupil and his desire to continue, at home, with the assistance of

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the excellent public libraries and lectures —another important feature of Denmark's educational activities—the study of that branch of Knowledge which appeals to him most strongly.

The organisers of these schools fully realise the necessity of adapting the principles of education to the prevailing conditions of the village where the school is to be opened. So the details of the school organisations are extremely variable. The personality of the director has a great influence on the tendencies of the school.

There is no strict discipline imposed on the young men. These tillers of the soil enjoy perfect liberty while at school for a few months, but their liberty never degenerates into license. The professors and their families occasionally take one or two of their meals with the pupils and live on the most familiar terms with the whole school. The pupils are always welcome to come to their teachers at all hours, and speak to them. Teachers are very sympathetic and kind to the boys.

"The high schools" or the Danish peasant schools attract educationists from all parts of Europe. I have read with great interest an article written by a French lady who spent a few years in Denmark to study the Danish educational system. I wish to quote from her article a few sentences.

"In July I found 200 young girls at Fredriksborg, for the most part farm or domestic servants. * * * The pupils listen, in turn say, to a literary address or a romantic poem by Paludan Mollen, then a historical lecture, say on the battle of Fredericia, followed by gymnastic exercises accompanied with singing."

She writes that in another village, she heard a lecture on Michael Angelo and the part Savonarola may have had in the moulding of his genius. And this, my readers, in a village school in Denmark!

I have remarked that the object of the lectures, discussions and recitals in the village schools is to stimulate desire for knowledge. In case a young man wishes to continue his studies in advanced courses, he can go to the University of Askov. This institution has nothing to do with the official universities. It is organised and controlled by the Grundtvigians, and most of the pupils come from the village "high schools." Here some young persons are also prepared as teachers of the high schools.

The courses last two or three seasons. The education in the natural sciences, geometry and mathematics, is especially advanced. The professors first instruct the pupils in the earliest scientific discoveries, and then relate the lives of men of science and inventors. Biographical sketches of those who contributed to the progress of science appeal to the imagination of the pupil.

Only a general outline of science is taught. The object in teaching science, according to the Grundtvigian principles, is not to make *men* of science, but *minds* capable of understanding the sciences.

It is admitted by those who are acquainted with the Grundtvigian method of education that "the high schools" are blessings to the Danish national life. These schools have undoubtedly stimulated the growth of intellectual development of the Danish peasantry; yet this is not what the Grundtvigians value most. When visitors question about the influence of the high schools on the people, they get such reply as I here quote—

"This certainly cannot be proved by material evidence, since Grundtvig only desired to act upon what cannot be weighed or measured or valued in money: *the increase in spiritual value.* However, there is evidence to show that our pupils are superior to the peasants who have not passed through our schools. The managers of the Technical Agricultural schools, to which a third part of our youngmen proceed on leaving us, declare that they assimilate instruction much better than the others. In the agricultural world, it is the Grundtvigians who found the Co-operative Societies which constitute our fortune, and any visitor may observe what success our pupils have had in municipal and political life."

I believe no further comment is necessary to impress on the reader that the prosperity of rural Denmark and high standard of intellectual culture of the Danish peasants are due to the facilities given to them for education. Education is like life and health the birth-right of us all. The salvation of the cultivating classes who form the vast majority of our population lies in the spread of education. The provision of educational facilities for our rural population has been left ridiculously inadequate. If our Government really desire to improve rural conditions, if intelligent methods of agriculture are to be introduced, if any success in the Co-operative movement is expected, no village should be without a school. The example of rural Denmark may throw some light

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in re-modelling our villages, and it is expected that the educational problem among the rural population of India will receive the most careful attention of our landlords and patriots.

Poona. NAGENDRA NATH GANGULEE

BROWNING AND BERGSON

THE mission of Browning appears clear in the speech of Fra Lippo Lippi when he says,

> It makes me mad to see what men shall do
> And we in our graves. This world's no blot for us,
> Nor blank—it means immensely, and means good;
> To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

He will neither teach nor preach but will reproduce nature and the world as they reflect through his own person, with no other superior object than that of pleasing himself. It is this reflection through the person that constitutes the value of all literary art. Thus, in the words of Walter Pater we may say that

> "in proportion as the writer's aim consciously or unconsciously, comes to be the transcribing, not of the world, not of mere fact, but of his sense of it, he becomes an artist, his work fine art; and good art in proportion to the truth of his presentment of that sense. Truth! there can be no merit no craft at all without that. And further, all beauty is in the long run only fineness of truth, or what we call expression, the finer accommodation of speech to that vision within."

Ruskin also seems to speak in a similar strain when he defines Poetry in his "Modern Painters" as "the suggestion by the imagination, of noble grounds for the noble emotions." It is this crowning transfiguration and the manner in which it shines that constitute the true excellence of all art. Both the philosopher and the poet have the facts of this phenomenal world as their data. The former rationalises in never-ending chains of arguments, analyses the concepts of his own mind and the facts of nature that he observes and aims at a synthetic reconstruction out of those diverse elements—the products of his analysis. But probably the same truth would appear to the latter in the soothing freshness of a dream. While the philosopher weaves his net of symbols and tries to catch the bird of truth, lo, it has already begun to sing exquisite notes of glee at the poet's door. While the truth escapes through the meshes of the intellect, it broods calmly in the poet's nest of joy. It is therefore that in Sanskrit 'Kabi' or poet is called "Krantadarsi" or endowed with the perception which transcends the ken of Philosophy. To find the meaning of the world, to interpret the significance of that reflection of the "outer" on the inner is as much the "meat and drink" of the philosopher as of the poet. The philosopher breaks the reality artificially in diverse parts and records these images in symbols and attempts to construct a system therefrom. But the poet works through suggestion. His joy proceeding from a sense of the beautiful enables him to project the Reality, not as an accumulation of unrelated parts but in its entirety; for Beauty holds within itself the harmony of the inner and the outer, the Microcosm and the Macrocosm. Suggestion through Beauty leads therefore to the projection of an universe, the true creation of Art. The poet with his gentle touch draws up the golden veil from the face of the lady of Truth. The vision comes to him with the force of direct perception. It is, therefore, that we find that sometimes the Poet forestalls Philosophers and solves the problems of human life in quite a different way. The object of our present articles is to illustrate it briefly from the poetry of Robert Browning.

To take for example his Rabbi Ben Ezra. "Grow old with me." The poet feels that he grows. Well, we all feel that we grow, but what grows? Is it not the body that suffers growth or decay? Are we not all familiar with the idea that self never grows. Had any of the philosophers before Browning ever hinted that that our inner self ever grew in time? But it is exactly this that the poet says here. The affairs of life surround him and in the midst of them all he feels that he is neither a passive observer nor a recorder of changes and events. But in a deeper

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plunge of vision he finds that with every turn of time, with every tide of worldly events his own inner self is growing. Our popular conception of mathematical time, which Newton describes as "Absolute, true in itself, and from its own nature," flows equally without relation to anything external; and "the flow of absolute time cannot change—Duration—remains the same, whether motions are swift, slow or none at all," is not what Browning conceives of it here. For it is the empty, qualityless, homogeneous medium in which points are distinguished, merely as "now" and "not now." This continuous time that merely flows is merely its objective aspect and as such is not directly in touch with us. But there is the other aspect of it, the aspect in which it is associated with the changes that it produces on us, the form in which it shapes us according to the varying impressions that we receive from the exterior world.

"He fixed thee mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This present, they, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed.

Again,

Ah note that Potter's wheel
That metaphor, and feel
Why time spins fast, why passive lies our clay,
Thou to whom fools propound
When the wine makes its round,
"Since life fleets, all, is change; the Past
gone, seize to-day."

Here in fact we see that in one intuitive glance he makes one of the boldest criticisms of the conception of time—a criticism which is altogether original as it was never conceived by any other philosopher before Browning and is only recently being formulated by the French philosopher Bergson. The true significance of time is not in its aspect as mere change, for this would reduce life into a number of fleeting moments only and thus would be directly opposite to what we experience about the nature of our complex philosophical personality. The force of this view is realised when we see that if we are to define time as merely fleeting, it becomes impossible even to account for our notions of succession which forms the fundamental point in all true conceptions of time. For the notion of succession implies that the "before" and "after" are held simultaneously before the mind. Now if time be essentially fleeting we cannot get the two discrete moments together and hence can have no notions of succession. If we should by exercising our imaginative faculty try to think of "before" and "after" as following each other, it is clear that even then they are no longer apprehended as "before" and "after", but as co-existent i.e., they are spatially conceived. Consequently such knowledge will consist merely in the apprehension of co-existent points projected in space like two mutually external objects. So the very fundamental notion of time requires the presence of such a stage where the "before" and "after" may interpenetrate and thus bring them both before us in one moment of thought. In the fundamental philosophical life there is a constant accumulation of the past conserved in memory; the volume of the self grows. There we find that the present which is generated from the whole of the past inherits it all, while at the same time something entirely new is elaborated. It is just this pushing of the past into the present which constitutes the continuity of the life of the inner self. The past exists in the present, but in virtue of its existence there, it is no longer what it was. This "lived continuity" of our inner life is similar to that of the growing organism or in Browning's metaphor to a pitcher in a state of formation. The poet says that Time is the force, the dynamic which spins this web of our inner life, the wheel that shapes the pitcher of our psychical personality. Our psychical clay lies passive and is moulded into varying shapes with the motion imparted to it by time. It appears in its fleeting aspect to shallow minds. This its objective or spatial character, its aspect wherein the "before" and "after" may at least appear as co-existent points projected in space, which makes our life as vain as itself, is unreal; whereas the true conception of time lies in the movement, the quickening impulse of life which builds our psychical whole by the natural rapid interfusion of states into states. We know that Bergson has tried to prove that our conception of time "grows out of the immediate awareness of our conscious growth." Thus according to him a being devoid of memory would have no conception of time, for he would be confined to "now" ever renewed, and awareness of "now" alone does not

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imply consciousness of time. The awareness of spiritual growth is the germ out of which the consciousness of time develops. He identifies time with spiritual or psychical growth. It is "pure duration." It is the very "stuff" of life. It is the "continuous progress of the past, gnawing at the future and increasing in bulk as it advances."

Thus we see that in Browning's eyes time is the very wheel, the movement, the activity by which our inner self is being shaped and shaped, to fulfil the unknown destinies of our lives. He is not afraid that the time that has passed is lost for us, for he knows for certain that it has been conserved in the very development of our being. The fleeting moments may come and go, what is that to us, the time that has passed lives within us in our very moulds.

"Fool, all that is, at all
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops; potter and clay endure.

Earth may change any way, but the impressions that have been produced in us live in our very growth—the present is being assimilated with the past, and the future as it comes will be taken up in the present, and it is through their assimilation in one "pure duration" in one organic whole that we can have the notions of "was" "is" or "shall be." In the single act of growth, the present, past and future are all associated; and it is through the projection from the phenomena of our psychical growth that we have the notions of time.

But now another question creeps in. Whence does this dynamic of time come in? "Our times are in His hand." The source of all movement is God; it is by Him that the wheel of time has been set in motion which is daily shaping our inner self to some unknown form that exists in his mind. Bergson also holds the same view, for according to him God "is that creative activity which is the fundamental basis of all life, and which is not exhausted in the finite impetus which constitutes the life of our solar system." But Browning being a master artist is not satisfied in conceiving God merely in an abstract way as the mere unity of all activity, he therefore speaks of Him as the Absolute Person who has the plan of our growth ready in his mind and has according to that set our clay in motion in the great potter wheel of time.

But what is that clay or "clod" which bears the impressions of progress and with every turn of time grows and grows? Here we see no other self than that which is being shaped and shaped. Here of course we do not find any definite and clear statement, but it seems that there are dim suggestions here of a double personality. Thus in the very opening line we find that the poet addressing to his other self says "Grow old with me." In another place referring to this self he says "a God though in germ." Later on fourteen years after, the poet remembers this position with reference to this double personality, when he says in his La Sasiaz:—

Only grant, my soul may carry high through death her cup unspilled,
Brimming though it be with knowledge, life's loss drop by drop distilled.

Thus we see that in addition to the cup which was formed here by the potter's wheel, there is also a cup-bearer. This cup-bearer, this soul, this God in germ, is the supra-individual, round which our psychical personality grows in an organic interfusion of one mental state into another. In speaking of this psychical reality, Browning always describes it as growing and never analyses it into the different states.

"What though the earlier grooves
Which ran the laughing loves
Around thy base no longer pause and press?
What though about thy rim,
Skull things in order grim
Grow out, in graver mood, obey the sterner press?

It is the psychical life where the boundaries of states gradually melt away, the multiplicity of the definitely outlined feelings, volitions, images, become less definite, less a multiplicity. No longer a multiplicity of juxtaposed states; there is rather a growing organism, in which all the tendencies are perfectly unified in a forward movement. This psychical body should be distinguished from the other supra-individual psychical reality in this that the latter does not grow, but being like a god in germ is probably the direct source from which the dynamic of time flows and forms its psychical flesh and rind.

Next to this we are confronted with the question of the place of our physical body in this system, and we see that Browning is ready with the answer that our body

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and soul are connected in such a way that each helps the other. The ordinary impression that body retards our spiritual progress is erroneous, and the body may be said to have realised its end to the greatest extent when it can best project our soul on its onward march.

"Let us not always say
'Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained upon the whole,'
As the bird wings and sings
Let us cry 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh help soul.'

"What is he but a brute
Whose flesh hath soul to suit,
Whose spirit works lest arms and legs want play ?
To man propose this test
Thy body at its best
How far can that project thy soul on its lone way?"

The body holds our soul as if in a rose-mesh and establishes its connection with the external world. The body therefore with its various cognitive faculties acts directly in unison with the stimuli received from without and the inner self of gradually growing and interpenetrating tendencies and thus helps us in our onward process of development and to understand the unity of the purpose of our being and development with that of God in terms of feeling. Through the beatings of our heart we can reconcile our being with the being of God as "power" and perceive in our relation a connecting bond of love.

Yet gifts should prove their use:
I own the past profuse
Of power each side, perfection every turn :
Eyes, ears, took in their dole,
Brain treasured up the whole ;
Should not the heart beat once, "How good to live and learn ?"

Not Once beat "Praise be thine,
I see the whole design,
I who saw Power, see now Love perfect too."

Next to this we come to the question of the value of the growth of our "self". Every action, thought, instinct or tendency of man marks his gradual development and growth. But how are we to distinguish good from bad. What is the standard by which we should pass judgments upon our conduct ; if we are growing at every turn how to find the 'ulterior end to which our actions must all conform in order to be right ; how are we to criticise our own conduct and those of other men ; there is no settledness of opinion about this. People having the same intellectual gifts often possess quite different views. Whose view shall we accept ?

"Now who shall arbitrate ?
Ten men love what I hate,
Shun what I follow, slight what I receive.
Ten, who in ears and eyes
Match me : we all surmise,
They, this thing, and I, that : whom shall my soul believe ?"

The worth of a man's development can not also be judged by the "vulgar mass called, work," though the common people are dazzled by its seeming greatness and want to gauge everything by it. For it is not only these tendencies which have been actualised and thus crystallised into "work" that go in making up the main account, but

"All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount."

It comes therefore, that it is not possible to judge the life of man, by any of his external actions, for these cannot be separately considered, but have to be taken up along with the phenomenon of his growth: for the hidden tendencies, desires, likes, dislikes, and many other things associated with his actions are not open to our view; but in the organic growth of his life, all the observed and unobserved data of his conduct and character form one system and cannot be separated from the place in which it stands in the growing whole. My thoughts, fancies, baffled aspirations, every one of them has its proper place in the development of my life purpose. Whenever we pass any judgment on any seeming failure, sorrow or agony, we overlook the fact that our psychical life is an organically growing whole, each of those which we may happen to disapprove at any particular moment has its proper place in the moulding of our psychical essence and that if any judgment is possible it must be on the life considered as a whole, and not on any part of it. We have never a view of the life as a whole, we only analyse and dissect what is unanalysable and can have access by our intelligence to disconnected parts only, and consequently are not in a position to pass any valid judgment on it. It is only God, the supreme source of all our life-force, who can have a complete view of our life as a complete whole.

"Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,

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Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me
This I was worth to God, whose wheel the
pitcher shaped.

It is his purpose that runs through us at every stage of our development, and he alone can have a view of our whole life at a single glance and the purpose which it has to fulfil. Spiritual conflict is appropriate to youth and it often happens that youth sighs for the impossible and commits blunders in the endeavour to improve what it is. But we should remember that each rebuff, each passing sting that we deplore, the excess of sorrows over our joys, which makes us often so gloomy, each mishap that tramples the most cherished ambition of our hearts, in short everything that apparently appears discouraging and offensive are in the right place and are gradually shaping and moulding our life for its final fulfilment. This fulfilment, therefore, is accomplished gradually as life advances from childhood to youth, from youth to old age and the most important finishing stroke is given at death. On none of these parts, therefore, can we pass any judgment, for the life must be taken in its entirety as one organic whole. Youth shows only but half and therefore only the side of our elemental strife is visible there; so it is that

"Youth ended I shall try
My gain or loss thereby:
Be the fire ashes, what survives is gold:
And I shall weigh the same,
Give life its praise or blame:
Young, all lay in dispute; I shall know, being old."

But even old age does not represent the whole, for the last is yet to be, and the finishing touch is given by death which completes the final purpose of our life. From day to day the experiences of our life accumulate and interpenetrate one another and every day the purpose of God is running through us is being accomplished; the perfection of the plan is in the whole and any judgment which is not based upon the consideration of the life as a whole from birth to death must be partial, imperfect and erroneous. All students of Bergson will, I think, now be able to understand to what an extent even in details the great penetrating vision of Browning has forestalled the modern French philosopher. But the superiority of the poet will appear when we think that in conceiving our relation with God, he has not conceived Him as a mere power, the abstract unity of all activities or "Pure Duration," but as a Person united intimately with us by the spiritual bond of love. The effect of Browning's vision does not, therefore, end in dry philosophy but in unflinching faith that even in our worst moments, we can never go astray from the purpose which runs through us and is shaping our psychical reality. Let us not be discouraged if at any sad moment of our failure the Hydra-headed public calumny should bite us with its fangs, for we know that all the world's coarse thumb and finger fail to plumb all that is passing in me in making up the main account, for all that I could never be, all that men ignore in me, I may be worth to God. It is only in death's stern alembic that the elixir of life shows itself. He is waiting there in Heaven to taste the wine of our soul in the pitcher of our psychical personality finished and accomplished by the last touch of death. Let us never be disappointed and despondent in any condition of our life, that this or that failure has thwarted my end and be ever hopeful and sure that the final realisation is awaiting us in the other world in the hand of God.—

But I need, now as then,
Thee, God, who mouldest men;
And since, not even while the whirl was worst,
Did I, to the wheel of life
With shapes and colours rife,
Bound dizzily—mistake my end, to slake thy thirst.

SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA.

REPORT ON INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI

BY C. F. ANDREWS & W. W. PEARSON.

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IT may be well before going further to give a very brief summary of the outstanding facts concerning suicide and crime among indentured Indians in Fiji.

In India itself, which is predominantly Hindu by religion, suicide is a very rare occurrence. The Hindu has a deep religious and moral objection to taking life, regard-

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ing it as a sin. For this reason, the Indian suicide rate is probably the lowest in the world. Only one in every twenty thousand commits suicide in India, or 50 per million per annum. Among the indentured Indians in Fiji one in every 950 has committed suicide in each year, or over one thousand per million per annum. This is the average taken for the last eight years. To put it in other words, the suicide rate is twenty times as great as that of India. These figures remain the same if only the two recruiting provinces of India are taken.

With regard to the crime of murder, the facts are even more startling. In the United Provinces and Madras there is only one conviction for murder in every 250,000 people each year, or four per million per annum. In Fiji among the indentured coolies, there has been one conviction for murder each year in every 3,000 persons, or 333 per million per annum. That is to say, the murder rate in Fiji is eighty times as high as that of India. It is noticeable that the greater portion of people murdered are women. On the other hand, almost all the suicides in Fiji are those of men. In India, what few suicides exist are generally those of women.

If we make every possible allowance for minor inaccuracies, these figures for suicide and murder remain very disconcerting. They are not the figures for a single year, but an average for a considerable number of years, and it is significant that the last years are the worst.

To take, for instance, the last recorded year, that of 1914: out of 15,603 indentured coolies in Fiji, eleven committed suicide, seven attempted to commit suicide, ten were convicted of committing murder, seven were murdered, twenty-seven were convicted of the violent crime of wounding, thirteen were wounded, two were convicted of man-slaughter and three were killed by man-slaughter. The number of coolies actually charged in Court for committing these crimes, together with those who suffered under them, amounted to nearly one hundred persons. This means that one in every 140 of the adult indentured coolies in Fiji, during the year 1914, were involved in violent crime, ending in murder, man-slaughter, suicide, or violent bodily assault.

Sadly enough, it is not possible to obtain a complete record even with such authenticated figures as these. For in spite of the evident desire on the part of Government to give accurate returns, it is practically impossible to do so in the present condition of Fiji. Magistrates are very few in number, and plantations are often far away from any centre. Hospitals, also, belong to the employers, not to Government. It is all to the interest of the Planter to hush up serious crime on his estate; and in recent years, when the indenture system itself has been known by every planter to be in danger, the temptation to hide facts, which might tell against the system, must have been very great indeed. That these satistics are as accurate as they are, must be put down to the credit of the Planters as well as to Government. But to give one example of the minimising tendency at work, which came under our own observation, a Planter told one of us in the course of ordinary talk, the story of an attempted suicide on his estate, and when we asked him if he had informed Government, he said he had not. One actual suicide, also, was reported to us both, when we were in different parts of Fiji, long before any news of it had reached the Immigration office. We were ourselves the first to give them the report.

Very often a cutting from a newspaper gives the true situation more clearly to an outsider than satistics. For it adds the atmosphere of the place, and is not a bare record of figures. The following is taken from the "Western Pacific Herald."

"News has just reached Suva of another of those 'cutting up' incidents, so common amongst Indians in Fiji, which occured on the Waidoi Estate. In this case the motive is the usual one of jealousy, a woman being the victim and a man the aggressor. Although badly hacked the woman is expected to recover. We understand that the owners of the estate were aware that trouble was brewing, but were prevented by the regulations from removing the man to another plantation, which action would have prevented the crime. Another aspect of the case is that if the assailant is sentenced to more than six months, his employers suffer by losing the time, as the indentures cannot be extended for a longer period than six months. The law as it stands has an undoubted tendency to encourage the employer to hush up any such cases which may occur amongst his laborers."

It is clear from this cutting, that however anxious the Immigration department may be to get at the true facts, their difficulties in Fiji are exceptional. It will be made abundantly clear in this report how scrupulously just and fair this Department itself was. Nevertheless allowance will have to be made for the carelessness and neglect on the part of Planters to

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send to the office every case of crime which occured on their estate.

When we came to examine further the reasons for the almost complete breakdown of moral sanctions in Fiji, which had resulted in such criminal records, we found ourselves more and more bewildered about the causes, though more certain than ever about the facts.

We were wholly unable to agree with one explanation, which was most frequently put before us, namely, that the Indians recruited for Fiji, were the criminal class of India. We have already expressed our opinion concerning the Indian women. From them, indeed, we did undoubtedly gain an impression that the number of prostitutes recruited must have been large, perhaps in excess of Natal, or elsewhere. It also appeared to us, that this number was increasing, rather than diminishing. If so, that might itself account for a great deal.

But the men recruited were rather above, than below, the type we saw in Natal. The Hindustanis represented a class of villager whom we knew well in India: and these certainly did not come, in any large proportion, from the lowest stratum of Hindu society. Those whom we saw in the Calcutta Depot were villagers of a good class. The coolies also in the Madras Depot appeared to be an average village type. It is interesting to note how the Fiji newspapers have spoken of the recent shiploads of recruits 'as an exceptionally fine set' or as 'above the average.' Yet it is these very Hindutanis and Madrasis who so quickly go to pieces, and even in their first and second years begin committing suicide and stabbing and murdering their fellows.

We were told again and again by barristers who practised in the Law Courts, by Government officials, and by merchants, that the Indian had become 'the criminal of Fiji'; that it would be no exaggeration to say that over 90 per cent of the violent crime in the Islands was 'Indian crime'; that there was a real danger that this disease of 'Indian crime' would spread to the aborigines. We found also that the Indians had got the reputation of being 'the greatest gamblers in the Colony' and from what we saw in the coolie 'lines,' there can be little doubt that this reputation was not unfounded.

But by far the most terrible fact, which met us on every side, like a great blight or devastation, was the loss of any idea of the sanctity of marriage and the consequent sexual immorality that was rampant on every side. The evil had spread in wider and wider circles from the coolie 'lines,' till it had infected nearly the whole Indian population. Some one has described the condition of the Fiji as the 'morals of the poultry yard', and the phrase sticks in the mind: it is so painfully accurate of much that we were obliged to see and hear.

We had at first supposed that these corrupt morals of the 'lines' would be thrown off, in a great measure, by a healthy reaction, as soon as the Indian became a free man. In Natal this had been the case, and we had seen with our own eyes fairly healthy family life springing up in the numerous tiny fruit-farms around Durban, where free Indians lived. But we found things far more unsatisfactory in Fiji. There, the morals of the coolie 'lines' had become ingrained in the free population. As one Indian explained the matter to us: "Sahib," he said, "our women have lost all shame: they change their husbands as they change their dress." An abominable trafficking in young girls was prevalent, which the law seemed unable to check. It was a common thing for a father to sell his daughter to one man, allowing the betrothal ceremony to be performed, and then to sell her to another. Divorces were equally common. Women left their husbands for the sake of jewellery and went to live with other men. They seemed to do just what they pleased, and to live just as they liked. Castes and religions were mixed together in a common jumble. Hindu girls were sold in marriage to Muhammadans and vice versa: sweepers' children were sometimes married to Brahmans. If this admixture had been due to enlightened motives of humanity and in accordance with conscience, all might have been well. But it was just the reverse,—a matter of greed and lust. As if to make the evil more deep-seated Government had done its best to banish Hindu and Muhammadan religious marriage altogether from the land. Indian Christian marriage shared the same fate in the eyes of the law. A Christian minister of religion, Mr. Bavin, who performed the ceremony of marriage for two Indian

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Christians in Church, was prosecuted for committing an illegal act. The only valid marriage was said to be that drawn up in the office of the Immigration Department, and this was a mere matter of payment and registration. An Indian had merely to go to the Immigration office and register his name and that of his intended wife, and pay five shillings. Then if no objection was lodged, after three weeks he received a certificate from the office declaring that he had been married. There was no ceremony: no solemn declaration: no mutual promise in the presence of witnesses. These Immigration Department marriages are called by the Indians "marit": and it was always necessary in Fiji to ask a man, or woman, if they had a "marit": for nothing else was legal. In the prosecution referred to above, the insecurity and the degradation to the whole Indian community of this system was exposed in open court. A new marriage ordinance is now in the making, which recognises the religious ceremony of each Indian religion and gives to it the respect that is due. But the harm that has been done during the last thirty-two years by this neglect of the State authorities to give any sanction at all to Hindu, Mahammadan and Indian Christian religious marriage can hardly be overestimated.

The following story was told to us by a missionary, who knew the two brothers concerned, and tried to get their sentences commuted. Two brothers of a respectable Hindu family were guardians of their younger sister. They caused her to be married by Hindu religious rites to a husband whom they regarded as suitable. The Hindu religious ceremony was fully and duly performed. Then another man intervened and induced the sister to be married to him by means of a "marit" at the Immigration office. This "marit" was legal. The Hindu marriage was illegal. There was no redress. When the brothers knew that there was no other remedy, they went and killed their sister and gave themselves into custody. They declared at the trial that they had done it for the honour of their family and their religion. They had done it, they said, to preserve Dharma. They were condemned to be hanged.

The following documents may serve to illustrate the confusion which has been reached in the Indian marriage relations in Fiji.

(1) Memorandum of Agreement for Separation.

Made this eighteenth day of April 1913 between Jammu ex Fultala III and Parbati ex Fazilka IV husband and wife.

(*a*) That in consideration of the sum of £ 10-0-0 this day paid to Jammu by Parbati the former relinquishes all his rights over Parbati as wife and gives her permission to go wherever she pleases and live with whomsoever she likes. He will not sue her for damages in any court of law or take any legal action against her.

(*b*) That Parbati relinquishes all rights over Jammu as her husband and gives him permission to go wherever he pleases and live with whomsoever he likes. She will not sue him for damages in any court of law or take any legal action against him.

Thumb mark of Jammu	Government Stamp	Thumb mark of Parbati

[These agreements are, in the actual practice of the Islands, equivalent to a divorce; at least they are so regarded by all indentured coolies. They are drawn up by certain Barristers-at-law practising in Suva and are signed in their presence. The paraphernalia of the Government stamp and the legal form, in which they are inscribed, make the illiterate Indians believe that they are valid in a court of law. We have been told by lawyers since, that they are not worth the paper on which they are written. Yet the charge of £5 is made to the coolies for them.]

(2) A letter to the Agent-General of Immigration.

Sir,

There is a man called Assu, ex Fultala I, intending to leave for India. His daughter Jagwanti has been married to my son, Nathu, according to Hindu rites, and this marriage will have to be registered according to law of this Colony.

I have spent £ 30-0-0 for this marriage and as I apprehend that the girl's mother, Jamuni, is likely to sell her to someone else than my son, I request you to be so kind as to help me by taking steps to secure an undertaking by Assu that during his absence nothing will happen to defraud me of my lawful rights.

I beg to suggest that he should be made to give me a written acknowledgment of the expense incurred by the said marriage.

(3) Letter threatening legal proceedings.

To Lakshmi ex Fazilka III.

You are my married wife. You have deserted me without any reason or excuse. I hereby notifiy to you that you must return and co-habit with me within one week of delivery of this notice; otherwise you must return me the jewellery, valued £ 20-0-0, which you had from me for wear, also the sum of £ 30-0-0 in cash taken away by you from our home, also our daughter Sunderbasia, aged 7 years, with jewellery valued £ 10-0-0 which she wears.

(Sd.) Indrua, his mark.

(4) Memorandum of Agreement.

Between Indu 36,193 and his wife Rajwantia 36,987 and Lachman ex Sangola V.

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That in consideration of the sum of £ 5-0-0 paid this day to Idu by Lachman and of the jewellery returned to Idu by Rajwantia, Idu gives up all his rights over Rajwantia, as his wife, etc., etc.

(5) Charge or complaint.

Fiji to wit.

The charge of Assu in the district of Suva taken this twenty-seventh day of March in the year of our Lord 1913 before me, who saith that Bhikari, ex Clyde I, now residing with a man called Durgan, did on or about the 26th day of March instant steal, or convert, to her own use one shikri valued 10 shillings, one pair of jhumka worth 7 shillings, etc..... belonging to one Idu.....

(This is one of the very common charges for return of jewellery made by a husband, when his wife leaves him.)

(6) The case of a Sardar.

Letter No. 1.

To the Agent-General of Immigration, 22nd June, 1914.

Sir,

The bearers Lachmania ex Ganges II and Puran ex Ganges I, say as follow :—

That Lachmania has been excused from work since her arrival in the Colony. At first she was told to live with the man called Debi Singh, who was given up at the instance of the Sardar in favour of the bearer Puran who paid £2-10-0 as the price of the woman's exemption from work for one year.

The said Sardar now desires the woman to give up Puran, with the intention of keeping the woman for himself.

The woman does not want to give up Puran.....

Letter No. 2.

From Immigration Department. 25th June, 1914.

Sir,

I have to state that Puran had previously complained to this Department regarding the Sardar's treatment of the woman Lachmania, and his complaint was inquired into, with result that his allegations against the Sardar were proved to be false.

Letter No. 3.

From the Manager, 18th November, 1914.

(Concerning another woman named Jagwanti and the same Sardar)

I am in receipt of your letter, which seems to have been written by you under the misapprehension that Bhola and Jagwanti were husband and wife at the time the Sardar made overtures to the woman to live with him. Bhola has informed me that these overtures were made with his consent. Since Bhola and Jagwanti are now married, the Sardar will have nothing further to do with the woman.

Letter No. 4.

From the same Sardar, 29th March, 1915.

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that Bhola came to me this morning and asked me for the money, but I told him to go to you. I asked Jagwanti to come with me to court for the marriage, but she told me that she will see about it by and by. By this I understand that she wants to live with Madho, after being paid the sum. About the money I have nothing to say. Do please, as you like. Will you please put this condition more in the agreement between me and Bhola and Jagwanti, that, after having been paid the sum by me, if anybody will keep the woman, he will have to pay me £ 50-0-0.

[We wish to draw no inferences as to the rights and wrongs in this case, but simply to show from it the utterly abandoned morals of the 'lines.' We heard of more than one case in which the Sardar sold the women, under his charge, first to one man and then to another.]

It would be impossible to explain in detail, how all these evils connected with marriage have penetrated the home-life of the free Indian population, as well as the coolie 'lines.' We had opportunities of studying in Suva these strange marriage relations in that centre of free Indians. We also went carefully through files of correspondence, agreements and settlements, by which Indians were struggling, either to strengthen or else to relax these complicated marriage ties. We examined, besides, a large volume of evidence given in the Police courts. We were thus able to see in detail how sexual jealousy had brought about all kinds of misery and crime.

It would be scarcely too much to say, that these marriage evils have almost obliterated the ideal of the married life from the memory of Hindus in Fiji. They spoke to us of marriage and of women in a way that would be revolting to Hindus in India. The tragedy of it all was this, that the whole Hindu fabric had gone to wreck on this one rock of marriage, and there were no leaders to bring the people back into the right paths. The best Hindus we met were in despair about it.

One other aspect of this same deterioration may be described. The Hindu woman in the coolie 'lines', having no semblance, even, of a separate home of her own which she can cherish, and divorced from all her old home ties, has abandoned religion itself. The moral ruin is most pitiful on this side. Though there are beautiful and stately rivers in Fiji, no women are seen making their morning offerings: no temples rise on their banks: there is no household shrine. The outward life which the Hindu women in the 'lines' lead in Fiji, appears to be without love and without worship,—a sordid round of mean and joyless occupations. The contrast with India is seen in its *saddest* form during some so-called Hindu religious festival in Fiji. Everything that could be recognized as Hindu has departed, and with this, the religious spirit has departed also. The yearly round of the sacred festivals, which form so much of the brightness of a Hindu woman's life in India, is confined in Fiji to a couple of days, of which

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the greatest is no Hindu festival at all. The impoverishment of life, which has taken place, can hardly be understood, in all its pathos, except by Hindus themselves. One who had recently come out to Fiji from Madras, a man of education, wrote as follows:—

"These festivities are meaningless in Fiji, with no object but to partake in sweetmeats and rowdy cries. Indian women are present with no intent to worship, but to a great degree as a spectacle to the white population, who view with an inborn hateful laugh the coolie Indians and their so-called religion. Hindu degradation could not go lower."

Yet, as we went further in our enquiries, we met with hopeful signs of another kind, which showed us that there was still present, below the surface, the instinct and the memory of better things. We saw many lives of Hindu women, which were true to Hindu traditions, winning reverent respect.

A high caste widow and her little daughter, who had passed through the normal dangers of the coolie 'lines' unharmed, were reverenced by all the Hindus of the district. When misfortune came upon this widow while we were in Fiji, her Hindu neighbours came to us, offering monetary help up to 4,500 rupees. They wished to purchase for her the small portion of land, which her husband and her father had possessed. A Madrasi Hindu mother, in the north of the main Island, had gathered round her, in an out-building, a group of Hindu boys, to teach them their religion, together with a little English.

Among the men, a Swamy, loosely attached to the Arya Samaj in India, and now dwelling in Suva, had gained instant respect from the Hindus, and had helped in founding schools, where religion could be taught. On every hand we found a longing for instruction to be given in religion, and this clearly proceeded from a pure desire, that the children of Hindu parents in Fiji should not lose all knowledge of their ancestral faith. It was touching to see what emphasis was laid upon religion in their own education schemes.

Two phrases were constantly used in Fiji, when thoughtful Indians talked over the whole matter intimately with us. The one implied that all their religion had gone to pieces. The other implied that they had not lost their inner appreciation of their old Hindu life.

The Muhammadans were very slightly represented in the main Island of Fiji. We should have seen them in much greater strength, if we had been able to go to the smaller Islands; but time would not allow this. In the main Island, as far as we could observe, the religious decline had not been so rapid with them as amongst Hindus. They held together more, and even though they did not observe, to any great extent, the stated hours of prayer, yet they were proud of the fact that they were Musalmans, and this gave them a dignity of their own. There were very few leaders among them. They seemed capable of getting on by themselves and of keeping some idea of religion. They were equally eager, with the Hindus, to obtain religious education for their children.

The Indian Christians were fewer still in number. Some of them held too much aloof from the main Indian body and were inclined to lean upon European support. But one feature was outstanding. Their home life was good. Some of our happiest recollections were those of Indian Christian homes.

The Parsis, to our regret, were entirely absent from the Island. We could not help remembering Parsi Rustomji, in Durban, and wishing that there might be such a kindly Parsi home as his, in Suva, to give us welcome.

The brightest side of Indian life in Fiji (which, in a measure compensated for its sorrows and gave hope for the future) was the love of India itself, which was still kept warm within every heart. There was practically no religious bitterness; Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians lived amicably together side by side, because the one tie of India itself bound them together in one. This love for India kept their lives sweet, even in the midst of so much that was corrupt and diseased.

In so far as it is possible to shorten the passage to India by direct Steamer service, and thus give opportunity to the younger generation of Indians to see their motherland, it will be all to the good. For there is no sentiment, at the present time, that is doing more to uphold the self-respect of Indians in Fiji than this affection for India. With many whom we met,—men who have lost for a time all the sanctions of religion, this sentiment itself has become a religion and a worship. Things can never be hopeless with Indians in Fiji, so long as this remains.

There was another aspect of affairs in

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Fiji, which corrected our earlier unfavourable impression in an important way, and gave us encouragement and hope. We noticed that, whenever those who had come out of indenture were given opportunities to settle on the land, holding it as their own and leading their own free life upon it, the powers of recuperation very soon began to have their effect. We were more and more impressed with this fact, the longer we stayed in Fiji. It made us feel quite convinced, that if only the fatal mistakes of the present indenture system could be rectified, the Indian immigrants might then recover themselves and become a healthy population. We were equally convinced by what we saw that this life of settlement on the land could never be made really wholesome, if it were connected with the present coolie 'lines.' For the evils of 'lines' extended outwards, and brought degradation to the free Indians who were near at hand. It also made many of the free Indians the mere hawkers and hangers-on of the coolie 'lines.'

[It may be well to mention here, in a parenthesis, one of the most marked and painful features of Indian life in Fiji, which immediately attracted our attention. The whole Indian population is divided up into two classes, an inferior and a superior, called "indentured" and "free",—"grimit-wala" and "khalas"—to give them their local names. One does not need to labour the point, that to have people of one race in a small Island, some of whom are free and some of whom are the reverse, is to countenance a most injurious class distinction.

Though we found abundant sympathy among the free Indians with their less fortunate countrymen, and though we came across noble instances of self-sacrifice on their behalf, yet it was almost inevitable that such an unnatural division should tell, in time, upon them, and should give to the indentured Indians a sense of degradation, and to the free Indians a sense of pride. It was often noticeable to us, how an Indian would bristle up, if ever we made the mistake of asking him if he was "grimit-wala" when he was really "khalas"; or how, on the other hand, a man would hang his head, if we said to him "Tum khalas ho ?" when he had not yet obtained his freedom. There would be shame and dejection expressed in the very shake of his head, as he sadly confessed to us that he was still under indenture. Few things told us more truly than this what was actually going on beneath the surface of people's minds.

Far deeper evils still were connected with this class division, which can only be mentioned very briefly. It brought out too often in the free Indians, not those noble qualities of sympathy and sacrifice which have been referred to, but those meaner qualities of avarice and greed,—the readiness, for the sake of money, to exploit and trade upon the weak and depressed. There is always something very dangerous in the close juxta-position of a privileged and an unprivileged class, a servile and a free population ; and it is not to be wondered at, if Indians, with their morals already corrupted by five years' indenture, should not be able to resist the dangers of their new position when they became free.

But where the contact with the coolie 'lines' was not especially marked, the healthy life of settlement on the soil soon began to have its effect on Indians, who had finished their indenture. This was especially noticeable in certain out-of-the-way settlements, away from the coast, on the north side of the Island. Nature has wonderful healing powers, and we witnessed them at work. The difficulties concerning the marriage of children were still serious, on account of the complete disproportion of men to women, in Fiji, among free, as well as among indentured, Indians. But as life settled down, and more and more children were born, even these difficulties became successfully surmounted ; and a new life of hopefulness began to spring up in these new Indian settlements far away from anywhere. It was one of the greatest pleasures of our visit to come across some such Indian settlement cleared out of the very jungle. It recalled to our minds many of the best features of village life in India itself.

It was very interesting and instructive to watch the difference between these Indians settled, far away from anywhere, on the land, and those Indians who hung about the outskirts of the coolie 'lines.' Among the free Indians, at the coolie centres, there had been little or no purging out the moral evils, of the coolie 'lines.' The bad atmosphere of the 'lines' still hung round about them. But face to face with nature, and close to mother earth,

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the free Indians, while they tilled their own land and built their own villages, in their own way, recovered a healthier and cleaner moral life. The aspect of joy came back into the women's faces and into the looks of the children at their play. The impression of servitude and moral degradation was lost, and a new found happiness and pleasure in life had clearly taken its place. In one part of the country we found that a little temple had been built in the middle of such a Hindu village. This showed us that religion itself had begun once more to take its true place in Hindu homes.

A few examples may be given of the state of affairs here generally described.

1. A small cultivator on the north side of the main Island had a small holding of his own, purchased by promissory notes. He was a sweeper, and did work in a store as well as on his own land. He had been eleven years in Fiji and had received 800 rupees for his last crop. He spoke of further transactions in land to the extent of 1500 rupees. He was very happy and prosperous, and his wife and daughter seemed equally happy as they were seen by us on the day of the Muharram festival.

2. A village settlement, five miles from Navua, which had originally been formed by a small syndicate of four Indians who were now Zamindars. The ground was all free-hold property and the crops looked very flourishing indeed. There had been unfortunately some quarrel between the Indians about the land. Though there was outward prosperity, there was clearly inward discontent. Probably the settlement was too near to the large coolie 'lines' to be completely independent, and Navua, as a district, bore an evil reputation.

3. A small settlement of Indians completely isolated and independent, far in the interior of the Island. There was an air of quiet peace and happiness about this village which touched us very deeply, after what we had seen for so long in the coolie 'lines'. The men and women spoke with freedom, and the children were evidently happy.

4. The following are typical cases of prosperous growers of sugarcane among the Indians in the north of the Island:—

Lachman has been three years out of indenture and was able to sell his cane last year for Rs. 1,635.

Nathu, who has been five years out of indenture, has grown 531 tons of sugarcane on twenty-three acres of land. He received for his crop Rs. 7,200. This man sold out his interest in the land and its standing crops for Rs. 13,500.

Ram Singh told us, that he had received Rs. 12,000 for his last year's crop. This sum however does uot represent net profit. An encouraging fact in his case was that he was following the example of the large European planters in his cane cultivation by an extensive use of green manure. The small Indian holders, we were told, had not made sufficient use of scientific cultivation, with the inevitable result that their crops are inferior in quality, and the soil is gradually becoming impoverished.

[In 1914 independent Indian growers of cane supplied to the Company's mills at Lautoka, on the north side of the Island, a total of 32,328 tons of cane, which realised 2,85,000 rupees, at an average of eleven shillings and eight pence per ton. In 1915 from the same source the estimate was 47,000 tons of cane which would realise 5,40,500 rupees at an average of fifteen shillings and four pence per ton. In this Lautoka district 34 per cent of the total sugar-cane land is already in Indian hands, and all along the north coast the percentage is ever increasing. In the district of Nadi alone there is a population of 5,000 free Indians and the monthly average applications for leases of land at the Magistrate's court was fifty. There are thus a large number of free Indians who are now growing sugar-cane, quite independently, on holdings varying from five to three hundred acres in extent.

The large Indian cultivators employ numbers of free Indians to carry on the ploughing, manuring, weeding and cutting of the cane.]

5. A settlement of free Indians on the border of a small European plantation. These have recently come out of indenture and settled near their old employer. The planter gave to them, at a very low rate, during the last year of their indenture, a piece of ground for growing cane. He now uses their free labour, at the heavy seasons of the year, paying them full wages. In this way, he has been able to reduce the number of coolies under indenture on his estate. The Indians seemed prosperous and contented. The planter was evidently

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their friend, and they were some distance away from any large coolie 'lines.'

[The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has for some years past introduced this system of settling indentured Indians on the land, near to their own estates, during the last year of their indenture. They pick out carefully those coolies who show capacity for work among the canes. In Lautoka 2,200 acres are thus leased out to 180 Indians under the Company's settlement scheme].

From all this it will be clear that every year the interest of the Indian free settler will have to be taken into consideration in an increasing measure. For in the long run, if the present rate of progress continues, they will be the chief growers and producers of cane in the Islands. Indeed, the time may be not far distant, when the European cane grower will give place to the Indian altogether, the organising work at the centres alone remaining in the Europeans' hands. If the new offer of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to place £100,000 at a low rate of interest at the disposal of the Fiji Government for Indians' settlement be accepted and the settlement carried out, this predominance of the Indian cultivator as a grower of sugar-cane for the Company's Mills will be practically assured.

While, on the whole, with many drawbacks and difficulties, the land settlement of Indians has gone forward, the same cannot be said with regard to Indian education. Indeed it would be hardly an exaggeration to state that the policy of the Government of Fiji with regard to Indian education has been, up till quite recently, one of almost complete neglect. Even with reference to the public school education of European children, Fiji is far behind every other colony in the Empire. With regard to Indian children, in spite of strong warnings from the Indian Government and the Home authorities, the expenditure has hitherto been nil. We have been told further, on reliable authority, that for many years there was the strongest opposition on the part of the Sugar Companies to any education being given to Indians at all. It was said that such education would tend to take the Indian coolie away from the soil, and thus make him 'spoilt' for labour purposes. If the European sentiment with regard to Indian education has somewhat changed to-day in Fiji, it is due to two chief causes,—first, the brave struggle which the missionaries made against unenlightened opposition, and, secondly, the strong external pressure which has been brought to bear upon the Fiji Government by the Colonial Office in London. We may well believe, also, that the criminal statistics of the Indian population have at last begun to make people think. When we were asked to explain the suicide and crime among Indians in Fiji, compared with other colonies, we used to point to the education statistics. The absence of school life means the absence also of educated teachers as well as of the school house. The teacher and his wife are apt to set the standard to other families round them. Their home is often a centre of great good in an illiterate community.

In the Fiji Blue Book for 1914 two pages only are given for education. From the figures it appears that there are only two aided Public schools and one Government school in the colony. The rest of the education is left entirely to private enterprise.

Out of a total revenue of £279,844 in 1914, the sum of only £3,312 was devoted to education, or less than 1.2 percent of the total revenue; and none of this was for Indian education. In Suva itself, the capital of the Islands, the anomaly occurred not long ago of rates being actually collected from Indian rate-payers for public school purposes, without permission being given to the children of such rate-payers to enter a public school. On an appeal being made, the Indian rate-payers were informed that they would not be required to pay rates any longer. But admission to the public school was persistently refused on racial grounds, and there is still no Government school for Indian children in Suva, though the majority of the inhabitants are Indians. This Municipal policy of Suva is unfortunately in keeping with other forms of discrimination against the Indian, which have reduced him to a mere cipher in Municipal affairs. Not only has the Indian been refused educational facilities for his children but at the same time he has been practically disfranchised.

If Fiji is to come into line with the standard set by the other Colonies she ought to be spending at least £10,000 or £12,000 a year on education. At present the

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Government of Fiji is throwing almost the whole of its responsibility for education on the Missionary Societies.

It is indeed pathetic to see the attempt made by the Indians themselves to supply the educational need which ought to be supplied by Government. On the North side of the main Island and elsewhere there are many instances which show how keen is the desire of the free Indian settler for education.

1. At Nadi, a small school was discovered which was being held in a stable behind a small store, with about a dozen small boys learning English from a Hindu woman. This woman had learned English at a Mission School in the Madras Presidency before coming out to Fiji, under indenture, some 12 years ago.

2. Near Ba there is a small school with about 20 boys on the roll who are taught English by an aged Maulvi. At Ba itself, near one of the few mosques we saw in Fiji, two or three boys are daily taught from the Quran.

3. At the same centre, Ba, the Indians themselves (both Hindu and Musalman) subscribed and built a school-house a year ago. This unfortunately has been empty ever since, for want of a suitable teacher, although the Indians are willing to contribute liberally towards the support of a qualified man.

4. At another Indian settlement in the interior of the Island, on the bank of the Rewa River, a similar School-house has been built by voluntary contributions. But this too is almost useless for want of a suitable teacher.

5. We were told of an attempt to start a school in a country district in the South of the main island. After a short time, however, the funds gave out and the school was closed. The head teacher was then paid by the Mission and the school was re-opened by them.

6. An enthusiastic effort was made in Suva to found a school in which Hindus and Muhammadans should be taught together. A two-storied building was given for the purpose by a leading Musalman, on the understanding that the upper storey should be used for a mosque. We attended many discussions with regard to this school. The opinion we found was, that though there were good intentions in abundance, yet there was very little practical leadership.

The Fiji Government is at last beginning to awake to its responsibility for educating the increasing Indian population; for it sees more clearly than before that an unenlightened people is a danger to the well-being of the Colony. But so far it has been unable to secure properly qualified men, on account of the low salaries offered. Certainly there could be no finer opportunity for young men of education and ideals who are anxious to serve their fellow-countrymen, than to go out in educational service to Fiji. For, there, they would have the chance of helping to shape a new country's development, which may eventually become an Indian Colony. Not only Government, but also the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, has begun to take up the matter with some feeble interest. The Company has just offered £3000 and a site to each of the missionary institutions in order to relieve itself of the responsibility of running schools of its own. The Vancouver Mill at Navua also gives a small contribution to the mission school there.

But the subject of education needs to be taken up much more thoroughly and seriously if the need is adequately to be met. For the whole future of Fiji depends largely upon such a system of education being built up, amongst the Indian population, as will render it a useful and stable element in the life of the Colony.

When we were asked by the Fiji authorities what system and method of education would be best suited for Indian needs, we expressed very strongly the opinion, that it would be a mistake for Government to place everything in the hands of the missionaries, and merely give grants-in-aid to them. We had abundant opportunities of reaching the real opinion of the Indian community in Fiji, and we were certain that such a policy would be looked upon as a very serious infringement of the principle of religious neutrality. The Indians in Fiji are for the most part quite illiterate. It is not to be expected that they will be able to organise and collect funds for their own schools on the scale of the European missionaries. For a very long time to come, therefore, it would not be possible for them to meet the active missionary propaganda on equal terms of activity. If the Fiji Government were simply to stand aside and distribute grants-in-aid, the missionary societies would be certain

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to step in and reap all the financial benefits. This would give the whole Indian education of the Islands a predominantly Christian colour, even though the Indian parents might wish their children to be educated in their own Hindu and Musalman religious precepts.

At the same time, we found no wish, on the part of Indians, to exclude the missionaries from education altogether, or to ask for purely secular schools. They had a great and natural respect for the work that the missionaries had done. They recognised that the missionaries had been their friends and had made known their grievances at a time when they themselves were mute and helpless. The mission schools, also, had struggled on without any help from Government, at a critical period when European sentiment in the colony was set against Indian education altogether. The Indian community in Fiji, however ignorant and illiterate, was generous and liberal in its appreciation of those who had helped in the hour of need. There were no two English names more frequently on their lips than those of Miss Dudley add Mr. Burton. They spoke of these two friends and helpers with an affection amounting to reverence. It was the work of missionaries like these, struggling against overwhelming odds, that had saved the whole Indian community from falling to the lowest level of ignorance and vice.

We can both of us recall vividly the scene we saw one afternoon in a Christian orphan home in Fiji, the only Indian orphanage in the Islands. The house was beautifully situated on a slightly rising ground near the banks of the broad Rewa River opposite some crowded Coolie 'lines.' We had just come from the indentured Coolie quarters, and had seen the condition of the little children living in the midst of sights and sounds which innocent children ought never to see and hear. Then, in this home across the river, we watched a group of tiny children at their play. One baby was pointed out to us, whose mother had been murdered in a quarrel in the 'lines', and whose putative father had been hanged for the murder. There were other children in the home who had a somewhat similar history. We could not help contrasting the happiness and innocence of these little ones with the evil and impurity of their former surroundings, and we were only too thankful for this haven of pure childhood, which had been offered to them for shelter.

While, therefore, the Indian community gave all due respect to the missionaries for what they had done and were doing, they were convinced that it would be harmful to allow the whole Indian education of the Island to come into missionary hands. They wished rather to have Government schools side by side with missionary schools. Our own decided opinion was in favour of this policy also. Apart from the question of religious neutrality, which missionary institutions, by their very character cannot observe, mission schools, if left to themselves, have a tendency to become educationally inefficient. False economies are often made and unqualified teachers, taken from the ranks of catechists, are put in charge. On the other hand, Government schools, if left to themselves, have a tendency to become educationally extravagant. Useless expense is not seldom incurred according to the whim of some new Director, or Inspector. But when the two systems exist side by side—the Government and the Missionary,—they are able to counteract one another. The weakness of the one system is the strength of the other. Liberty of conscience is also in a far greater measure preserved by such a combination.

If such a combined system were adopted in Fiji, two further things would be necessary. There should be the right of entry into every school for accredited ministers of religion. There should, also, be especially liberal grants allowed to any educational venture, Hindu, Musalman or Christian that proceeded direct from the Indian community itself and was financed by Indian money.

We have been obliged to go somewhat further in offering advice on this subject of Indian Education than might possibly be regarded as fitting in a Report of this kind. Our reason for doing so has been, that we were specially asked by the Indian community to put forward their views, because they had such great difficulty in doing so themselves. There was no subject on which they were more unanimously anxious, and on which they laid greater emphasis. They were wont, in a very touching manner, to look forward with

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confidence and hope to the removal of all their moral evils, if only education could be given to their children on right lines. After what we heard, in the Pacific, of the beneficent results of liberal education in the Philippines, during recent years, we felt that there was much to be said for their point of view.

It seemed more and more clear to us, the longer we stayed in the Island, that there was no side of Indian life in Fiji, where the Government and the people of India might offer more practical help, at this juncture, than by pressing forward the urgency of a comprehensive educational policy with regard to Indians in Fiji,—a policy large and wide enough to cover the whole of the Islands. We hoped also that it might be possible to offer any initial aid that might be required. We have reason to believe, that a representative from India sent out to assist in such a greatly needed reform would be welcomed by the authorities in Fiji. He would also receive from every section of the resident Indian community the warmest possible welcome and support.

(To be concluded.)

INDIA IN AMERICA

By Lala Lajpat Rai

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FOR long I had cherished a desire to visit all those parts of the world where there were a large number of Indians either settled or temporarily congregated for purposes of study or labor. When I actually left my home in April 1914, I had no intention of staying out longer than six months. England and parts of Europe were the only places I proposed to visit. On reaching England, however, and after the Komagata Maru incident, the desire to visit the British dominions and colonies grew stronger. When I met Mr. Henry Baurassa, the Canadian statesman, in London on the suggestion of Mr. Charles Roberts, the Under Secretary of State for India, I spoke to him of my desire to visit Canada and received encouraging promises of help from him. About the same time I received an invitation from one of the Sikh leaders in Canada. My desires and intentions were beginning to take more definite shape when the war broke out and I considered it expedient to postpone my visit to Canada and other parts of the British Empire.

In November, however, after I had finished my book on the Arya Samaj, I decided to pay my second visit to the United States. The object was to know more of that fascinating land, to study the social and political conditions that prevail there, to cultivate acquaintance with a few at least of its intellectual leaders, to get first hand knowledge of its system of education and to find out what opportunities we had of training our young men there. Along with it went a strong desire of knowing as intimately as possible the conditions of the Indians that had settled in America, and also why the American prejudice against Hindu immigration had developed so strongly in recent years.

The very first day I landed at New York, I saw several Indian faces. They were Bengalee gentlemen who had come to receive our distinguished countryman Prof. J. C. Bose and his wife. During my stay in New York I came across about two scores or more of my countrymen, Bengalees, Panjabees, Mahrattas, belonging to almost all the great communities of India. I also had the pleasure of meeting two of my countrywomen, one a Baroda State scholar studying at one of the women's colleges, and the other a Parsi lady. Then at Boston I met about a dozen Indians coming from different provinces and belonging to different religions. Most of them were studying at Harvard. Here also I met a Parsi lady who had been there for several years with her husband. At Chicago I met about a dozen or more Indian students coming from all provinces and belonging to

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all communities. At the Illinois University, Champaine, there were about fourteen or fifteen students, mostly from Bengal and the Panjab, including one Mahommedan gentleman. There are a number of Indians at the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Cornell, from whom I received invitations which for want of time and for other reasons I could not accept.

More or less, Indians are spread over all the United States—or for the matter of that, all over the continent of America. They are to be found as far North as Alaska and as far South as Brazil, Argentine, and Chili. There are large numbers of them in Mexico, in Central America, and in British Guiana. In North America, the area where they are located in largest numbers, is the Pacific Coast from Vancouver in British Columbia, Canada, in the North, to Panama in the South. The bulk of them are Panjabees and Sikhs; there are a few U. P. men and a few Bombayites, a few Bengalee students and a very few Madrasi students. It is impossible to fix their exact numerical strength, but it runs into thousands and in all probability their number exceeds ten thousand on the Pacific Coast alone. By religion, they are Hindus or Sikhs, with a fair sprinkling of Mahommedans. Your readers will thus see that so far as numbers are concerned, India is better represented in America than in Europe.

Now I will classify them:

(1) Intellectually or educationally at the top, among those who are not actually studying at some university, are the religious preachers, most of whom belong to the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mission. They are called Swamis. There are some Swamis, however, who are not connected with the Vivekanand Mission. There are some religious preachers who are neither connected with the Vivekananda Mission, nor are they Swamis, but their number is exceedingly small. Vedanta centres are connected with the Vivekananda Mission in almost all the most important cities of America. I know of such centers in New York, Boston, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco. I think there are some at other places also. At New York, Boston, and San Francisco they have buildings of their own. Every center has its own organization and its own funds. With the exception that they are all Vedanta centers, there is apparently no other link connecting them with one another. The great majority of their constituents are women. Except at New York, all the centers are reputed to be well off financially. The center at New York is financially in straitened circumstances, due to no fault of the Swami who is just now in charge of the center. The Swamis do not form a large class, but in spite of their limited numbers they are a very important group.

(2) The class next in importance, though larger in size, is that of the students. The students may be divided into three classes:

(a) those who receive money from home or from some public organization or from some State. Their number is exceedingly small;

(b) those who receive some help from home and are partially supporting themselves by work. They also are few;

(c) those who depend entirely upon their own work. Their number is the largest.

The Indian student in America is a prodigy of enterprise and industry and resourcefulness. The story of his struggle against adverse circumstances reads like romance. It makes one proud of the coming generation of one's countrymen. A good many of these students left their homes without the permission or against the will of their parents. Some of them perhaps had no parents or other relatives to advise them. Some had no funds in their pockets when they left home, or just sufficient to bring them to some seaport out of India, where they could find work and earn enough to take them to the next seaport, until they reached one of the American ports with at least 150 or more Rupees in their pockets.

I know of one young man, a Panjabee, who walked on foot from New York to Chicago (a distance of 1200 miles) without a single penny in his pocket. He slept on roadsides and earned his food by whatever work he could pick up in the course of his journey. This young man had studied in an Anglo-Sanskrit School in the Panjab up to the Entrance Standard. I know another young man, also a Panjabee, who did not know a word of English when he reached this country about eight years ago and who is now in the highest class at the University of California in the Engineering Department. His knowledge of English is still very poor, but in his

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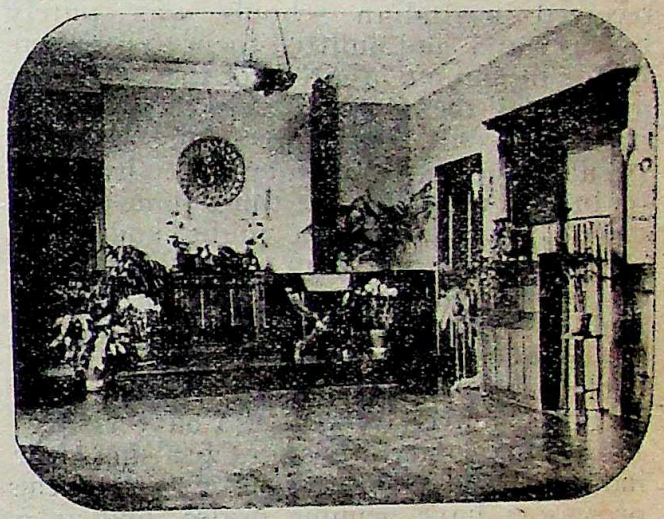
class he is among the best students and the University honors him by appointing him to mark the answer papers of the junior students in mathematics.

Some of those who left their homes with the object of prosecuting their studies in America, gave up all idea of university education when they reached here, and joined the ranks of their countrymen to work on farms or ranches or wherever they could get work. I found one such (an old student of the High Department of the Anglo-Sanskrit School, Hushiarpur) working in an asparagus field in the State of California. I found another (a vernacular middle passed) doing the same work in another neighborhood. I know of two Agarwal youths of fairly well-to-do families of a Panjab District, who left their homes with very little money in their pockets, worked their way to America and are now in a fairly good position from a financial point of view. One of them has graduated from a business college; the other is a domestic servant in an American family near Los Angeles and hopes to join a university after he has saved sufficient to put him through the university. In the Panama Pacific Exposition there are a number of Indians rolling wheel chairs. In some cases the stories of their struggles are heart-rending. Picture to yourself an Agarwal young man of U. P., coming from a respectable family, working on a railroad track under construction, either cutting stones or doing other hard work, sleeping on the ground at night and cooking his food in tin cans thrown on the road by way-farers! Some of the most brilliant university students have to work as waiters or domestic servants or fruit pickers or farm hands, or otherwise to earn money in order to follow their course when the university is in session. Others work for a year and then read for a year and so on.

Among them, of course, are some black sheep who occasionally cheat or defraud their own countrymen or earn money in ways not quite honorable. For example, some give lectures under Christian auspices and draw revolting pictures of the conditions of things in their own country. They caricature their people and thus win the sympathy of the public for the various missions that employ them. Some pose in photoplays and thus help the companies living on sensational shows to caricature conditions in their country. A few become the tools of that army of adventurers who trade under the name of spiritualists, clairvoyants, mind readers, professors of psychic knowledge, astrologers, palmists, and so on. I have heard that some even go to the length of fomenting quarrels among their own countrymen so as to get the chance of serving as interpreters when their cases go to court. It is possible that



VEDANTA-BHAVAN, BOSTON.

some of these stories are exaggerated or are the outcome of malice or jealousy, but in any case the number of such black sheep is very small and the motherland has every reason to be proud of the hundreds of Indians who have within the last fifteen years been educated in America.

What pleases me most is their spirit of enterprise and their industry. Here they are in a country thousands of miles distant from their home, amid strange people, with strange customs and manners, with absolutely no organisation * to encourage them, to help them in case of need, to watch their interests, or to befriend them in any way whatsoever. Add to this the

* It is true that the Hindu students in America have organised themselves into the Hindusthanee Students' Association of America, but as it is, for lack of financial support the Association can not be of much practical use to them. The Association keeps clear of politics and can be very useful if properly financed. I think it is only due to the younger generation of Indians struggling for education against heavy odds in this country, that some philanthropist should come to their rescue and make some provision for the proper support of this Association and for enabling the latter to help students in crisis. At times, as I have said above, our students get stranded and find themselves in an awful situation.

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volume of prejudice against which they have to battle to get work. First there is the color prejudice; secondly, there, is the race prejudice; thirdly, there is the prejudice of religion; fourthly, they have the powerful force of organized white labor against them. Last but not least, they are absolutely new to the work. At home they could not even think of ever doing such work. In school, they received no training for it. What little education they received in Indian schools was purely literary and had unfitted them to use their hands in manual labor. Yet they struggle against all these forces and in the majority of cases come out successful. At times perhaps they have to starve or to live only on bread and water; at times some among them have to pass a night under the shadow of a tree or by concealing themselves in a railway car. They do all this and cultivate a spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence which they lacked so much when they were at home.

In the university centers I have visited, I heard university professors praising their industry and sobriety. For some, the professors have genuine praise, and as a class they have nothing against them. At every university I found some in the professorial staff who take special interest in Hindu students, who welcome them to their homes and take pleasure in befriending them in such ways as they can. At every center there are some women either among the wives of the professors or outside the university who take motherly or sisterly interest in Hindu students and give them every kind of encouragement. Now this could not be if the "Hindu"* students in America were as a class undesirable.

On the whole I am proud of the "Hindu" students in America, and the country of their birth has no reason to be ashamed of them. My complaint against them is that on their return home they do not display that spirit or that respect for labor which pulled them through in this country.

(3) The third and the largest class of Indians to be found in America are the laborers who have been attracted by the high rates of wages that prevail in this country. This is not the place to discuss or to give a detailed account of the economic values of the country, but this much may be stated that the wages for unskilled labor range from one dollar (three rupees) to three dollars a day. Two dollars a day, i.e. six rupees, may be considered to be a fair average for a working day of nine to ten hours. Consequently the cost of living, too, is very high, but the Indian coolie, or peasant or farmer, is a proverbially frugal person and can live on very little. As a rule the Hindu laborer on the Pacific Coast cooks his own food. Those who work in the fields or on farms or on ranches can get any amount of vegetables or fruits in the fruit season for nothing. For the rest, wheat flour does not cost more here than in India. Milk, butter, and oils are as cheap or as dear as at home. Meat no doubt costs more, but not so eggs. The Indian laborer cares little for meat; he does not smoke; nor does he spend much money on coffee or tea. He however drinks liquor and many a hard earned dollar goes into the cash register of the saloon keeper. Yet every one does not drink and those who do not drink save considerable sums. Even those who indulge in strong drinks save something for the rainy day.

As a worker, the Indian laborer is very conscientious and efficient, particularly on farms and ranches. Judged from the output or from the standard of efficiency, he is very much sought after, particularly by the employers of agricultural labor. But for his race and color, he would never be out of employment and there would be room enough for hundreds and thousands more. Ten or fifteen years ago, there was no prejudice against him, but during this period the volume of prejudice has grown thick and fast. The reasons for this are various. I propose to examine them one by one.

First, he is in most cases illiterate; but so are a fair proportion of immigrants from Europe. On page 81 of his book "America in Ferment," Paul Leland Haworth says: "Most of the immigrants are poor and, much more serious, most of them are ignorant. Of the 838,172 who came in 1912, over 177,000 were unable either to read or write and comparatively few were well educated."

Secondly, he can live very cheaply and his surroundings are unclean, and his moral and civil standards are low. Now so far as moral standards are concerned, it is ridiculous to say that the moral standard of the Indian is in any way inferior to that of an average American or

* The word "Hindu" is synonymous with Indian in America.

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European of the same class. It is in no way worse, if not better. As for cheap living and unclean habits, here again I do not think there is much difference between the poor European immigrant and the Hindu laborer. Speaking of the Slovaks from Hungary, Mr. Haworth, an American writer already quoted, remarks that "their (i.e., the Slovaks') standard of living is almost as low as that of the Chinese. They herd promiscuously in any room, shed or cellar, with little regard to sex or sanitation. Their demand for water is but very limited for the use of the outer body as well as the inner. They drink "Slivovitz," a sort of brandy made from potatoes or prunes. They wear sandals and caps and clothes of sheepskin, which latter also serve as their bed. They are excessively ignorant."

With a view to having a first hand knowledge about these matters, I have been to a few places where the Sikh laborer on the Pacific Coast works and lives. I have also been to places where the European laborer works and lives. To me there seems to be very little difference between the two, except that the Sikh on account of his head dress and color can be easily distinguished from the rest of the laboring population, whether American or foreign: while the different nationalities among the white foreign laborer cannot be so easily made out. In the matter of living and personal habits of cleanlineness, I am afraid there is hardly anything to choose between the two; but if at all, the contrast would be favourable to the Sikh in fifty cases out of a hundred. The non-American white laborer cannot be easily made out from his American fellow laborer and he mixes with the latter on terms of equality. The Sikhs who have removed their hair and put on hats can easily pass as Spaniards or Mexicans or South Americans. Similarly, in the matter of drinking and kicking up rows when drunk, the Sikh has the disadvantage of being immediately identified as such—a disadvantage which the white laborer does not share with him even if he is not American.

It would be thus easily seen that these objections have nothing serious in them. The real objection lies in a prejudice which has been accentuated by economic considerations. The Hindu is a formidable rival in the field of labor as well as trade. So is the Jew. The Jew however has a white skin and has adopted the habits and manners of the European. He has been accepted to be as good as a European. So neither the racial nor the color prejudice stands in his way. The Hindu is also Caucasian by race, it is true, but then his color and his habits and manners are so different that the Europeans are not prepared to acknowledge that his racial origin is the same as theirs. So the consideration shown to the Jew is not extended to the Hindu. More or less all Asiatics share the prejudice which is shown against the Hindu, but the political status of the Japanese and the Chinese being higher at home gives them advantage over the Hindu. The Jap has to be tolerated because he is "a citizen of a country which recently whipped one of the great powers."* Against the Chinese, the Americans do not feel the same bitterness as they display against the Jap or the Hindu. The former they hate; the latter they hold in scorn; but the Chinese they pity. China is America's protege and the Chinaman in the United States, though dreaded as a competitor in the labor market and therefore now absolutely shut out by law, is otherwise petted. The Sikh has intensified the prejudice against him by his *pagri* (turban) and by his long hair.

Personally I have nothing but praise for this trait of his character. Go wherever he may, he maintains his Indian character; he keeps his distinctive dress and cooks his own food. A vast majority of them preserve their national prejudices and sentiments. The uneducated Hindu and Sikh laborer does not eat beef. I met a Brahmin of Hushiarpur at Los Angeles, who, during the five years he has been in this country, has never tasted the American bread and has never even for once eaten at any of the American restaurants. He is a strict vegetarian as many others are. On the other hand, it is hard to come across a Hindu student who does not take beef. I have so far met only two Mahommedan students. One of them was strict in his religious prejudices; the other partook as freely of pork as the Hindus do of beef. The uneducated Mahommedans, however, are strict in the matter of diet. They do not take pork nor do they touch fat. I had the honor of being entertained by them at a strictly Indian dinner cooked by themselves.†

* "America in Ferment", by Haworth, page 116.

† Some people are not disposed to attach much

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Those Mahommedans who can pass as Persians or Turks or even as Egyptians, are better treated. The Indians (called Hindus regardless of their creed) are however universally despised in other than learned or cultured circles, but from what I have seen of my Hindu, Sikh, or Mahommedan countrymen of this coast, I have nothing but respect for them. They are as a rule warm and generous patriots, hospitable and courteous.

Among the Sikhs and Hindus liquor creates havoc. The reason is obvious; they have no other diversion. In the absence of female society, in the absence of leaders to whom to look for guidance or example or precept, in the absence of a superior social strata to mix with even occasionally, in the absence of any real recreation and amusement to forget the hard toil of the day, they see no harm in burying their fatigue and in purchasing temporary forgetfulness of the cares of the world in a draught of beer or in a peg of whisky. Once in a saloon and once having started, some of them forget where to leave off and have tobe carried away to their rooms by their comrades or shut up in the lock-up by the police.

The Sikh in America, whether in Canada or in the United States, must have donated hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Panth, but the Panth has done precious little for them. There are Sikh Gurdwaras in both countries, where Sikh Scriptures are kept and where Granthis are stationed and maintained; but no class of human beings can live on credal religion alone. Religion cannot fill all their life outside work. The religious leaders have by overzeal added to their difficulties. For example, they brought nothing but ridicule on themselves by insisting on singing Bhajans and Kirtans to the accompaniment of Sikh instruments of music, like the Khartal, Dholki, etc., in the streets of Stockton. I have not so far heard of any attempts having been made to educate them, to create and encourage a habit of reading among them, to establish social and recreative centres for them and otherwise to cater to their social and physical desires on wholesome lines.

The Sikh and the Hindu laborer on this coast have been exploited in turns by the religious and the political fanatic, but neither of them has done anything for him in the way of supplying him intellectual or social food or creating for him a healthy social and mental atmosphere.

Oh! how I wish that some worthy Indians were to consecrate their lives to the service of these men, cater to their intellectual and social wants and guide them out of harm's way. Any one attempting to do that, will have a tough battle to fight and can only succeed if in addition to disinterested devotion to duty and love of his countrymen, he gives not only his time free, but also finds funds for his cause outside of America, for these people have become extremely suspicious of those who ask them to contribute. They have so often been cheated and imposed upon, that they now strongly resent being asked to pay either in the name of patriotism or philanthropy or religion; yet both the religious and the political movements are financed by them.

Besides, for want of the organization to look after their material interests, in the absence of intellectual and business leaders, with none of their class in the banking or trading circles, they do not get the full value of their labour and are oftener than not deceived and defrauded. Both Indian and American sharpers victimize them. They are a fine, good-looking, hard-working, simple-minded, honest warmhearted set of people, these "Hindu" laborers (including Sikhs and Mahommedans) on the Pacific Coast, and my heart goes forth to them in love and sympathy. Except in one or two instances, I have seen and studied them without disclosing my indentity. I have partaken of their Prasada (their bread and vegetable and meat) without their knowing exactly who I was and whence I had come and why I was there. Of course they have their own hotels and eating places as the American hotels and restaurants would not receive them. The Chinese and some of the Japanese hotels and restaurants are, however, open to them and such of them as wear hats may even go to American hotels and restaurants. In the South and in the West of America, the position of the Hindu is rather curious. In the South he is confounded with the Negro and the only way to escape the indignities that are heaped on the Negro there, is to put on a turban. In the West a turban has to be

importance to the question of what they eat, but I do. In my view the question is one of stamina and character.

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scrupulously tabooed, because with a turban you stand the chance of being excluded from hotels, restaurants and theaters and of being looked down upon.

I am of opinion that public bodies in India should find out some means of improving the lot of the Hindu laborers on this coast. The immigration department admits no more Hindus into the United States. There is no law forbidding their entrance as such, but the laws and regulations are so administered as to shut out and effectively exclude the Hindu from entering America, unless he comes on a short visit or for purposes of trade with plenty of money in his pockets, or as a student with sufficient evidence that he would be supported from home. Those, however, who are already here, have no intention of leaving the country soon. It would be a good thing if some way could be found to let them send for their women-folk.

The orthodox Christians of America and the churches do not like the Hindu Swami or the Hindu lecturer. They not only encroach upon their preserves, and are considered as poachers, but they help in disillusioning the people of America as to the civil and religious conditions of that "heathen" country. With the exception of a few high class Hindu teachers of the class of Swami Vivekananda and Swami Ram Tirtha, the general run of Swamis that come to this country are not above criticism. Their style of living, their lack of experience of the world and other things create enemies for them. I am afraid they are by no means the best representatives of Hinduism. In spite of misrepresentation and misstatements made by missionaries, Hinduism in the best circles of this country stands for high spirituality, high ethics, mysticism, purity of life and high morality. I have no reason to say that the Swamis that come to this country are anything but good men, but surely they are not the best representatives of Hinduism. Oftener than not, their knowledge of their own scriptures is poor; their age subjects them to temptations which are fatal to their mission; their pretensions of high spirituality or yogic or psychic powers places them on a level with American dabblers in occultism and with professional clairvoyants. The fact that they depend for their maintenance and wants and also for the maintenance of their organization upon the support of Americans, also brings in a spirit of greed and commercialism, which is alien to the true spirit of Hinduism and tends to bring discredit sometime. In fixing prices for admission to lectures or classes and in asking for offerings at the end of lectures they adopt the American spirit of commercialism which jars on Hindu ears and drags them down to the level of professional men. At times in their eagerness to manage their affairs well, and efficiently, they take lodgers in their buildings and deal with them on strictly business lines. All this takes away from their character of places of worship or places of Dharma and stamps upon them the trade mark of American commercialism. To me it seems absurd and quite opposed to the spirit of Hindu Shastras that a young man of 20 or 25 or 30 years of age should assume the position of a religious teacher or preacher, especially when he has not passed through the three Ashrams and has not undergone the discipline that is necessary for the conquest of the senses and without which one does not acquire the experience of human nature and human weaknesses, which is so essential for a successful preacher. It is bad that modern religious movements in India should have to act in opposition to the spirit of Hindu Shastras in this respect; but it is worse that we should send mere beardless youths to interpret Hinduism to the world at large. I am afraid poor Hinduism has to suffer a great deal from this mistake. Yet it is marvellous to what a great extent Hinduism has influenced the religious thought of America. Re-incarnation and the previous and future lives of the soul are accepted almost as an axiomatic truth. Karma is a very common word in religious phraseology. The Bible is being very laboriously overhauled to bring it into conformity with modern religious thought and many a Hindu idea is being given out to the world in Biblical language and Christian phraseology. A true Hindu has reason to be mighty glad of it without cavilling at the use which the Christian world is making of Hindu thought without acknowledging the debt. In the learned circles there is nothing but respect for India's past and India's culture. Tagore also has helped India considerably in that line. Among the modern writers widely read and appreciated in really cultured

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circles in this country, Rabindranath Tagore is always to be found.

With all this, I think, India needs to be better represented in the United States than it is at present. The Ramakrishna Mission should depute some of its senior men to interpret Vedanta to the Americans. The men who come out as teachers should have nothing to do with the business side of the mission. The Vedanta centers should moreover be open to poor Hindus or to new arrivals from India in the country for twenty-four to forty-eight hours without any charge. It is un-Hindu to insist on the payment of rent by everyone, even if he cannot afford to pay it and does not know where else to go for shelter. The teaching of religion should be absolutely separated from the financial or the business side of the organization. I am of opinion that wealthy Indian potentates like the Maharajas of India should endow lectureships for foreign countries. Competent Hindu lecturers should be sent abroad to give lectures on Indian subjects.

Of India, Americans generally know very little; perhaps not more than what they read in Kipling's books or in the writings of their own missionaries. A Hindu girl told me a story. She is a high school pupil and the course of history prescribed for her class includes Indian history. One day she asked her teacher why the latter ignored that part of the subject. The teacher's reply was because the Indians had done nothing to have a history; they were a backward people having nothing to their credit. The Hindu girl of course did not accept the reason given by the teacher and gave a bit of her mind in reply, but such is the colossal ignorance of educated foreigners about India. Your readers would laugh if I were to recount the stories that I know of the ignorance of even Englishmen about the geography and history of India.

Here again, the Indians themselves are responsible for this ignorance and if they and their country suffer thereby in the estimation of the world, the fault is theirs. How many Indians are there who feel that they owe a duty to their country to bring it into the open forum of the world, so that it may find its due recognition there by learning other people's point of view and giving its own for the benefit of others?

Some friends connected with the University of California have consituted themselves into an India Society for the purpose of studying Indian literature and Indian questions and creating interest in India among Americans. Professor Pope of the University of California has been elected its first President and Dr. David Starr Jordan, the great scientist and scholar, Chancellor of Stanford University, Mr. Edwin Markham, the poet, Mr. Winston Churchill, the great novelist, have consented to be its Vice-Presidents. It is hoped that the society may stimulate interest in Indian matters in America and be a source of friendly exchange of ideas between these two great countries of the East and the West. Indian publishers and Indian publicists would do well to send them their publications for notice and study.

GLEANINGS

The Art of Mimicry in War.

Protective Mimicry is one of nature's commonest methods of equipping living creatures to put up a good fight in the struggle for existence. Thus, some animals imitate their surroundings in color or in the dappling or striping on their skins so as to blend with the landscape at a little distance. Others, themselves quite inoffensive in character, borrow the aspect of neighbors who are actually dangerous or unpleasant because of the possession of poison-fangs, scent-glands, or sharp claws and teeth. Others again closely resemble some inanimate object, such as a leaf or stick or stone, so that they may escape their enemies on the one hand, or have their victims within reach on the other. An ingenious German writer, Dr. Hanns Gunnther, contributes to a recent number of *Die Umschau* (Berlin) an article in which he thus sets forth the theory that in the fiercest of all struggles for existence—human warfare—the subterfuges practised to deceive the enemy are closely analogous to those practised by animals:

"In the first place, we have protective coloring by which the aspect of troops and implements of war

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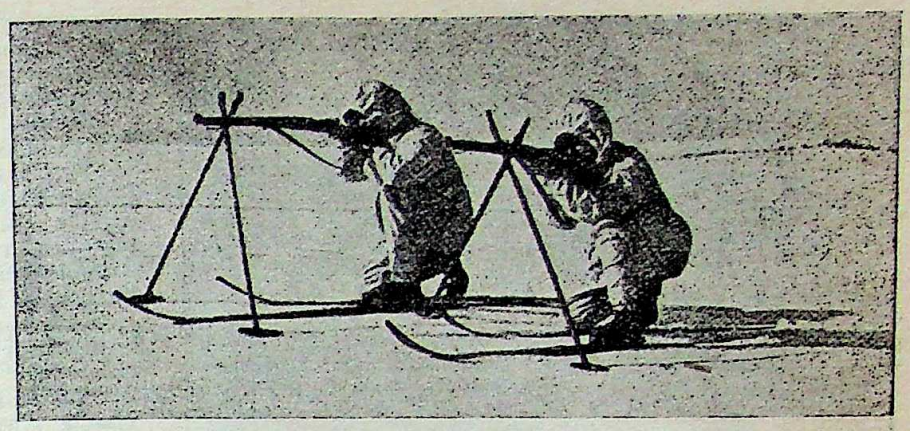
imitates their surroundings. In the second group belong the imitations of clumps of trees, bushes, hedges, downs, meadows, turnip-fields, haystacks, etc.' behind which are hidden wagon-trains, big guns, trenches, and observers' stations. The third group, which is essentially smaller, embraces a number of measures for lending to harmless objects a dangerous appearance, so as to deceive the enemy by suggesting dangers actually absent.

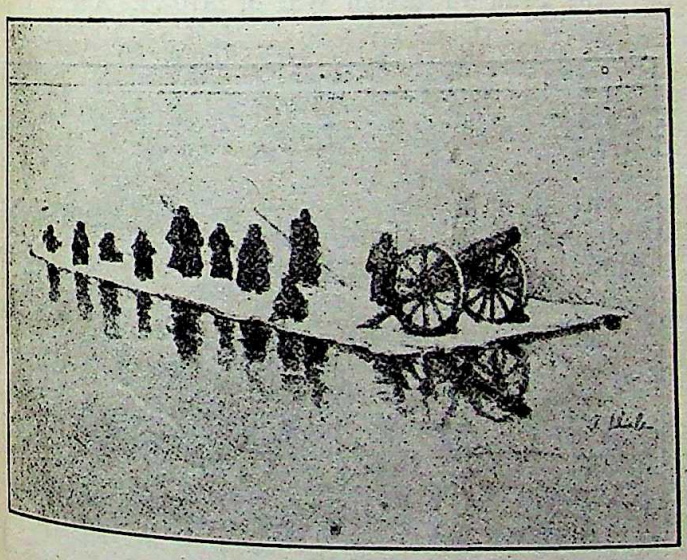
"A splendid example of the first group is the field-gray uniform of an army. Troops thus equipped elude the eye of the enemy almost entirely, even at short distances. Chosen by long practical tests from every possible similar color, this field-gray chimes in with the dust of the streets and the pale hue of the fog, as well as with the summer gray-green of the fields and meadows, so that a troop can scarcely be distinguished from its surroundings."



"SNOW BATTATION" IN THE VOSGES.

Their snow-white uniforms make them an indistinguishable part of the colorless winter lannscape.

Dr. Gunnther asserts that no other uniform is comparably effective, not the English khaki, the gray-green of the Russians, nor the blue-gray of the new French uniform—the latter, in fact, he says, stands out almost as clearly from the landscape as the red of the old uniforms. It is only against a background of snow that the field-gray is visible, and the new uniforms recently provided for the Russian campaign are white. These white uniforms have already been successfully used in the Vosges and the Karpathian Mountains. Not only troops, but artillery, wagons and other munitions and implements of war are shielded by protective color:



A RIVER-SCENE ON THE EASTERN FRONT.

Decoy soldiers are sent down the river on rafts to draw the enemy's fire and thus betray the location of batteries.

"War-ships afford the best example of this sort, their color corresponding to that of the seas in which they are particularly active and to the tone of the sky. Thus the light gray paint of the German fleet suits the monotonous gray of the North Sea. England has chosen a somewhat darker gray, also used by the Russian Baltic fleet. The torpedo-boats of all three countries are an exception; they must be as obscure as possible because they fight by night. In England and Germany they are black; Russia employs a dark green, by which, also, she protects her submarines and their convoys. In the Russian Black Sea fleet the battle-ships and cruisers are light gray, the torpedo-boats dark gray, the submarines light gray-green. France's fleet, whose natural fighting territory is mainly in the Atlantic, is painted bluish gray to suit the color-tone of the high seas. The French torpedo-boats are dark gray, but the *U*-boats are bottle-green, just the color often seen in the sea on a clear, still day when looking over the side of a ship."

All these color-schemes are determined by the changing and frequently overcast sky of the temperate latitudes, but in the tropics where a silver sea reflects a cloudless sky, ships are painted dazzling white. Even the torpedo-boats are not black, but either light gray or slate gray, to suit the brighter tropic nights.

The same tactics are employed in land warfare—guns, wagons, pontoons, etc., being painted to resemble the color of their immediate surroundings. Even so, their distinctive shape may reveal them to the "eye of the army," *i.e.*, the observer in the aeroplane:

"For this reason the guns are buried as deep as possible in the ground, boards are laid over the top of the hole, and these are covered with the excavated earth. Then this is covered with a layer of sand or turf, or planted with bushes or branches, according to the character of the surroundings. . . . Only the mouths of the guns are then visible, and these can be only seen a short way off, and usually not at all from above. If the guns are in or near a village, sheds or cottages are made out of boards and old shingles. And in wooded neighbourhoods entire miniature forests are planted out of chopped-down trees to hide men and guns from the eyes of the airmen.

"Naturally there is also an aircraft mimicry, which commonly consists in a coat of paint the color of the cloudy skies. But this seldom suffices, since in our skies is extremely changeable. The new

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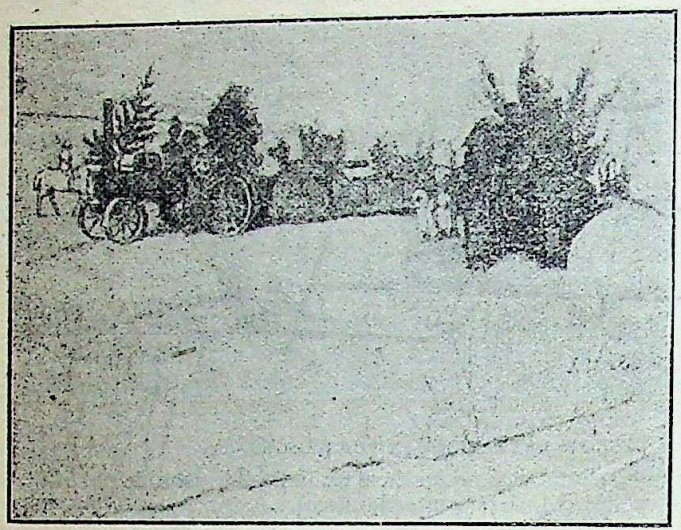


Deceiving the omnipresent hostile aviator by covering a moving battery with branches.

method of covering the planes with glassy transparent fabric . . . seems preferable, therefore. Machines fitted with such planes are visible from earth merely as a delicate framework, so they are generally hard to hit."

The use of branches and twigs of trees mentioned above is an ancient device in war, as attested by the famous lines of the prophecy in "Macbeth" anent the coming of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane. This comes under Dr. Gunnther's second division, and in modern warfare the device is generally employed to protect supplies, wagons, batteries, repair-wagons, etc. These are covered with leafy branches of trees. If the sound of an aeroplane is heard, the train of cars or batteries instantly stops moving, so as to look like a leaf-embowered lane or a hedge.

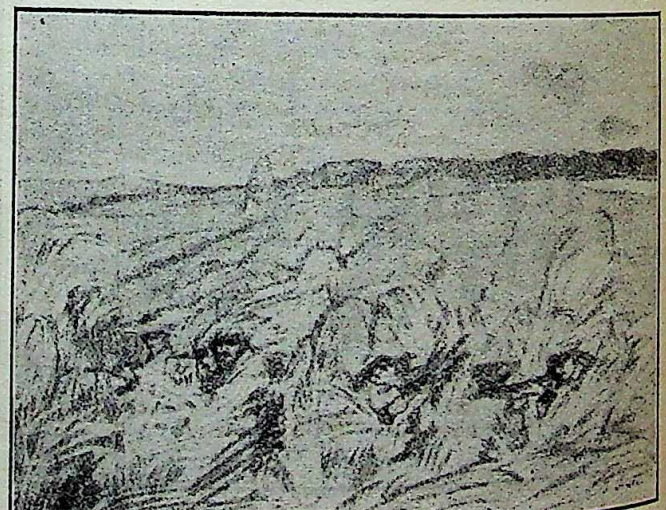
"In the third group belongs the well-known trick in maneuvers of putting soldiers' caps or helmets on turnips, stones, etc., to deceive lines of troops and thus draw the enemy's fire and mislead his leaders. This trick is used in war as well as in maneuvers; the London *Sketch* showed recently a turnip-field which was violently shelled by German artillery because of the French caps mounted on its stalks. But the Germans are not inferior to their enemies in this respect, and any one who looks over our soldiers' letters will be astonished at the lively inventions shown in each mimicry. Thus straw-cutters, raised slantingly, resemble siege guns. Then one may come across whole batteries made of earthen pipes laid across logs, with now and then even the gunners imitated by stuffed coats.

"Or again, in a charge, the men may stick helmets and cloaks on top of their bayonets, so that the enemy thinks he has giants before him, and aims higher than usual, naturally without hitting. In short, inexhaustible inventiveness is displayed to be-fool the enemy, and certainly with some success, else would such mimicry not be constantly revived. In this group belongs the trick attempted by Russians wishing to ascertain the position of our field-watch on the Memel. They sent adrift down-stream a raft manned by men of straw, and with a stove-pipe gun, hoping the field-watch would fire at it, and thus betray position and strength. This piece of craft, however, was discovered in time."

Finally, the writer mentions what he calls a fourth group. Under this head he places the use by the late commerce-destroyer *Emden* of a fourth smoke-stack, which caused her to resemble her prey. This enabled her, for instance, to creep up in the twilight to the Russian cruiser *Zhemchug*, lying in the harbor of Pulo Penang, and send her and the French torpedo-destroyer *Mosquet* to the bottom with a few well-directed shots. However:

"The mimicry of war is not confined to visible effects alone. The deception of the enemy by calls or signals must be included also. The patrol of a Prussian *Jagesbataillon* recently came near falling victims to such an order given by Captain Koschutzky. They were approaching a stretch of thick woods and had nearly reached it when a sentinel cried 'Halt! Wer da?' Unsuspiciously the prescribed answer was given: 'A patrol, 3rd Company, reconnoitering to the front.' But instead of the expected 'Pass' they heard a signal-whistle followed by a clatter of shots. Russian troops had made use of the German challenge to ascertain the position and strength of the enemy."

For another example of an ingenious deception of this kind Dr Gunnther goes back to an incident of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. A trick much



Infantrymen hiding behind sheaves of grain and wearing straw wreaths to complete the deception.

like that of Captain Koschutzky, he says, was employed by the Prussian general von Pape after the battle of Sedan to capture some French soldiers who had fled into a wood. He made a captured French trumpeter blow the signal 'Rendezvous,' which brought a thousand or so French soldiers rushing out of the woods, who were no little surprized to find themselves suddenly facing the enemy they thought they had happily escaped, instead of their comrades.

—*The Literary Digest.*

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STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE BARODA EXHIBITION OF PERIODICALS

By Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B.A., LL.B., Vakil High Court, Baroda.

A JOURNALISTIC Exhibition was held in Baroda by the Central Library Department of the State in the latter half of the month of February to commemorate the arrival of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, who arrived in this city on the 14th of that month. It exhibited mainly Western periodicals, the most noticeable feature of which was their varied character, which could not but strike any passing visitor. Side by side were also to be seen Western newspapers, Japanese periodicals and the newspapers and periodicals of the Baroda State. But we shall silently pass them over, as there was nothing peculiarly striking about them.

In the March number of the Modern Review reference is made to the holding of such an exhibition and very striking though frank remarks are added half seriously and sarcastically and half humourrously concerning the same. The purpose of the Exhibition is there described to be "to serve as a stimulant to those responsible for the production of periodicals in India." I, for my part, failed to perceive such an intention* on the part of the organizers. For, to be sure, few editors of periodicals published in the different parts of India must have been expected to come to receive inspiration from the Exhibition! If the organizers had any such mission to fulfil, viz., to improve and raise the standard of Indian periodicals, it can be better achieved by publishing in some of the most widely circulated Indian periodicals articles which may serve as guiding lights indicating the lines on which and the methods by which Indian journalism may be improved. This, I think, is the only sure way by which the idea of raising the standard of Indian periodicals may be brought to the door of every journalist.

The purpose of the exhibition which I or any other visitor could gather seems simply to be to give to the public an idea of what Western journalism in its most developed forms is like, as also to show, at the same time, what an amount of interest the public generally there must be taking in journalistic literature and what encouragement and support from readers and advertisers the journals there must be receiving. Journalistic literature is no exception to the universal law of supply and demand. If there is a demand there is a supply, but if supply is offered without the demand, the supplier may come to grief. Therefore, if we find in the West periodical literature in different forms of development and in various kinds, it needs no saying that it is all due to public support or demand. Thus in the select list of periodicals given below will be observed periodicals such as "The Badminton," "The Play Ground," "The Bakers' Review," "The Brewers' Review,"

A Charging Regiment of Scarecrows : intended to make the enemy shoot too high.

* A Note in the "Bombay Chronicle" was our authority for ascribing such intention to the promoters. Editor, *M.R.*

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&c, which at once go to show that there the thirst for reading is so great that different classes of people want magazines which particularly deal with subjects in which they take special interest. Try the experiment in India and start a "Badminton" or a "Bakers' Review" and see if you can secure subsc.ibers. We do not believe in charms in these days by which Western journalists can produce money necessary for conducing magazines. It is also money that can procure articles of any kind required. Without dilating more I may state in a word that I fully agree with the spirit in which the comments were made in this Review. Numerous are the Indian journalist's difficulties. But at the same time I hope not to be misunderstood if I suggest that periodicals in India, though some of them really maintain a high standard, would do well to publish articles of different types calculated to interest different classes of people, as, there are not in this country periodicals to satisfy the tastes of classes. Thus the student world specially and the young generally would find it more to their taste to read purely literary articles, such as dramatic pieces, anecdotes, tales, allegories, essays, satires, poems, pithy sayings, humourous writings, &c. I do not know whether I am right in holding that magazines are read in larger numbers and more attentively by students than by others. Then there are some persons who have a taste for history, some for philosophy, some for sociology, some for politics, some for economics, some for statistics only, some for scientific research, some for archaeology, and so forth. As, however, there are not proper special magazines in India to satisfy such special wants the general magazines should undertake to occasionally satisfy such cravings. Special magazines may fail to secure subscribers sufficient in number to pay the expenses of conducting them. The task may be, therefore, performed by the general magazines. Therefore I believe it to be a good principle to adopt to secure and publish articles which interest a sufficiently large class of readers. If we cannot manage to conduct a "Boys' Own" or a "Badminton" owing to want of proper public support, let our more stately and dignified magazines undertake occasionally to satisfy the juvenile taste. And if I may be allowed to indulge in a little pleasantry, I ask where is the harm in publishing an article on "Scientific Haircutting" or on "Fashion in Hair", if an editor finds on the list of his subscribers fifty or a hundred managers or proprietors of Haircutting Saloons? While those immediately concerned will be instructed, others may be agreeably amused.

As a matter of fact some of our magazines do show a varied character and do take into account the different tastes of different classes of people.* Still, however, as nothing can be beyond suggestion my suggestions may be taken at what they are worth.

I shall now give a select list of periodicals exhibited which will go to show to what extent the specialising process has gone in journalism in the West.

There was first the Literature Section in which were observed the "Harper's Magazine," the "Metropolitan", the "Windsor Magazine," the "Pall Mall Magazine", etc. Akin to this section but removed from it was the "Literary Section" in which were seen the "Academy and Literature," the "Literary World," the "Dial"' the "Literary Digest", etc.

From the Literature Section we jumped at once to the International Section where were found the "Pan-American Magazine", the "International", the "Near East", the "Journal of the American Asiatic Association", "Dun's International Review", etc.

Then there were the Italian, Arabic and Japanese periodicals, which were unintelligible and seemed to have been placed in the Exhibition probably because they were collected by the organizer in his tour.

Then we come to the richly furnished and attractive section of Fine Arts. Here we found the "International Studio", the "Art Studio", "Art Decoraitif", the "Journal of the Royal Society of Arts", the "Art Decorator", "L'Art Et Les Artistes", the "Art et Decoration", "Fine Arts Journal", and also the "Journal of

* Thus taking the very issue of the magazine in which appeared the comments which have evoked this article we find materials to suit different tastes. Thus there is art in the frontispiece and other blocks. There are notes which tread almost every sort of ground; there is an imaginative literary piece by Sir Rabindranath, then there is the scholar in Kalidasa; then there is a socio-legal article "Inter-marriage between Hindu castes and sub-castes." Then follows an economic article, then comes one story, next is an essay, etc., etc.

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Indian Art and Industry" (published in London!), &c. In this Section were also included the "Amateur Photographer" and the "Photographic Times".

Next was the group of periodicals on Architecture, where there were about five or six of them.

From Architecture we passed on to Engineering. Here we found such magazines as the "Engineering & Mining Journal", the "American Machinist", "Popular Mechanics Magazine", the "Concrete Cement Age", &c.

There were again sub-groups in Engineering such as the" "Railway Engineer", the "Locomotive World", the "Automobile World." Then there was the "Water and Water Engineer", then there was the "Valve World." The specialising process in this branch is noteworthy.

We then turned to the group of Industrial Magazines. Here also we found separate magazines for separate kinds of industry. Thus there was the "Timberman", the "Lumber World Review", the "Metal Worker", the "Foundry Trade Journal", the "Hardware Age", &c. There were also the "Mining World", the "Mining and Scientific Pressing", the "Mining Magazine", and the "Mining Jounrnal", on the mining industry. Then there were miscellaneous ones, like the "Coal Age," the "American Industries", the "Fireman's Herald", the "Industrious Hen", the "Brick and Pottery Trades Journal", the "Soap Gazette", There were also some magazines on Textile.

There was one magazine the "Business Equipmet Journal" on that subject.

There were some periodicals dealing with agriculture and some with hide and leather and shoe industries.

Next to call our attention was the Foods and Drinks Section where were observed the "Baker's Review", the "International Confectioner", the "National Food Magazine", the "National Provisioner", and the "Brewer's Review".

In the section of Visual Mechanisms were seen the "Photoplay", the "Moving Play", the "Moving Picture Stories", the Motion Pictures", and the "Bioscope".

Having been entertained by the light amusement afforded by the "Motion Pictures" the "Photoplay" &c, we came to a more serious part of the Exhibition, viz., Commerce. In this group were found many Magazines among which were the "Exporter's Review", the "American Exporter", "Commercial America", and "Kelly's Monthly Trade Review".

We now peeped into Science. On Electricity we found the "Electrical World", the "Popular Electricity", the "Wireless Age". There were also the "Scientific American", the "Physical Review", the "Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry", the "Analyst", the "Man (a Monthly record of Anthropological Science)".

Next came the Printing Section where were found the "Linotype and Machinery", the "Inland Printer," the "Pacific Printer," the "Caxton Magazine", etc.

There were also Magazines on Libraries. Thus there was the "Library", the "Library Journal", and the "Public Libraries".

We then came to a more serious part of journalism, viz, the section of Magazines on Religion. Here were found the "Unitarian Advance," the "Hibbert Journal", the "Open Court (devoted to Religion of Science, Science of Religion and the extension of the Religious Parliament Idea)."

There was one Magazine on Astrology, viz, "Modern Astrology".

We are now prepared to dabble in Philosophy. In this section were noted "Mind", the "Theosophical Path", "Free Thinker", etc.

Next were arranged periodicals on Eugenics, among which were the "Eugenics Review". the "Child", "Child Life". On Sociology there was one Magazine called the "Sociological Review".

Next were the Medical and then the Legal Magazines. Then came the general reviews, which are too well-known; then the American dailies, next the annuals and then the Christmas numbers. After passing over the heavier part of journalism we are at once relieved when we light upon the lighter part of it viz., the Fashion Section. Here were seen the "Ladies, World", the "Gentle-woman", "Vanity Fair", the "Ladies' Home Journal", the "Ladies' Realm". These magazines dealt more with trifling and ephemeral things such as dress, fashion, etc., than with anything else.

We are next invited to the theatre. Our eye is here feasted by the photographs in the "Stage Quarterly", the "Modern Dance Magazine", the "Theatre", etc., which were copiously illustrated.

Let us now grow bouyant and turn to the Juvenile Group, which comprised the

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"Children's Companion", the "Boys' Own", the "Children's Friend", etc,.

Then there were one or two Magazines on health.

After regaining our health we run to the field of sports and amusements. Here were found "Fry's Magazine of Outdoor Life", the "Badminton", the "Play Ground", etc.

Next in store for us is mental entertainment of a sprightly kind. We now enter the realm of joy, viz., the Humourous Section, in which were the "Judge", "London Opinion", the "Comic Cuts", "Tit-Bits", "Punch", "Cartoons", "Life" and "Puck".

The weeklies finally bid good bye to the visitor.

The above magazines will clearly show the varied taste of the reading public in the west. The most noteworthy feature of the western periodicals is their specialising for particular classes or topics or tastes. We have got something of the sort in India in our vernaculars, but certainly not to the extent above shown. Science, owing to peculiar conditions, is almoss unknown in India. How then can we have magazines on the subject ?* We have little love for sports: who would then support periodicals on Sports ? Among reviews, however, we can say without exaggeration that there are some in India which can fairly compete with those of the West. There is one thing very remarkable about the western periodicals in that they have invariably a fine get-up. But underneath such get-up there is sometimes very ephemeral and worthless matter. Some of the western periodicals serve like an old man's gossip, others serve the purposes of a buffoon, while there are some which please momentary fancies. But while there are such, there are also others which rise very high. If there are magazines in the West which please the fancy and satisfy the vain curiosity of women and children and the unprofitable passing tastes of men generally, there are also stately magazines there which deal with serious and very grave questions, such as those of philosophy, religion, sociology, politics, etc. There is no doubt, however, that Indians have as good brains as their Western brothers and they are capable of producing the best kinds of magazines in the different fields only if they have sufficient opportunities.

* We know of one in Bengali and one in Hindi. Editor, *M. R.*

CIVICS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

THERE has been in recent years a recognition of the importance of including in school curricula, instruction in the facts and principles of existing governments and social studies, called Civics. But except teaching the boys of elementary classes to answer a few set questions from Inspectors and other distinguished visitors, as the boys progress in the secondary classes, very little systematic instruction in this branch of knowledge is attempted. Surely the lessons learnt from Indian and English History in the Secondary School would be better impressed if supplemented by a study of existing institutions. Perhaps, it is feared that civics touch many controversial subjects dangerous to teachers and boys at that stage of development.

The study of History can never come to full life, unless civic interest, public spirit, and patriotism are awakened. Then it is that the judicious teacher can so teach History that even if the chronologies of History and the details are forgotten, as they generally are, the spirit of the forgotten details will remain in the mind of the citizen.

Civics has to be taught one way in countries where the citizens carry on their own government; in a different way in countries where the people have yet to get that natural right. In these countries the future citizen has to devote much of his work, time, and resources, to measures to obtain that right in all its phases. The training of boys to become future citizens of the State involves in India not only, as in England, training them for the public and

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private offices which they may be expected to fill, but to do that important additional function of the citizen of progressive India, namely, to be a real and active force for bringing about reform in Government institutions.

India is different from other countries not only in this respect, bnt in another important matter, which has to be kept in view in this connection. Not only are there many Government institutions which the educated citizen has to attack and reform, but many social and religious institutions and evils which he has to work strenuously to modify and destroy, if the nation should grow united, strong and prosperous.

To a certain extent, then, if Indian teachers should do their duty properly by the Nation, they cannot teach Civics and lay a proper foundation of principles, and adopt right methods of teaching the subject, without introducing matters unacceptable to the more conservative officers of Government and to the more bigoted and reactionary sections of Indian Society. In steering his instruction along the path of national duty avoiding these two impediments to progress, lies the skill of the successful teacher.

The above considerations point out the need for and the lines which we should adopt for the special work of Institutions devoted to "National" education. These institutions may with freedom show much further activity in matters excluded from institutions controlled by Government and pledged to a neutral unprogressive attitude in social and religious questions.

Still, to every teacher in whatever institution, it may be said, Remember to insist on the duties of the individual not only to Government, but to the Nation to which he belongs. In advanced countries, the duties of the citizen to the State would be covered by an exposition of the claims of Government on a portion of his time and resources. But in India, the Government is not identified with the Nation. The public-spirited citizen ought to be trained, when still young, to learn to give out of his time and resources not only to the existing government of his country, but over and above that, to the Nation, so that he may help to build the future State.

The vexed question of religious education ueed not be solved if Civics could be taught as it ought to be. The honour and the prosperity of our nation may be made the basis of all individual moralities like honesty, industry, chivalry, and sacrifice.

C. RAJAGOPALACHAR.

DABHOI OR THE CITY OF THE DARBHA GRASS

IN the modern state of Baroda, as if to call to its remembrance its roots in the past, have been placed some of the more considerable remains of ancient Gujerat. Pattan, Siddhapur, Modhera, in northern Gujerat; Dabhoi, Chandode in southern, are the trustees, so far indeed as Time and Man, the arch enemies of everything old, have allowed them to be, of the glory and splendour of Hindu and Muhammadan Gujerat. But of all the archaeological treasures of this province none can surpass in their good fortune and in their intrinsic value the antiquities of Dabhoi.

This ancient city is situated in the Baroda prant of the Baroda state, 22·8N and 73·28E about 20 miles to the south-east of the capital of that Raj. Although very remote, its origins are lost in obscurity. The Romaka Siddhanta, one of the five principal astronomical treatises in use in the sixth century A.D (according to Dr Bhau Dhaji who places it in A.D 505) mentions Dabhoi in the Sanskrit form Darbhavati, from Darbha, the sacrificial grass. But this date of the first source for the history of Dabhoi is disputed, and we must wait for the revelations of further discovery to know more about the early days of our city. Whatever the date of the birth of Dabhoi, it soon grew in importance, on account of various reasons. It lies on the route from Northern Gujerat to the ancient shrines of Chandode and Karnali.

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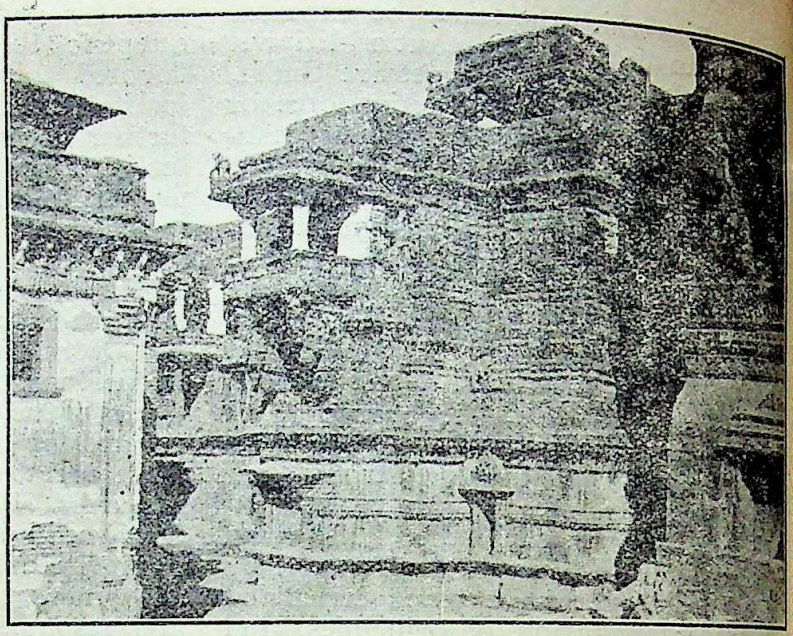
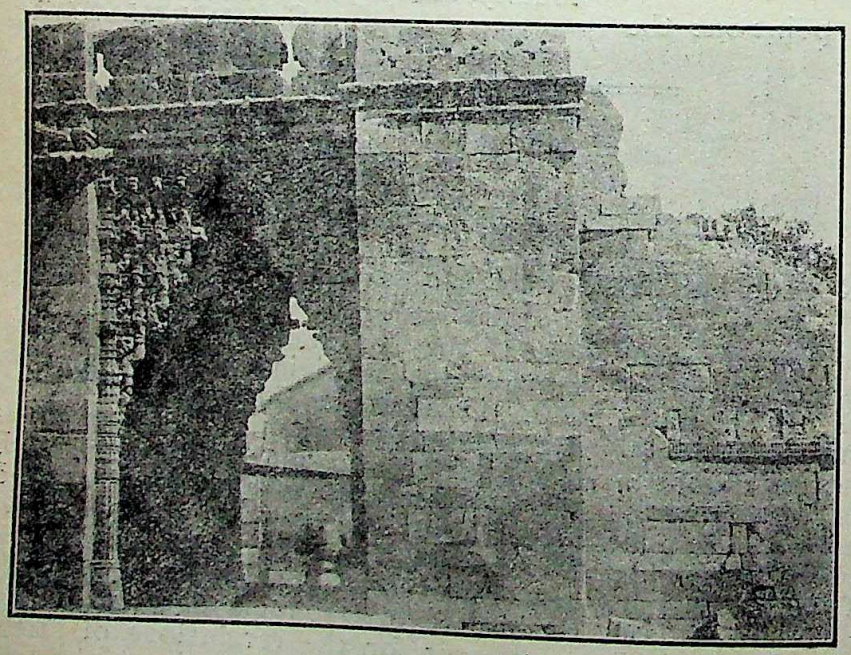
It must have been a fair resting place for the pious travellers to and from these places of pilgrimage. The original of the superb tank situated in the centre of the city and around which Dabhoi must have grown, perhaps, decided its foundation. It was also on the frontier of the Gujerat of the Chalukyas or Solankis (961-1242A.D), and the fort of Dabhoi was, perhaps, built by one or more of these Solankis, as part of their scheme of defence against the predatory tribes in the east, the Kolis and the Bhils, just as Charlemagne used Worms in his campaigns against the Saxons. The origin of Dabhoi may be traced to one or other of these circumstances, possibly, as is often the case, to a combination of all of these.



Kalika Mata Temple, Dabhoi.



Baroda or Western Gate, Dabhoi.

That is the probability of history; but the certainty of tradition is infinitely more interesting. Many centuries ago Sadara Jai Singh, the lion of victories, was King of Pattan. Like Solomon, the wisest of men, and many others without that palliation, he had many wives and a right royal number of concubines. The first in rank and his greatest favourite among these was Ratnavali (the Lustre of Jewels) fair in name and fairer of form. No favourite's reign is complete without a host of discomfited rivals and Ratnavali became the object of the jealousy of the other wives and women of Jai Singh. This jealousy reached its climax when the favoured queen showed promise of presenting her lord and master with a child. Anxious to escape the charms and spells of her rivals whom she had offended past all forgiveness, she left Pattan to go and offer sacrifices at a celebrated temple on the banks of the Narbadda, probably Chandode. After a long and weary journey she arrived late in the evening at a sacred grove and lake about ten miles from that river. There she was advised by a Goswami to stay some while, and there in the fulness of time she gave birth to a son. Grateful for the

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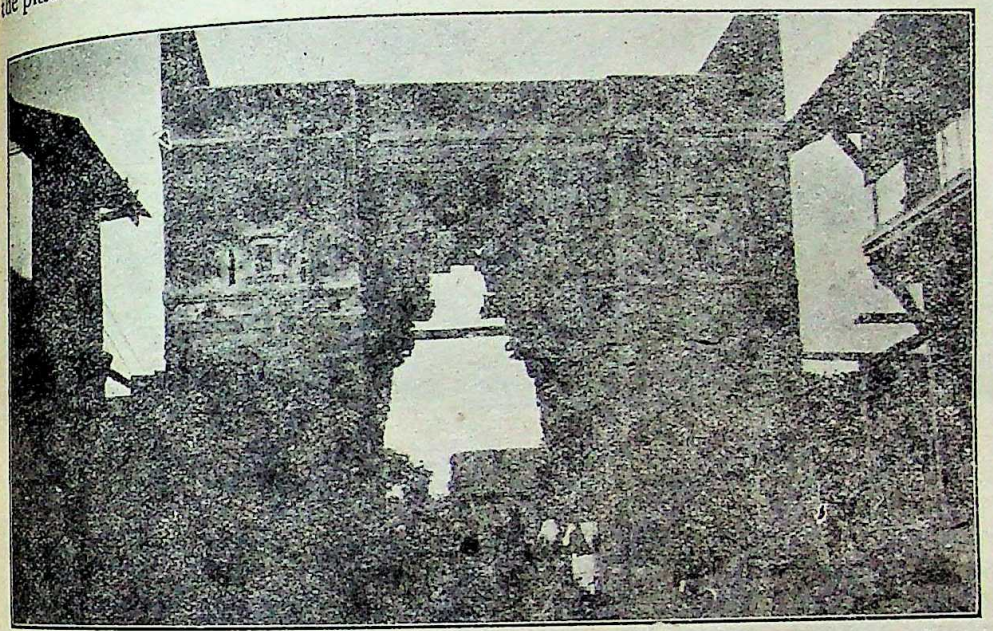
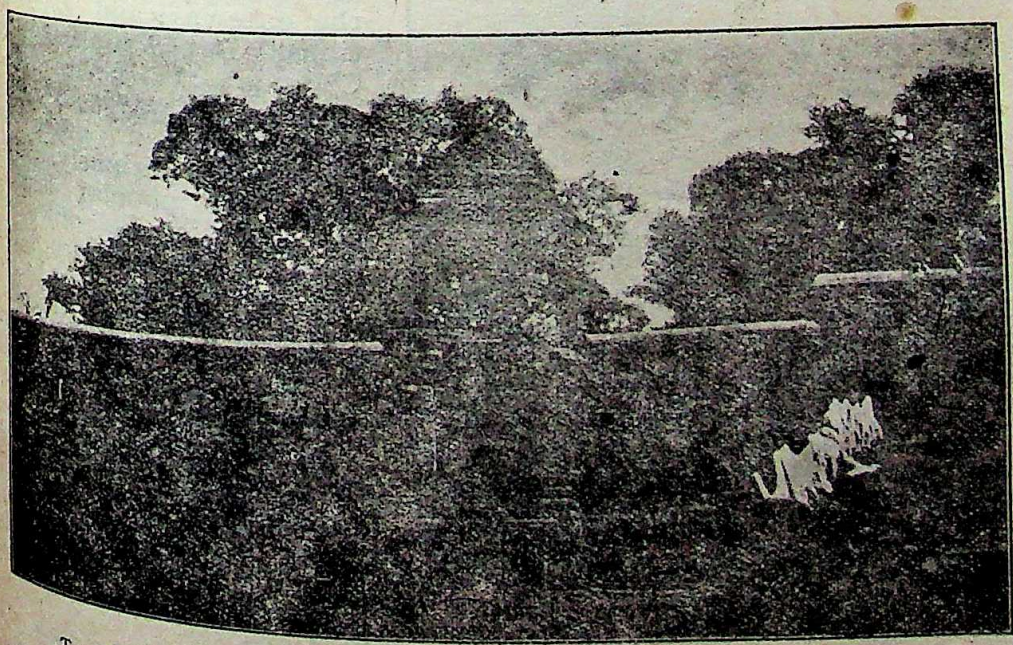
safe birth of her child she entreated her king to allow her to stay in that place which had brought her such luck. The Rajah readily gave in to her wishes. Not only that, he resolved to do handsomely by the place which had taken his wife's fancy.



Champaner or Northetn Gate, Dabhoi.

He enlarged the tank, extended the groves, and built a fair city as a permanent record of his love. His son Visaladeva (child of twenty months) also honoured the choice of his mother. Even after ascending the throne of Pattan, he remained there for some time, and the pageant of a royal court was vouchsafed to the people of that place. Visaladeva acceded to the request of the principal architect and builder of the city that it should be called after his name, Dhubhovey. Thus it came to pass that this city was known ever since as Dhabhoi.

Such is the romantic story of the foundation of Dabhoi gathered from the Bards and Charans of the place by Forbes. The iconoclasm of scientific history has laid its stern hands on an account which we would fain believe in. Burgess dismisses the derivation of Visaladeva and the origin of Dabhoi as quite imaginary, for Dadhoi was old long before Visaladeva's times, the thirteenth century. And the sad fate of the eponymous origins of other cities, like the well-known one of Rome from Romulus, is hardly favourable to belief in this particular account. As if that were not enough, the contradictions of tradition come to the aid of scepticism. Another story relates that Visaladeva, anxious that the architect of Dabhoi should not be able to sell his



Temple of Siva on the tongue of land projecting into the Dabhoi Tank.

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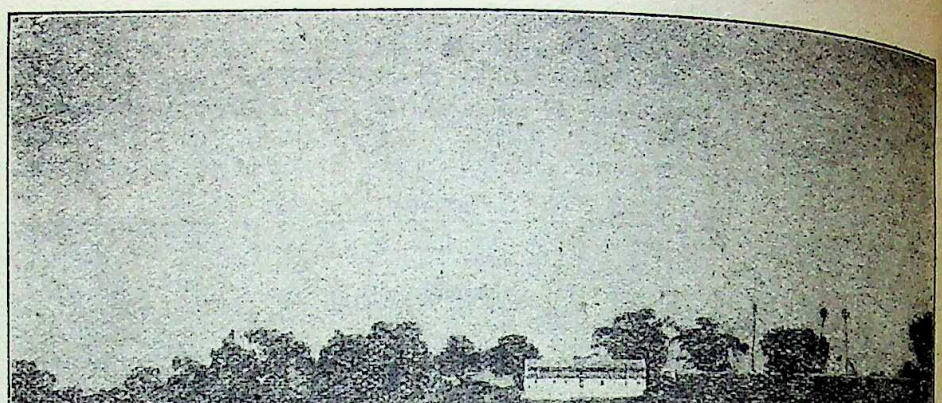
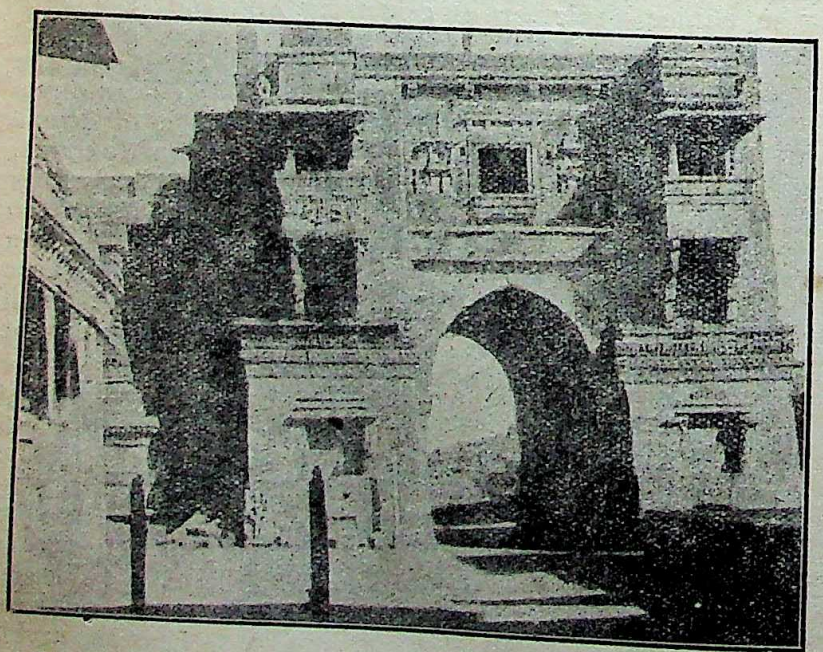
art to other kings, his rivals, had him immured in a recess below the Kalika Mata temple near the Hira Gate. The villagers still point out the place of his incarceration and recount to the sympathetic visitor the story of his faithful wife, who at the peril of losing her head carried food to her husband for a whole year and thereby kept him alive. After a time the king felt the need of the artist's services and regretted his death, when he was duly produced before Visaladeva. The latter entrusted him with some more architectural designs, which he lived to carry out.



The Dabhoi Tank. On the island projecting into the tank is the half-buried little temple of Siva.

The scepticism of history, having demolished the beliefs of tradition, has not put anything in its place, definite or decided, as to the exact antiquity of Dabhoi. We are to rest satisfied with suppositions. It is doubtful whether the rule of the Chaudas or Chapotkatas (746-941 A.D) extended as far south as Dabhoi. It most probably formed part of the dominions of the Rashtrakutas who held the south of continental Gujerat (807-888 A.D). The Solankis or Chalukyas (941-1243 A.D) probably erected the fortress of Dabhoi. To Siddharaja Jaisingh (1093-1143), the greatest of the Chalukyas, are ascribed the gateways and fortifications. But Siddharaj, like Cadmus of Thebes and Theseus of Athens, bears this honour, it must be confessed, vicariously. He, like other popular heroes, has the credit of good works which were not his but of those who went before him or who came after him. Still, it may be safely asserted that the defences of Dabhoi, a frontier city, were the especial care of that excellent king, in view particularly of the peremptory injunctions of Manu and the Hitopadesa on this matter of forts and fortifications.



The Hira or the Eastern Gate. The Muhammadan arch has ousted the Hindu brackets still to be seen in the Baroda and Champaner Gate.

After the death of Siddharaj and Kumarapala,

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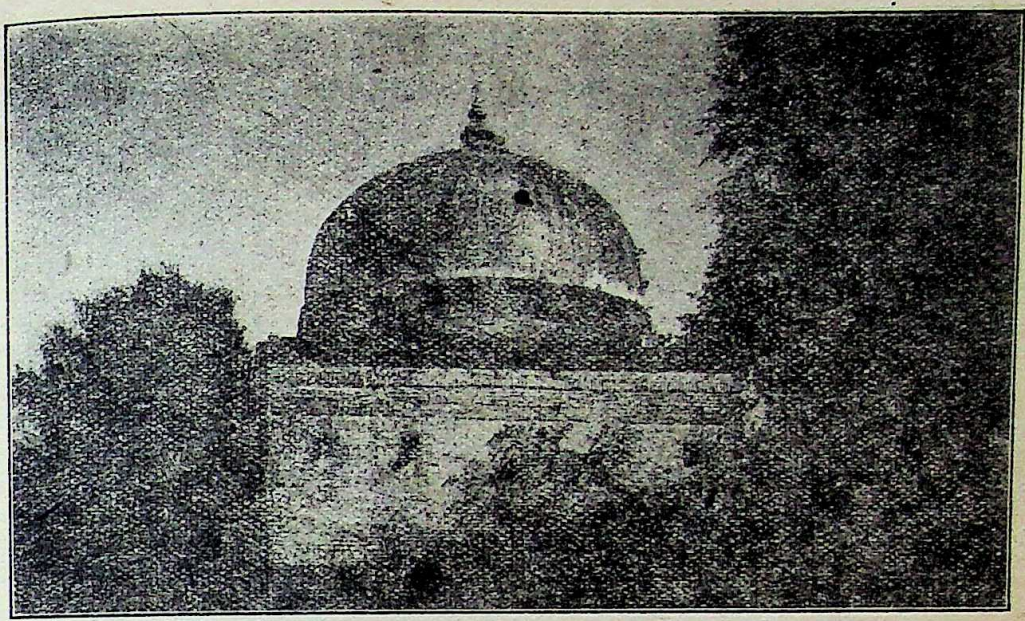

The Tomb of Mamah Dokre, the lady who is said to have brought the Musalmans into Dabhoi. Near it is an upright slab of stone with a hole in the middle, used in trials by ordeal. The man who could not get his body through the hole was pronounced guilty. The last time it was used the man got stuck and the stone had to be broken to get him out.

the Chalukyas fell on evil days, and the throne of Anhilvad was usurped by Visaladeva, son of Viradhavala, Rana of Dholka, and of the Vagbela family. Visaladeva (1243-1261) is said to have been born at Dabhoi and to have performed a Yajna or sacrifice there. In the inscriptions in the temple at Girnar (1231 A.D) of the Jaina brothers Tejahpala and Vastupala, famous in their day as builders of temples, mention is made of the pious care which Vastupala bestowed on some temples at Dabhoi. To Visaladeva tradition correctly, as Burgess allows it, ascribes the restoration, if not the entire erection, of the Hira Gate and the adjoining temples. According to the Vastupalacharitra (A.D 1308), Tejahpala, minister of Visaladeva, after capturing Gogol, king of Godhra, whom he carried about in a cage to teach a much-needed lesson to him and other troublesome chiefs, proceeded to Dabhoi whose people were in constant dread of the predatory tribes all around, and where business was well-nigh suspended on that account. Tejahpala after reaching Dabhoi, and allaying the fears of the inhabitants ordered the construction of the fort-walls, the building of the temple of Parasnath, and the temple of Vaidyanath.

When in 1298 Gujerat fell into Muhammadan hands, Dabhoi accepted the inevitable. How, in what manner, with what grace, she quitted the stage of Hindu history, we cannot know for certain. A picturesque and plausible story of the coming of the Muhammadans into Dabhoi has come down to us. Dabhoi, for a long time, ever since the days when it found favor in the eyes of a queen, continued to be a purely Hindu city, no Mussalman being allowed to reside within its walls, or on any pretence to bathe or wash in the tank. But one day a young Mahometan stranger, Sciad Bullah, by name, halted at Dabhoi on his pilgrim's journey to Mecca with his aged mother Mamah Dokre. Impelled by the curiosity of a stranger, he airily walked in to look round the city; and one tank in his eyes being as good as another, he took off his clothes and bathed in it. Unwittingly he had committed the unpardonable sin; he was immediately punished by having his hands cut off. The mother, who had doted upon this son as the joy of her old age, took a quiet oath that she would not rest till she made the people of Dabhoi pay in blood for the blow they had brought upon her grey hairs. She went back to her country and prevailed upon her sovereign to march on Dabhoi and avenge the foul murder of a Mussalman. The proud Hindu city was besieged, sacked and laid in ruins. After the destruction of Dabhoi, Mamah Dokre, who had died during the siege, was buried outside the eastern Gate where her tomb is still to be seen.

Dabhoi survived its sack, if indeed there was one, and lived on as part of the territories of the early Delhi kings (1297-1403), of the Ahmedabad kings (1403-1573) and lastly of the Mughal Empire (1573-1760). In the Mirat-i-Ahmedi

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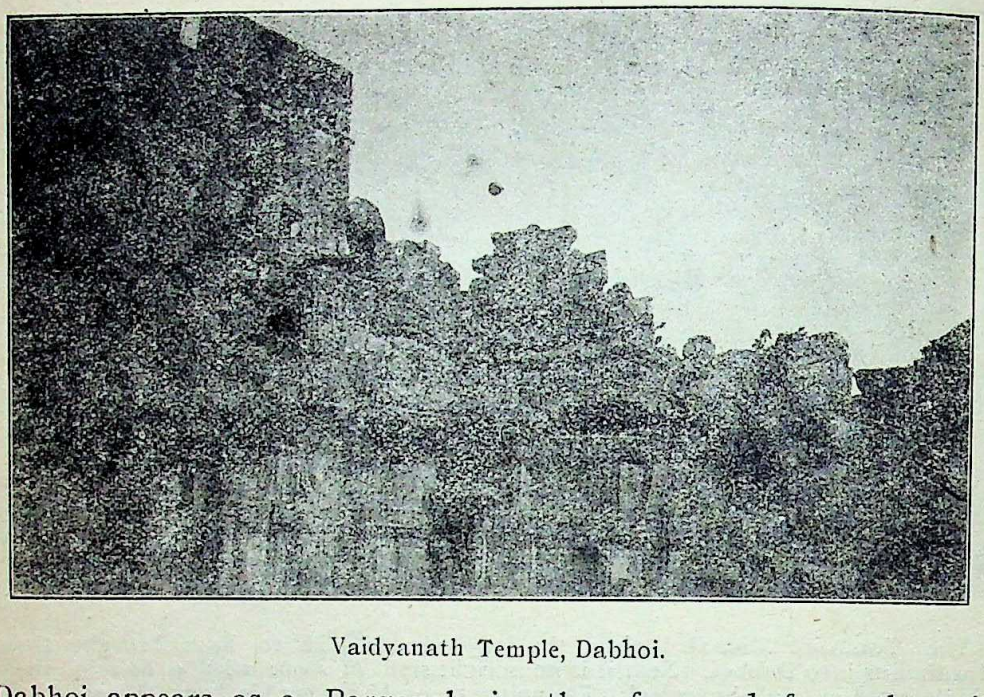

Vaidyanath Temple, Dabhoi.

Dabhoi appears as a Parganah in the Sarkar of Baroda with one mahal, 44 villages and a revenue of 8,00,000 Changezis in or about the year 1571 A. D. Dabhoi has the distinction of being mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari. In a tabular form the great statistician of the Mughal Empire gives the following particulars of this Mahal of the Sarkar of Baroda. Dabhoi, he tells us, has a stone fort, 167,090 bighas of land, 6,252,550 dams of revenue, a Suyurghal of 4562 dams, 500 cavalry and 500 infantry. We do not hear of Dabhoi again till 1725 A.D., when Senapati Trimbakrav Dabhade, the commander of Pilaji Gaekwad's army, fixed his headquarters there. Udaji Pawar, a protege of the jealous Peshwa, ousted Dabhade from Dabhoi and occupied it for some time. But it was soon retaken by Pilaji in 1727, who established his son Damaji in it. The latter held Dabhoi even in 1732 when his father was murdered and Baroda itself was lost for a time to his family. Ever since then, except for a very brief interval, Dabhoi has been faithful to the house of the Gaekwads. Time has its own revenges, and this pre-eminently Hindu city is once more in Hindu hands.

It is a strange welcome with which the ancient city of Darbhavati greets her modern visitor. As the diminutive narrow-guage Railway train from Baroda curves into Dabhoi station, the traveller is presented with the spectacle of a number of ginning-factory chimneys belching forth smoke and modernism. For Dabhoi, like most of us in these latterdays, suffers from progress. It is one of the centres of the cotton trade in the Baroda state. As soon as one leaves the station compound, one comes up right against old Dabhoi.

The walls, or rather what remains of the old walls on the west, are only a few yards from the railway lines, and the traveller enters the city not by one of the regular gateways of ancient Dabhoi, but by a sort of illegitimate entrance, pierced into the walls in modern times. The walls are seen to be built of fine large hewn stone, and one does not wonder that they have stood the test of centuries of siege and neglect. Turning to the right, as soon as we pass the entrance, and proceeding a few yards in that direction, we arrive at the western or Baroda Gate. It is in an excellent state of preservation. It would be a perfect specimen of the old Dabhoi Gate but for the letting in of a Muhammadan arch in the Middle. The arch is, no doubt, a great step forward in architecture and is a thing of beauty. But the Dabhoi architect has shown how it is possible to build a beautiful gate with only bracketed supports springing from pilasters. The brackets have been so well put in that one does not feel the absence of the arch which one considers so essential to the beauty of every portal. Each of the brackets as well as the Muhammadan arch supports an architrave surmounted by the slabs of the roof.

Dabhoi is a city of gates, the three others being the Hira Gate on the east, the Champanir gate on the north, the Nandod or Chandod gate on the south. Of these, the Chandod is not well preserved, the Champanir is not so large as the Baroda Gate, while the

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Hira is completely transformed out of its Hindu origin. In a line with the Hira Gate are the two temples of Kalika Mata on the north side and of Vaidyanath or Mahadev on the south. The Mahadev temple is now in ruins, while the Kalika-Mata still stands in all its glory and wealth of carving. It is still a place of living worship; but alas! the Dabhoi artist of to-day has been allowed to practise his atrocities in chalk and daub within the sacred precincts of the temple. It is a narrow structure displacing the city-walls for a few yards and obtruding into the city not more than about 25 feet, and could not have accomodated more than a hundred devotees at a time. Architecturally and physically, it is too intimately connected with the Gate and the walls to be independent of or prior in origin to them. It looks as if it were indeed the fort-chapel of Dabhoi.

After the Gates, and the temple the great attraction of Dabhoi is the superb tank in the centre. It is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, lined with hewn stone, and with a flight of steps all around. Forbes was told its original cost exceeded five lacs of rupees; nor is this an extravagant estimate. It is the centre of Dabhoi life, of that which is still simple and unconventional. It is the baths, the boulevards, the rendevous, all in one, of the town. Towards the east is a tiny little island projecting into the tank, on which stands a small temple half covered in by earth. The floor of the temple being under ground, it is a problem which came first, the temple or the tank. Behind the temple is a pretty little garden in which was situated the residence of the old Mussalman governors of Dabhoi. The artistic possibilities of the tank are great. Beautiful houses adorning its sides would have made it a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. But the cynical visitor will note with grim satisfaction that is is only on the side which is not faced by houses that the aspect of the tank charms and delights the eye.

Dabhoi must have been an attractive place in the eighteenth century, if we are to believe Forbes who lived here almost continuously from 1780 to 1783 as Collector during the temporary occupation of the town by the British. The beautiful tank, the shady groves in the neighbourhood, the narrow quiet lanes, the substantial houses of the well-to-do, the rural scenes visible from the old governor's residence, which was also his, pleased the fastidious taste of that great Anglo-Indian traveller. He fell in love with the place, and like other love-lorn men, torn from the object of their love, wrote poetry when forced to leave it. "Dhuboy, farewell," he began, but it is not fair to quote a man's poetry against him.

Dabhoi, it is sad to say, has fallen low from its ancient high estate. Ill-kept streets, of loose sand half a foot deep, ugly houses, storey upon storey, like Ossa upon Pelion, with corrugated iron sheets for roofs and walls, miserable troglodyte huts in sickening frequency—that is the way in which the people of Dabhoi have kept their trust. The Government with their dispensary, school, and library, have done what they could to justify their inheritance. But modern Dabhoi is unworthy of its splendid ancestry.

The illustrations are from photographs by M. Kothariswami.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

INDIAN PERIODICALS.

A short article contributed to the *Hindustan Review* for March by "Indo-British-er" under the heading

Indian Journalism : Then and Now

offers interesting reading. We are told that half a century ago there were only two or three English-written newspapers in the whole of India.

Of English-written newspapers there were I think only two or three in the whole of India half a century ago. There are comparatively few large towns now without one or more English newspapers conducted by Indians. There used to be amusement caused in the early days at the tendency displayed by Indians

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to take Dr. Samuel Johnson as their model, and to use high sounding and sonorous words in describing very ordinary occurrences. Sometimes the effect was very ludicrous, and calculated to excite one's laughter. But I have often thought when laughing, how few Englishmen there were in the land who could express themselves with equal intelligence in any Indian vernacular, excepting perhaps some of the officials who have to learn the language used in the district in which they are serving. Many of these even would find themselves stumped if they had to write an original paragraph, or an editorial of half a column on any of the events of the day in an Indian language in which they might have obtained a "pass" some years previously. Their attempts would probably not be comprehended by a majority of Indian editors, whilst the baboo's English of fifty years ago, though often ludicrously high flown and bombastic, could at least be understood. The Indian English edited paper of to-day is often "managed" as well as edited by one man. He also canvasses and looks after advertisements and is his own "reader." The number of printer's errors is amazing. Advertisers do not seem to complain. In one paper last year there was a notice of silver bowls for sale, and for three months the word bowls was printed "bowels". Even in long established English newspapers with what in India is thought a good circulation, the reading is very inefficiently conducted, though there are a few exceptions, and in the English papers a mistake in an advertisement is generally corrected after it has appeared two or three times. What is very much worse is the way that articles from some papers are coolly annexed without the smallest attempt at acknowledgment. In the town I happen to be living in, I have seen articles taken from the London *Globe* appearing in an English local newspaper as original editorials !

Tibetan Literature.

A short article dealing with the origin and growth of Tibetan Literature is published in the *Calcutta Uuiversity Magazine* which is full of interesting information about the great part played by India in the literary uplift of Tibet. The article under notice forms the substance of a lecture delivered by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan some time ago.

Dr. Vidyabhushan tells us:

With the rise of Mahayana Buddhism under the patronage of Kaniskha there was opened some intercourse between Tibet and India in the 1st century A.D. and in the following centuries many students from Tibet visited India to learn Sanskrit and Buddhism. They composed many books which still exist in the Chinese language. In the year 331 A.D. a Sanskrit book, called in Tibetan 'Zamatog' containing the formula of "om-mani-padme-hum," is said to have fallen from heaven into the court of King Lha-tho-tho ri. King Strong-Tsan-Gam-Po introduced Buddhism and the elements of a written literature into Tibet.

In 747 A.D. the Tantrik form of Buddhism was introduced into Tibet by a sage named Padmasambhava who was a native of Lahore. This new teacher produced a succession of teachers and a plentiful crop of ritualistic literature which has exercised the greatest influence on the daily life of the Tibetans. The monastery of Some ye built in 749 A.D. on the model of Achintya Vihara of Magadha was the first of its kind, which contains even now a vast collection of books. The Indian system of astronomy and medicine entered Tibet in 804 A.D. giving an impetus to the growth of a vast mathematical and medical literature.

The highest development in the literature of Tibet was attained during the time of King Rat-pa chan in the 9th century A.D. During the 500 years from the 7th to the 12th century A.D., innumerable Sanskrit scholars from India went to Tibet at the invitation of her Kings, and with the help of Tibetan interpreters, translated into the Tibetan language all the Buddhist Sanskrit works that were available. At the same time there were translations of some Chinese works into Tibetan. In the 12th century A.D. all such translations, specially those from Sanskrit, were collected together into two gigantic volumes which constitute the two monumental Tibetan encyclopaedias called respectively the Kangyur and Tangyur. Besides these translations there is a vast Tibetan literature of indigenous origin embracing works on grammar, rhetoric, history, geography, philosophy, religion, etc. Among these the work named "one hundred thousand songs of venerable Mi-la-re-pa" deserves special notice. Another work named "Gling-Kesar" is a book of great merit conveying much historical information.

In no country in the world is so much veneration paid to books as is done in Tibet. The whole country is interspersed with monasteries each of which contains what may be practically called a "library,"

The Tibetan language belongs to the Turanian family. The Tibetan alphabet consists of 30 letters which are all consonants each possessing an inherent "a" sound. In writing, however, four vowel signs are used. The Tibetan language is strictly monosyllabic.

Indian Trade during the War.

Mr. Alfred Chatterton contributes to the *Mysore Economic Journal* an article which deals with the "41st Annual Review of the Trade of India recently issued by the Department of Statistics."

We are told :

During the eight months of the war covered by this review, the exports, as compared with those of the preceding year, decreased by 43 per cent, and the imports by 34 per cent. During the eight months of the current year, for which statistics have been published, that is to say up to the end of November 1915, the exports of Indian merchandise were valued at 123 crores of rupees, which may be compared with 145 crores of rupees, the average value for the same period during the preceding four years, whilst the imports for the same period amounted to 89 crores of rupees against a similar average of 103 crores of rupees. The percentages of decrease are for exports 15, for imports 14.

The following statistics would be found interesting :

The import of matches during 1914-15 amounted to nearly 15¼ million gross boxes, valued at 113 lakhs of rupees. Of this trade, the Japanese secured 61 per

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sent notwithstanding the fact that their imports are notoriously inferior in quality.

The total consumption of paper in India is estimated at over 75,000 tons per annum, of which quantity about 29,000 tons are locally manufactured. There are said to be eleven Paper Mills in India, of which three have been shut down.

The imports of soap in 1914-15 amounted to 404-485 cwts, valued at over 83 lakhs of rupees.

Lord Curzon's War Poems.

Lord Curzon has written a book of *War Poems*. A short notice of the book has appeared in the *Indian Review* for March penned by Mr. Stanley P. Rice.

We read that

There is hardly anything original in his book of *War Poems* (War Poems and other translations by Lord Curzon of Kedleston: John Lane, London), but there are many admirable translations. If the main impression left upon the reader is that, here is the work of the scholar and not of the poet, yet the renderings are for the most part both elegant and faithful. And their impression of scholarship is enhanced by the inclusion of several classical pieces—not only translations from Greek and Latin into English but also experiments in lyric and elegiac Latin verse.

Here is a stanza from the *Song of the Belgians* by Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet. The rendering is very pretty:

Come with flaming beechen branches
And the music of the drum;
Come and strew them on the earth-heaps
When our dead lie buried, come!
Choose a day like this, my brothers,
When the wind a pattern weaves
'Mid the shivering poplar tree tops,
When the scent of fallen leaves
Floats like perfume through the woodland,
As it doth to-day, that so
Some sweet odour of our good land
May be with them down below.

How well Lord Curzon has succeeded in his efforts at translation may be seen from the following:

Give me your hands; give me your eyes,
Your eyes that sparkle in my dream;
My troubled heart to exorcise
Give me your hands; give me your eyes,
Stars that beguile me as they gleam,
Give me your eyes, give me your hands,
Your hands with their magician's spell;
To guide me through the unknown lands,
Give me your eyes, give me your hands,
Your hands, Princess, in mine to dwell.

Eugenics and the New Social Consciousness

is the title of a thoughtful article penned by Mr. Samuel G. Smith and published in the *Indian Emigrant* for March. Says the writer:

Merely biological theories are staggered by the facts of history. It is time to have done with regarding man as simply the highest of the mammals whose breed can be improved by the methods of the stock farm. The problems of race are at once deeper and vaster.

Eugenics must follow the path of sociology and give larger room for psychological forces.

The greatest events in history have no corresponding changes in human physique. Japan won against Russia, not because af a larger brain, for physically the Japanese remains as he has been for a thousand years, but because of the impulse of a new passion and the dominance of a new idea. The Moslem did not take sword in hand becauee of the invention of a new breakfast food or a fresh system of ventilation, but because the dull eyes of the sons of Ishmael had found their own Moses.

It is important that children shoud be well born. There are certain conclusions which are not sentimental, but on the contrary are essentially economic:

(*a*) Hard labour must be forbidden to the expectant mother. In some communities this has found expression in maternity pensions. I am not here, however, as the advocate of any pension system.

(*b*) A woman should have nourishing food both before and after motherhood.

(*c*) The physical surroundings must be wholesome.

It would seem to be the duty of the municipal state to secure the proper physical environment for the home; because that is a problem too large to be solved in any municipality by the individual. It is a part of the problem of public health. The new social conscience asserts that every child born into the world should have an adequate physical, intellectual and industrial opportunity.

The writer tries to refute some of the pet theories of Engenists by means of concrete examples. We read:

Very little progress has been made, and very little dependable data secured pointing to an improvement of the race by conscious choice.

It is idle to say that the children of persons of talent are more likely to show ability than children from the average home. Parents of talent are able to give exceptional advantages to their children, and ought to show a greater number of successes. There is not the slightest evidence that talent of any particular form is ever inherited. Neither Luther nor Napoleon, nor Abraham Lincoln were anything less than biological surprises. Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner could no more have been predicted than William Shakespeare or Michael Angelo.

The surprises of sainthood are no less remarkable than those of genius. St. Francis D'Assisi, Catherine of Siena, and Florence Nightingale had no ancestry for their character and their work.

With regard to "Social efficiency and physical fitness" the writer says:—

Some of the most efficient individuals have been born with bad bodies and have been doomed to poor health. When Emmanuel Kant went to study philosophy in a German university, it is said that he was advised not to attempt the task because of his weak chest. He replied he would ignore his chest, and became the great teacher of the modern intellect. Herbert Spencer was so delicate as a child that he was not given a regular education, but no

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Englishman had a more marked influence upon his generation. Charles Kingsley was the prophet of muscular Christianity, but Robertson of Brighton, was the greater preacher. There was a boy born in the Midlands so small and frail that even an English nurse did not think it worth while to keep him alive; but the little chap lived, grew to see an apple fall, and became Sir Isaac Newton. We cannot afford to adopt the Greek plan of throwing away unpromising infants.

In the pages of the *Century Review* Mr. N. Mitter draws our attention to

Pauperism in Bengal

which is undoubtedly a serious problem and which has unfortunately escaped the attention of our educated countrymen.

Touring round Bengal one will be amazed at the surprisingly large number of beggars prowling about the streets in search of alms.

The beggars may be classified as (1) able-bodied, male and female, (2) the physically incapable, and (3) child beggars.

The first class contains a large number of people of different religions and castes. The majority of them put on the veil of religion and thereby hoodwink the people, religiously bent as they are. The '*Bairagis*', a religious class of Hindu beggars, profess to have dedicated their lives to god Vishnu and thereby claim the uncommon privilege of living an idle life at the cost of society at large. Physically they are very stout and have help-mates who are cheerful, gay and muscularly built.

Among the Muhammadans, there are no '*Bairagis*' or beggars of that prototype in the Mofussil, leaving out of consideration the stalwart figures which we find in Calcutta with beads in hand and rags round the body, always murmuring benedictions or maledictions on passers-by according as they give them a pice or not. There is a newly-risen class of beggars who style themselves '*Sayels*' and profess to be of respectable origin, come to distress by the ebb of fortune. Respectable as they are, they cannot persuade themselves to do manual work. Hence they resort to the respectable profession of begging!

There is a third class of people who are gradually rising in importance. They are of sound health, capable of herculean tasks, but alas! they feel insulted to work, as their forefathers never worked under anybody. These people claim the right of beggary as hereditary, honouring themselves on the respectability of their profession.

We are at one with the writer when he says:

No able-bodied man has the right to demand help from society without rendering a productive addition to the national dividend. It is a plain economic truth that society is not responsible for any healthy man, unless he adds to the productivity of the social organisation.

Over and above, such indiscriminate alms-giving, like flattery, corrupts both the giver and the receiver. It depraves human character and drags one down from the high pedestal of self-respect and virtue to the lower pit of degradation. It kills in one all idea of self-respect, and one falls away from the virtue of manliness.

Already the moral conscience of these people has been dulled, nay, killed, as is evident from the description given above. To pride on the respectability of beggary is a dangerous fall from all ideas of manliness. It shows a moral depravation, the many evil consequences of which cannot too adequately be expressed. A society with such ideas of self-respect cannot but find an early path to dissolution.

The writer proposes the following remedy for this deplorable state of affairs:

A great effort should be made to eradicate this evil, these respectable beggars should be made to learn that respectability consists not in begging, but in standing on one's own legs, that self-exertion is a better way of rising than dependence on other's petty doles. The meanness and despicability of a beggar's life ought to be brought home to them in a clear and definite way. The system of child-beggars should be entirely discouraged.

The condition of the physically incapable deserves every consideration and society should be prolific in its gifts for the maintenance of these unfortunates. The system of private help which is in vogue among us is not quite commensurate with our needs. I am of opinion that the time is now come to introduce a central organisation for the relief of the poor on the plans suggested by the success of European experiments.

Mysore Economic Activities.

In the course of an article in the *Mysore Economic Journal* Mr. Alfred Chatterton informs us that a new factory is in course of construction in Bangalore for distilling sandalwood oil on a commercial scale.

The disposal of sandalwood in Mysore is a State monopoly which in recent years has produced a large net revenue. In 1913-14 just previous to the outbreak of war this revenue amounted to 19.87 lakhs of rupees produced by the sale of 1,862 tons of wood.

It is only the heart wood of the sandal tree that is of great commercial value. In a small way it is used for wood carving, but the high prices which the wood fetches are due to the fact that it yields an oil very largely used for medicinal purposes and in the preparation of perfumery. The extraction of the oil from sandalwood is not permitted to private persons in the Mysore State, but the industry is to some extent, carried on round the borders of the State, especially in the South Canara district.

In the *Indian Education* a writer deplores the "unfortunate position of

Tamil Literature

which is one of the most ancient and vigorous literatures of the world and which, unfortunately, is fast slipping into senility with the unwelcome prospect of dying in a few centuries."

Mentioning Telugu, Malayalam and Bengalee the writer says:

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They manage to flourish without official help. This is because they keep awake the popular mind. They produce literature every day and they foster their literature thus produced with solicitous care. Popular literature is a reality among them—a respected reality. This popular literature not only gives the necessary impetus required to energize the means of expression of the popular mind, but it bridges the distance between you and the ancient classics. The songs of the people are the *points de repre* in the national history, the milestones which mark the progress of the national mind. They give you the comfortable backbone of a continuous tradition. The glorious past is rendered more of a reality.

The writer accuses the *Tamil Sangam* of stifling Tamil literature. He goes on to say:

The Sangam is a freemasonry of scholars. It is a pity that scholars have mistaken starched primness for purity. They have forgotten that all organic growths like a national literature must be perpetually vitalized by fresh additions—additions which have the fragrant aroma of adolescence. They have rigorously barred their gates on the popular literature. So the academic and the popular literature have strayed farther and farther apart—to the great detriment of both. Popular literature has become disreputable, plebeian, in the eyes of the cultured few. It is not literature but ribaldry.

We further read:

In Southern India, there is little distinction made between poetry and music in the popular literature. There is no poetry composed but to be *sung*. This passing of poetry into music is the characteristic of great poetry and the distinctive trait of all real popular poetry.

The intrinsic value of many of these songs is in their truth to real life. If they are religious in trend, their religion is not vague, ethereal, unsatisfying, but of the nature of food to the hungry human soul. The suffering of Nanda, the yearning of the Korathi to follow her lover to the ends of the world with her baby strapped on her back, the valour, the contagious enthusiasm and the lofty fatalism of Prince Tej Singh, the sacrifice of the self at the altar of idealism in "Harischandra"—each of these is invested with a poignant human interest which makes you cry, "Here is life at last." All the varied experiences of life find exact representation here.

The expectation of

The passing of War

is one of the many illusions to which mankind is subject from time to time—this is what we read in an ably-written article in the *Arya* for April.

This grand event in human progress is always being confidently expected and since we are now all scientific minds and rational beings, we no longer expect it by a divine intervention, but assign sound physical and economical reasons for the faith that is in us. The first form taken by this new gospel was the expectation and the prophecy that the extension of commerce would be the extinction of war. Commercialism was the natural enemy of militarism and would drive it from the face of the earth. The growing and universal lust of gold and the habit of comfort and the necessities of increased production and intricate interchange would crush out the lust of power and dominion and glory and battle. Gold-hunger or commodity-hunger would drive out earthhunger, the dharma of the Vaishya would set its foot on the dharma of the Kshatriya and give it its painless quietus. The ironic reply of the gods has not been long in coming. Actually this very reign of commercialism, this increase of production and interchange, this desire for commodities and markets and this piling up of a huge burden of unnecessary necessities has been the cause of half the wars that have since afflicted the human race.

Another illusion was that the growth of democracy would mean the growth of pacifism and the end of war. It was fondly thought wars are in their nature dynastic and aristocratic; greedy kings and martial nobles driven by earth-hunger and battle-hunger, diplomatists playing at chess with the lives of men and the fortunes of nations, these were the guilty causes of war who drove the unfortunate peoples to the battle-field like sheep to the shambles. These proletariates, mere food for powder, who had no interest, no desire, no battle-hunger driving them to armed conflict, had only to become instructed and dominant to embrace each other and all the world in a free and fraternal amity.

Another recent illusion was the power of Courts of Arbitration and Concerts of Europe to prevent war. There again the course that events immediately took was sufficiently ironic; for the institution of the great Court of international arbitration was followed up by a series of little and great wars which led by an inexorable logical chain to the long-dreaded European conflict and the monarch who had first conceived the idea, was also the first to unsheathe his sword in a conflict dictated on both sides by the most unrighteous greed and aggression. In fact this series of wars, whether fought in Northern or Southern Africa, in Manchuria or the Balkans, were marked most prominently by the spirit which disregards cynically that very idea of inherent and existing rights, that balance of law and equity upon which alone arbitration can be founded.

The following views regarding the passing of war appear to be perfectly sane.

Because man is himself not a machine nor a device, but a being and a most complex one at that, therefore he cannot be saved by machinery; only by an entire change which shall affect all the members of his being can he be liberated from his discords and imperfections.

So long as war does not become psychologically impossible, it will remain or, if banished for a while, return. War itself, it is hoped, will end war; the expense, the horror, the butchery, the disturbance of tranquil life, the whole confused sanguinary madness of the thing has reached or will reach such colossal proportions that the human race will fling the monstrosity behind it in weariness and disgust. But weariness and disgust, horror and pity, even the opening of the eyes to reason by the practical fact of the waste of human life and energy and the harm and extravagance are not permanent factors; they last only while the lesson is fresh. Afterwards, there is forgetfulness; human nature recuperates itself and recovers the instincts that were temporarily dominated. A long peace, even a certain organisation of peace may conceivably result, but so long as the heart of man remains what it is, the peace will come to an

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end, the organisation will break down under the stress of human passions. War is no longer, perhaps, a biological necessity, but it is still a psychological necessity; what is within us, must manifest itself outside.

Only when man has developed not merely a fellow-feeling with all men, but a dominant sense of unity and commonalty, only when he is aware of them not merely as brothers,—that is a fragile bond,—but as parts of himself, only when he has learned to live not in his separate personal and communal ego-sense, but in a larger universal consciousness, can the phenomenon of war, with whatever weapons, pass out of his life without the possibility of return.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Stephen Phillips.

John Palmer contributes to the *Saturday Review* a short notice of Stephen Phillips, poet and dramatist, who recently passed away. In Mr. Palmer's opinion Stephen Phillips was not what he could have been and for this he holds the critics and admirers of the poet responsible. "There was often more sound than sense, more fervor of style than reality of feeling, in *Paolo*. But the London Press went completely off its head in regard to this book."

Here was a young author who, above all things, required to be warned and delicately handled—an author whose salvation depended on his growing out of things like "*venturing through forests towards her face*;" and the critics, almost in a chorus, instead of suggesting a chastening of such alliterative music, burst into a chorus of the most extravagant acclamation. This young disciple of the Muses was actually described as writing like Sophocles! Instead of being urged along his improving way, he was received as a finished master and encouraged to remain forever where he was. Is it wonderful that Stephen Phillips, instead of eliminating the faults of his youth, actually set about to improve upon them?

The writer goes on to say:

All that is needed for a man's health and success in the pursuit of his art Stephen Phillips seemed to have won almost at a blow—backers who encouraged him, a publisher who believed in him, leading managers who produced his plays, one or two critics who protested that he was not yet greater than Shakespeare, a public which actually bought his books.

Stephen Phillips was not, like a Milton, a recluse and a man devoted; nor was he, like Pope, a coxcomb. He was an honestly human being—anxious to do good work, a little too sensitive to criticism, and a little carried away by a disproportionate publicity and fame at the start of his career. He was richly gifted, and possibly a third of his gifts got themselves expressed in his work. The other two-thirds, owing, among other things, to an amazing worldly success at the start of his career, never had a chance.

Stephen Phillips, we are told, had a tendency to substitute "sounding rhetoric for significant sense."

Women and Fear.

In a significant article in the *Spectator* a writer discusses the susceptibility of women to fear. Before the present war many people held that

there was a fundamental and ineradicable difference as regards fear because it was a difference based on permanent physical inequality. No doubt there might be, and were, remarkable exceptions, but in a general way, they said, the timidity of women was the natural quality of physical weakness. Women were protected by men just because they were weak, and they were more timid than men just because their strength was incapable of self-protection. There may have been some confusion between nervousness, personal timidity, and such fear as is provoked by apprehension of a national catastrophe or of the death of some one else. These are different things, and probably they *were* confused. At all events, it was too widely thought that in the event of such a terrific war as is now proceeding the resolution of women could not be expected to endure long enough. Women might go into a war for a right cause as gallantly as men; they might have just as firm a grasp of the principle at issue; but what if the war should be prolonged and horrible utterly beyond experience? The very fact that she had not the habit of public affairs would bring it about that her attachment to persons would be more powerful than her attachment to the cause.

But people who thought so have been sadly disillusioned.

Their tenacity of purpose seems sufficient to outlast that of the men. When they are called upon for fresh sacrifices—for other members of the family to depart—do they grudge them? Do they repine? We have not in our experience come across any such case, at least not among women well enough educated to appreciate the meaning of the war. Their readiness for any loss that fate may decree is absolutely unquestioning. It is as though they never contemplated the possibility of holding back whatever they most cherish.

The writer goes on to say:

Women as a rule may be nervous for themselves in odd ways—in crossing crowded streets, in open boats,

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in hearing gun fire, and in countless other minute fashions which are not much more than superficial emotions. Such fears fly forth when sensitive nerves that lie near the surface are touched. But the exceptions to the rule are rather drastic exceptions. Some "fearless" women seem to be without fear in anything they do, and have often been found embarrassing and humiliating companions by unadventurous men. As regards the great fears of the body, women are less easily moved than men, and in some respects much less easily moved. They are more patient in bearing pain; on the whole, we think they are less frequently cowed by it.

Thousands of girls who had led easy and cloistered lives, remote from everything that was not pretty and agreeable and smooth, have been pitchforked, after only a few weeks' hurried training, into hospitals full of men maimed and disfigured by terrible and repulsive wounds. They have not quailed; they have gone about their work calmly, steadily, and efficiently. Their grandmothers at their age would no doubt have "swooned"; for that, according to the romances, was the proper thing for every polite and well-bred woman to do on encountering a crisis or any disconcerting episode. Happily, swooning has gone out of fashion.

French Literature and the War.

Ernest Dimnet writing in the *Saturday Review* says that there has been no artistic life proper in France since July 1914.

The atmosphere in towns full of people in mourning and expecting more bereavements, in a country in which everybody awakes with the thought of the German at Noyon, as the phrase now goes, fifty miles from Paris, is too uncongenial.

Between January and December, 1915, eight hundred instead of an average eighteen thousand volumes were published; that is to say, the literary output of France has suffered a depletion of more than nineteen-twentieths, or, to put it differently, about four volumes have come out in 1915 to ninety in the preceding years.

The writer points out only two exceptions.

"Gaspard" a short novel by M. Rene Benjamin, is a military story, written by a young writer who saw the war, was wounded and came back from the front just in time to secure the Prix Goncourt; but it is not an autobiography, like most other military stories; it is a picture of the war as seen by a person as remote from literary aspirations as a snail vendor in the rue de la Gaite may be. "Corona Benignitatis Anni Tui," by M. Paul Claudel, is a collection of liturgical poems, a serene monument rising like the pillar of light in our darkness, and it may be the author's masterpiece.

Science in England.

The scanty respect showed to Science in England and the consequent effect have been very pathetically brought home to the English public by the great European War that is now raging. In an article in Nature is clearly shown in what disregard Science used to be held in the past and is being held even at the present day in England. We read:

The creation by Parliament, half a century back, of a Science and Art Department, suggested at least an amelioration of the old bad state of things; and efforts were made—hopeful efforts and not unsuccessful in a way—to foster the teaching of science in the older universities and build up newer institutions on a basis of its full recognition. These efforts, though they have by no means failed, have not, however, brought about public recognition to a degree commensurate with the national need, or comparable with the recognition accorded to science in Continental nations, including the central European empires with which we are now in armed conflict.

It is unfortunately only too well known to scientific men that for more than a generation past the trend of public opinion, at least as represented by politicians, statesmen, departmental officials, municipal authorities, and including even the heads of many great industrial and commercial undertakings, has been to ignore the position of science in the fabric of civilization, and to treat the development of science as though it were a matter of little moment to the national welfare. The public which purchases every morning and evening the halfpenny journals, and swallows the pabulum which they provide, is the same public which elects our Parliamentary representatives and rules most of our national institutions. Occasionally the daily papers deign to insert a paragraph of what they think to be scientific news. If the public prefers its sensational titbit of science-gossip, culled from the pamphlet of some pseudo-scientific charlatan and served up hot by an anonymous paragraphist, to more sober and informing articles written by men whose authority is indisputable, the public has itself to thank. Editors and sub-editors do not know enough science to surpass the twaddle; and, consequently, blunders which would be thought amazing if perpetrated in a like fashion in the domains of literature or art or history are put into gratuitous and harmful circulation.

In political circles the same indifference to science prevails. Apart from the handful of university members, which includes Sir Joseph Larmor and Sir Philip Magnus as the sole representatives of the most neglected branch of human activities, there is not one scientific man in the roll of the House of Commons. In the House of Lords science is indeed represented by two hereditary peers, Lord Rayleigh and Lord Berkeley; but there have been no scientific men called to the peerage since the deaths of Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, and Lord Avebury. The esteem in which science is held may be measured by the suggestion in Lord Dunraven's scheme for the reform of the House of Lords, that in the future it should consist of 400 members, whereof *two* should represent art, literature, and science! When this amazing proposition was put forward not one voice cried out in protest against this insult to science.

The pitiable state of things brought about by the neglect of Science is thus enumerated:

We now suddenly discover in the cataclysm of a terrible war, not only that science has been at a discount in the organisation of the army, but that our industrial and commercial life is disorganised and crippled by the same elementary disregard. Nearly half a century ago Disraeli warned us that the com-

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mercial prosperity of a nation might be measured by the prosperity of its chemical manufactures. He was laughed at as though his dictum had been a joke. But it ceases to be a matter for joking when the neglect of science leads to the disappearance of whole branches of those trades that are concerned with the technical applications of chemistry or physics or metallurgy. The loss of the dyestuff industry; the decay of several branches of the glass industry; the ever increasing pressure in the metal industries, in the varnish industry, in the watch and clock industry, in innumerable branches of the engineering industries, are serious indications. They are symptoms that something has been rotten in the administration of the State.

The Poetic Spirit.

Claude C. H. Williamson contributes to the *Poetry Review* a very readable article which seeks to define and interpret Poetry. We make the following cullings for the benefit of our readers:

The particular mood of the poet is independent of the power that he wields by the beauty he disseminates. Poetry is, therefore, the outcome not only of an effort of will but also of a rare and an imaginative impulse, and, like every other art, it needs some clear peace and quietness of mind, however momentary, for its creation. The soul of poetry is feeling. When we have grasped this fact, half the problem of form disappears. For we see that the greater part of poetry lies in the thought, not the form; that, feeling deeply, as a poet feels, his expression will shape itself, and that all which is mechanical in the art is the polishing and correction of the expression till it approaches as closely as possible to the thought, and combines with clearness of utterance all the available charms of style.

Poetry, of course, can never be the popular form of literary expression; it is, in its essence, an aristocratic art, and it does well to set up its bulwarks against the advance of democracy. For whenever given over to the service of a purely popular movement it has always failed to preserve its dignity. It is the privilege of poetry, though its phases are poignantly affected by main currents, to recover very quickly from purely temporary influences, and that there is never wanting a reaction against any tendency in a perilous direction. The desire of a poet is to invoke in his reader a certain mood or tone of mind which is neither active thought nor active emotion, but quiescent, sympathetic resignation to a sense of beauty remote but permeating.

It is important to realize the dependence of form on ideas. Apart from the philosophy we learn from poetry, we can get illimitable benefit from the reading of the poets. Poetry needs intellect, of course, and rots without it. The highest work which poetry can do is to glorify what is the most natural and simple in the whole of loving human nature, and to show the exceeding beauty, not so much as the stranger and wilder doings of the natural world, but of its everyday doings and their common changes. Poetry is a fine art and shares the characteristics of fine arts generally. Accordingly, its end is pleasure as distinguished from utility, and the kind of pleasure which it aims at producing, is æsthetic pleasure, such pleasure, that is to say, as is associated with the emotions of the Beautiful. Fascination is and should be the chief power of the poet. "Poetry," a laureate wrote, "is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science."

In the vivid phrases of Carlyle, it is a man's sincerity and depth of vision that make him a poet. The qualification of a poet should consist of a flawless form of plastic imagination, matured by beauty, portrayed in beautiful verses of a luminous and tranquil kind, free from commentaries and theories. The vision should be childlike, yet combined with the scholar's understanding, and to estimate from the flying vapor of language of life the image of perfection. The progress of poetry, with its tremendous power, is immortal.

ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER.

By a Disciple of Dr. J. C. Bose.

Cambridge

PERHAPS no University in England has done so much for the advancement of science as that of Cambridge. In physical science it has taken a leading position under a succession of such great men as Clerk Maxwell, Rayleigh and J. J. Thompson. Chemistry has been enriched by Dewar. Physiology claims such great authorities as Michael Foster and Langley. Some of the most important discoveries in embryological science were made here by J. Balfour, the brother of the ex-premier. The great Darwin was also a member of the university, being a graduate of Christ College and received his inspiration from the Botanist Henfry. His two sons made their connection with the University illustrious by their contributions in science, George Darwin in Astronomy and Francis Darwin in Physiological Botany. In fact Sir Francis collaborated with his father in various investigations on plants. Vines,

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the eminent Botanist, was also here for many years till called away to Oxford to organise the botanical laboratory there.

Thus no scientific appreciation could be higher than recognition from Cambridge. The University of Cambridge was also my Master's alma mater, when he sojourned in England as a student. He was perhaps the first Indian student who entered Cambridge for the study of science. As there was no one to give him advice as regards the choice of subjects, he solved the problem by the very simple process of attending all the lectures that were going on! Thus besides Physics and Chemistry, he attended the courses of lectures on Zoology under Sedgwick, Embryology under Balfour, Physiology under Michael Foster and Botany under Vines. Saturdays he utilised in going out on geological excursions with Prof. Hughes.

This could not last long and after a year of this he fell ill. He was then compelled to specialise in certain groups of subjects. But his first year of groping proved later of the greatest value, for it gave him that many-sided interest in science which strengthened him for the great synthetic work for which his mind had a natural aptitude.

The Cambridge scientists have followed with great interest my Master's researches: at first in Physics in the realm of Electric waves, an account of which was contributed to the Encyclopedia Britannica by J. J. Thompson. Physiologists and Botanists were equally interested later in his Biological work. So great was the interest taken in my Master's work that hearing of the possibility of his visit to England, the Botanical Department took the special trouble to import soil from India to raise the special plant for his experiments. A very cordial invitation was received by the Master on his arrival to give an address before the University and his lecture was announced for the 2nd of June, 1914.

Though we knew that the plant specimens were being specially raised in the hot house of the Cambridge Botanical Gardens we took the precaution of carrying our faithful Indian plant to Cambridge. This proved to be a very wise precaution. One would think that June was the middle of summer, when the plants would be at their best. In reality, however, we reached shivering with cold, and when we visited the Botanic Gardens we found the specimens there to be very puny and sickly looking, quite unsuitable for our experiments. So we took our plants to the Botanical Laboratory, to be kept in the hot house for the next day's lecture. We met here the same attendant who was in the Botanical Laboratory when my Master worked there thirty years ago. There was at that time a unique botanical collection even in the staff. Vines was the professor, Oak was the demonstrator, and, to complete the trinity, Shrub was the attendant. The Zoological Department, not to be outdone, had one Lamb, two Peacocks and a couple of Foxes! The Master was very pleased to meet old Mr. Shrub, whom he found still flourishing. He was very helpfnl in looking after our plants.

The day of the lecture turned out to be the very worst for our experiments. It was cold and dark and there was a drizzling rain. The lecture table at the large Botanical Hall was at the basement, the gallery tiers reaching up to the second storey. One of our principal experiments was to exhibit the automatic record of the pulsation of the Desmodium plant and its reaction under drugs. Two hours before the lecture I arranged the apparatus with the plant, which was then pulsating vigorously. But in the course of half an hour, owing to the intensity of cold and misty weather, its activity ceased and the plant became paralysed. Nothing could exceed our despondency at the untoward result. The Master at the last moment had to think quickly how to modify the subject of his discourse. Just before the lecture, as a desperate expedient, he applied to the paralysed plant a stimulant and about the middle of his lecture, I was to signal to him if it at all took effect.

Fortunately we got an unexpected ten minutes' respite. For such was the great interest roused that not only was the Hall crowded with dons and advanced scholars but the students who were sitting for the Tripos sent an earnest request that the lecture might be postponed for ten minutes to enable them to run directly from the Examination Hall to the Botanical Theatre. Sir Francis Darwin, Prof. Seward, and Prof. Blackman and many others were in the front seat, eagerly watching. At the beginning the Master had to explain the principle of the apparatus he had

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invented, the main parts of which were to be projected from photographic slides on the screen. The optical lantern was in charge of an expert from the great Scientific Workshop. After the Master had commenced his discourse he signalled to the operator to throw the first slide on the screen. But the screen persisted to be blank. He signalled again but to no purpose. Then the expert in charge had to confess that something had gone wrong with the Arc Lamp and the audience must allow him some time to set the thing right. The Master immediately turned the matter to my advantage, who was trembling with mingled anxiety and mortification, as the *Desmodium* obstinately remained quiescent. The Master said that the arc lamp had been invented some sixty years ago and since then even the commonest operator knew how to work it. But here at the very place which sends out to the world the most delicate apparatus from its celebrated Scientific Workshop, such a simple piece of apparatus failed at the critical moment, even under the most expert management. And the audience expected the lecturer to bring with him from the other end of the earth inoffensive and timid plants, subject to the vissicitudes of the unspeakable climate and then compel them at a moment's notice to answer any question that might be set to them! This treatment, he said, was undoubtedly more unfair than that meted out to the famous parrot who complained of insult being added to injury in his being not only brought away from his native land but compelled to speak English! This brought down the house, and the undergraduates, of course, expressed their appreciation in their usual manner. They fully realised how intricate were the phenomena which the Master was going to demonstrate. Experiments like these have never been demonstrated in a public lecture. They were repeatable only in a Laboratory and under the most favourable physiological conditions.

At this time I fancied that the plant was trying to shake off its lethargy, there being one or two very small and erratic flutterings. The pulsating activity soon began to gather in volume; it was evident that the stimulant applied 20 minutes before was just beginning to take effect. It was not at all necessary for me to give any signal. The Master was able to read in my face that the plant was after all not going to fail us. He now began to speak like one inspired, the excitement of the audience grew and he received an ovation at the conclusion of his discourse.

On behalf of the audience Sir Francis Darwin spoke in the most eloquent terms of the importance of my Master's researches. He said that they were all filled with admiration, not only for the brilliancy of the work but for the convincing character of the experiments that were demonstrated which conclusively proved his results and justified his theories. They all realised that in Dr. Bose they found a most brilliant experimentalist of rare skill and ingenuity. They should, moreover, remember that Dr. Bose had been obliged to work under great isolation and to depend entirely upon himself, even for the training of his mechanics who had constructed for him instruments of such extraordinary delicacy and precision. The results of Prof. Bose's researches not merely affect Physiological Botany but are also of the deepest import in various other branches of science and much might be expected from the furtherance of his work.

VIENNA.

My Master's researches evoked even keener interest on the Continent, in Germany in Austria and in France. The eminent botanist Prof. Pringshiem of Halle contributed a very appreciative review of Master's biological researches to the leading scientific review of Germany and a very cordial invitation was sent to him stating that his fine work had been very highly appreciated and that the exhibition of his remarkable instruments would be of the greatest interest to the German biologists. The International Congress of the Botanists was to have been held in Munich in August 1914. A special day was reserved for my Master's address and demonstration. The Botanical Gardens at Munich is regarded as the most famous in the world, Prof. Goebel having been sent three times round the world for making special botanical collections for this remarkable institution, and he wrote to my Master that he had made special arrangements for our plants. We were to have been there on the 9th August 1914. Before this however, we received invitation from the University of Vienna, perhaps one of the leading Universities in the Biological and Medical Sciences. The

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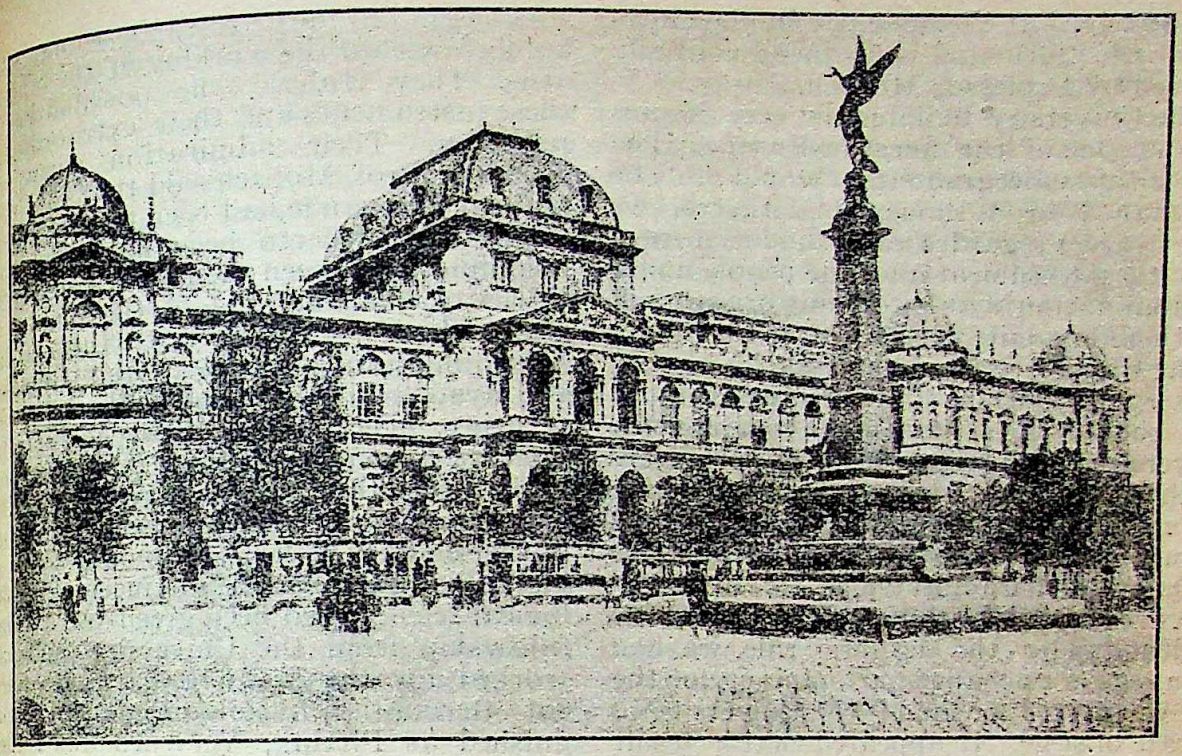

The University of Vienna.

head of the Botanical Department, Prof. Molisch, whose researches on luminous bacteria and production of plant-complex are regarded as classical, on behalf of the University, sent a pressing invitation and wrote how the Viennese scientific public were looking forward to hear his discourse, from which they expected to gain much instruction. Our plan was first to go to Vienna and then to lecture before the leading German Universities.

We started for Vienna on the 24th June, 1914 and we had a rather long journey before us. Our special difficulty was the transport of the plants in their special cage and the very delicate instruments which we could not trust out of our sight. We had to reserve a special compartment in the Orient Express. On our journey the mysterious cage and the box of apparatus evoked the utmost curiosity, and at the stations where the train stopped for any length of time there was quite a crowd before our window among whom there were soldiers and military officers.

There were certain other experiences which now seem significant. I met an Austrian gentleman on the corridor of the train, who rather went out of his way to be friendly. He spoke very good English and appeared to have a thorough knowledge of India, though he had never been to the country. It was a relief to find a person with whom one could carry on conversation in a long tedious railway journey. On being told that the Master was on a scientific mission from the British Government to Vienna he made disparaging remarks about the backward condition of England in practical application of science. He said that all the industries have been practically captured by Germany and Austria, and in the various services the English officers were far behind in their scientific equipment. His two sons were in the army, one a Captain and the other a Lieutenant. They had already distinguished themselves in Chemistry before they entered the service, and they had been continuing their researches and had also to pass periodic examinations in various applications of science in warfare.

As we were nearing Leipzic we suddenly saw the flying taube machines fill the sky like flocks of birds and were making various complicated military evolutions, flying in and out of their hangars. And higher up still were two stately Zeppelins, which seemed to dominate the country underneath. It was at the time of 'Profound Peace.' And we wondered what could be the object of such a large assemblage of flying engines.

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We arrived at Vienna early in the morning of the 26th and was most cordially received by Professor Molisch.

The University building is very imposing and one of the finest in Europe. The number of undergraduates would not be less than 7 or 8 thousands. Austria we have always regarded to be under a very despotic government and the people under the domination of an intolerant priesthood. We therefore quite expected that the affairs of the University would necessarily be very conservative. Our first surprise was to find the women students attending the university and having the same privileges as their brother students. This was quite unexpected, since even in liberal England women were not allowed to take a degree in Oxford and Cambridge.

As regards the docility of the University students under the despotic rule, we had soon reason to change our opinion; for the day we arrived we found the University in a state of siege. It appeared that a Jesuit priest was appointed as the Rector of the University. But the students, as a body, were so radical in their opinion that they would not have any priest to thwart in any way their liberal policy of education and the scientific progress in their University. So they wanted to make a demonstration and enter the University buildings by force and wreck the offices. The place had, therefore, to be barricaded. The students gave vent to their anger by smashing a few windows and afterwards returning home peacefully enough.

In the afternoon we were cordially received in the Research Department of the Botanical Laboratory, which was equipped very lavishly and most up to date. There was a special glass-house with automatic regulation of temperature where our plants after the long journey were soon able to recover their normal vigour. Prof. Molisch showed us the results of many of his important researches. There was a glass flask in which he has cultivated his luminous bacteria. The light emitted by these was so bright that one could read with their help. But the most weird thing was the production of plant monstrosities. By surgical means he unites a potato plant with a tomato, so that the same plant-complex produces potato on the root and tomato on the shoot.

We unpacked our instruments and there were already several distinguished professors assembled in the research room, who keenly watched the working of the apparatus. They realised the possibilities of these instruments and their extraordinary precision. Their admiration knew no bounds. Prof. Molisch said that they now realised how crude had been the appliances which had hitherto been used and how incomplete had been their knowledge of the intricate life-reactions of the plants. It was indeed a revelation to them to find how human ingenuity was able to gauge the mystery of what had hitherto eluded scrutiny. They now realised how far behind they have been left by India and how in the future they would have to go to that country to receive new inspiration. One of the scholars present, who on account of his brilliant academical distinction in biological science, had been given a travelling fellowship from the University and had worked for the last five years with different German Physiologists, so distinguished as Fitting, Verworn and Pfeffer, had himself concentrated his attention on three different important physiological problems in plant life. He spoke of one of these, on the solution of which depended a new chapter of plant investigation. He told us that for the last three years he had been engaged in it but had not yet been able to discover any clue to it. On hearing from him the nature of the problem I turned to page 196 of my Master's latest *Researches on Irritability* that was lying on the table and quietly handed it over to him. He was very much excited over it when he found the whole problem not only very clearly stated but solved by convincing and striking experiments. "That is a very brilliant piece of work," he said, "but I have two other great problems which will keep me engaged for the rest of my life." When he named one of them, I turned back a few pages and handed over the book again. This time he looked quite depressed and said that it was rather unfortunate that only a single line of investigation was left to him, namely, the solution of the great mystery of automatism. "Excuse me, Sir, but the problem is not so inscrutable and mysterious, if you will only turn to chapters XX to XXIII of this book", and with this I, for the third time, handed over to him my Master's Researches on Irritability of Plants. After he had glanced through the chapters he sat down in utter dejection and spoke des-

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pairingly of his being left nothing to do, and he regretted having wasted 5 years of his life in going about the different laboratories. After a while he shook off his despondency and asked the Master whether he could come to India and work in his Calcutta Laboratory. Professor Molisch was also anxious to send Research Scholars to be trained by my Master.

The success of our lecture next day even surpassed our expectations. Every one of the experiments, the demonstration of the universal sensitiveness of plants, the electric twitch in answer to blow, the record of the speed of nervous impulse in plants and the rhythmic pulsations and their modifications under stimulants and narcotics, succeeded in a remarkable manner. The excitement of the audience reached its climax when the plant, under the crisis of death showed for a moment, by means of its fluttering records, the tremulous hesitation and unstable poise between life and death. This was followed by a tremendous convulsion, optically magnified on the screen, signalling the *irreversible* setting of the rigor of death. Prof. Molisch in offering thanks on behalf of the University spoke of the great inspiration which the Viennese scientific men received from Dr. Bose's discourse. They realised that hitherto they had directed all their efforts in the study of Necrology,—the reaction of the dying or dead things. This was the first time they saw life and its mysteries revealing themselves by self-made scripts untortured by operation at the dissecting table. They would regard it a high favour if Prof. Bose would allow them to preserve the wonderful records made by the plants during the lecture as a cherished object in their Museum. Other eminent scientific men present were equally enthusiastic. One of these, a colleague of the veteran German Physiologist Pfeffer came up to my Master and pressed him to visit their University and give a demonstration there. My Master, some of whose researches has disproved the hitherto accepted theory of Pfeffer in reference to the absence of Nervous Reactions in plant, apprehended a want of cordiality at Pfeffer's laboratory. But Pfeffer's colleague assured him that no one held him in greater esteem than Pfeffer himself. In fact he had followed with great admiration the researches of my Master and his only regret was that all these wonderful revelations came to him near the end of his life.

So great was the importance attached to the new line of research that the University of Vienna officially addressed the Secretary of State for India asking that the special thanks of the University be conveyed to the Government of India for the scientific impetus given to their inquiries by Prof. Bose's visit. Equally gratifying is the fact that the important German publication—The Year Book of Science—published an account of the Master's researches as the most important contribution in recent years in plant physiology.

The next day Prof. Molisch took us round to see some of the historic places in Vienna, and we were taken to the heights of Kalishburg which overlooked the Danube. We sat down on an eminence and our host talked to us not only of the University but of the aged Emperor and of the uncertainties of the political conditions of his country. The heir-apparent, Archduke Ferdinand, he said, was a man of great strength of character but unyielding and with pronounced religious and political bias. He was afraid that there would be considerable political disturbance when the Archduke would succeed the aged Emperor. We did not know at the time that at that very moment a great tragedy was being enacted at a place not far distant and which was ultimately to bring about a cataclysm of world destruction. But of the assassination of the Archduke we did not hear anything till we reached Paris the day after.

PARIS.

Our plan now was first to go to Paris and thence to the Universities of Strassburg, Leipzic, Halle, Berlin and Bonn, and then attend the International Congress at Munich. I shall presently describe how we were on two successive occasions diverted from our intended visit to Germany and thus escaped indefinite internment.

My Master had already visited Paris on scientific deputations on two successive occasions and was well-known there as a great Physicist. In 1896 he had addressed the Sorbonne, the Academy of Sciences and the University of Paris on his Researches on Electric Waves. He was then given a great reception by the leading savants

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in France among whom were, Poincare, Cornu, Mascart, Lippmann, Cailletet, Becquerel, and others. M. Cornu, one of the leading physicists of the age, was the President of the Academy of Science. He on behalf of his colleagues, addressed a remarkable letter to my Master which concluded with the striking passage: "You should try to revive the grand traditions of your race, which bore aloft the torch-light of science and art and was the leader of civilization two thousand years ago. We in France applaud you." M. Poincare, the brother of the President, is regarded as one of the most brilliant physicists and philosophers of the age. In his classical work on Electric Radiation he has largely incorporated the results of "the remarkable researches of the brilliant young Hindu Physicist, Jagadish Chunder Bose."

To the eminent scientific men gathered to hear his discourse this time, it was a great surprise that Bose the Physiologist was indentical with Bose the Physicist. So great was the interest aroused by his discourse that the leading and semi-official organ "*Le Temps*" sent its scientific editor to get a detailed account of his novel experiments and a very highly appreciative article appeared in its special scientific edition.

My Master's lecture in Paris was memorable for one incident, inasmuch as his principal experiment failed for the first and the last time. After the plant had recorded its normal pulsations, a dose of deadly potassium cyanide was administered to the plant and the audience breathlessly waited for the arrest of these pulse-throbs. But wonderful to relate, and to our utter dismay, the plant seemed to be actually stimulated by it. I applied a larger dose to hasten its miserable end. But it went on throbbing more vigorously than ever! Such a thing had never happened before and in utter desperation I examined the drug I was using and put a very tiny drop on my tongue and found it taste sweet. It was not potassium cyanide at all but a solution of sugar! Fortunately I had some chloroform and the application of this soon brought on torpor followed by the death of the plant from over-narcotisation.

As to the mystery of transformation of potassiun cyanide into sugar, it happened this wise. Just before the demonstration in Paris I discovered that the stock of potassium cyanide we took with us for experiments in our continental tour had run short. It is not at all easy for a stranger to buy this poison without the certificate of a physician. In this dilemma the young daughter of our generous hostess volunteered to get the chemical for us. The shop of their chemist was at the next street and she assured us that they were sure to stretch a point and supply her with the chemical even without a medical certificate. So she went, and in order to impress the chemist she spoke to him of the great Eastern Scientist who was going to demonstrate that plants had feelings and sensations and were in no way inferior to human beings. She was sure he would supply her with a moderate quantity of potassium cyanide, enough to kill the plant. The French are proverbially polite, and though he did not believe a single word of the extraordinary story she related, he made a profound bow and regarded it as the greatest privilege to be of any service to the Madmoiselle. What he really believed was that the young lady was determined to commit suicide, perhaps on account of some disappointment in love. So he supplied her with some white stuff, resembling cyanide, which was in reality nothing else but the harmless sugar! So our attempt at the plant murder was thwarted by the machination of a compassionate and sentimental chemist's assistant!

Our programme of going to Germany was at the last moment postponed on account of a cable received from London. Some of the leading scientific men had spoken in the highest terms to the Secretary of State for India of the importance of my Master's researches and Lord Crewe expressed his desire to pay a visit to my Master's private London Laboratory at Maida Vale.

(*To be Concluded*).

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

An account of the different existing SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR *being the Vishvanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal Prize-Essay for 1909 by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona. The Oriental Books Supplying Agency, B, Shukrawar, Poona. Pp. vi+148. Price Rs. 2.*

Dr. Belvalkar, from whom we are soon expecting a critical edition of Bharata's *Natyashastra* to be published in the *Harvard Oriental Series*, has really obviated to some extent a long-felt want in the field of Sanskrit learning by bringing out the book under notice on which the learned judges appointed by the Bombay University have rightly remarked that "it collects together a great deal of interesting historical information", and we may add that these informations are valuable. It furnishes in chronological order the names with their approximate dates and brief accounts of every principal works, texts and various commentaries, etc., from Panini downwards of every existing school of the authors of the Sanskrit Grammar. As regards the early grammatical speculation in the Vedas, Brahmanas and the allied works, i.e., the Pratishakhyas, we think, something more should have been said than what has actually been done. As the title of the work implies which seems to have been chosen in imitation of Max Mullers *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, we naturally expected to see in it the gradual development dealt with at a considerable length of the science from the earliest work to that of Panini at least. But the author has only touched the point. When referring to the Brahmanas and the Pratishakhyas he could, it appears to us, have mentioned the *Gopatha-Brahmana* and the *Bribaddevata*. The *Prayogamala* which is not an unimportant grammar and is still a standard work in Assam has been taken no notice of. The get-up is good. We recommend the book to our readers.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDU REALISM *by Jagadish Chandra Chatterji, B. A. (Cantab.), Vidyavaridhi, Director of the Research Department of Kashmir. Price Rs. 3 or 4s., pp. 183 and xxii. The Indian Press: Allahabad.*

The get up of the book is excellent. The paper, printing and binding leave nothing to be desired. The author and the Press deserve our best thanks for the excellent external appearance of the book.

The author, Mr. J. C. Chatterji, has had the advantage of an inspiring contact with the leaders of English thought in England crowning his education at the Calcutta Sanskrit College. His career at the latter institution under such distinguished teachers as the late Mahamahopadhyaya Chandra Kanta Tarkalankara has been of immense service to him in his work in Indian philosophy. Here the celebrated physician and scholar Dr. Gananath Sen, M.A., L.M.S., Vidyanidhi, Kavibhusan &c., whose *Pratyaksha Sariram* has placed him among the finest and most erudite Sanskrit scholars of India, was his fellow student. His translation of some of the Upanishads in collaboration with Mr. Keightley, which was done many years ago while he was still a learner in England, is rather well-known in theosophic and allied circles. One of his French pamphlets on Indian philosophy is being translated into English by a well-known English savant.

The book before us is a sample of what good work may be done by combining eastern and western culture. The author has tried "to make his presentation of Hindu Realism intelligible to the western reader;" he might have added "and to our university graduates," whose mode of thought is necessarily modelled upon Euro-American patterns. By Hindu Realism is meant the Welt-anschauung or world-view which is taught in the *Nyaya-Vaiseshika* systems. From a perusal of Colebrooke and Max Muller "a European student of philosophy can [not] form an idea as to the reason or reasons why the Realists held, and do hold even now, the metaphysical doctrines which are taught in their systems." Mr. Chatterji claims that his Hindu Realism contains "a rational presentation of Hindu Realism generally" and also a reasoned exposition of the concepts of *paramanu*, *kala* and *dik* in particular.

It might be conceded at once that Mr. Chatterji's presentation is reasoned. He is not content with a mere philological study of Indian philosophy, as is too painfully the case with the vast majority of its students. Whether the arguments which Mr. Chatterji brings forward were actually known to the ancient philosophers of India, or Mr. Chatterji is merely surreptitiously introducing into Indian philosophy the later thoughts of modern Europe, this is a tough question and I shall leave it to the care of the experts.

According to Mr. Chatterji's version of Hindu philosophy, the original seers (*rishis*) realised or knew the ultimate metaphysical truths by direct experience. The word *darsana* or vision as a synonym of philosophy is a standing witness to this fact. Philosophy is a matter of vision. This idea is gaining adherents in the West. Professor William James says: "Let me repeat once more that a man's vision is the great fact about him. Who cares for Carlyle's reasons or Schopenhauer's or Spencer's." "A philosopher's vision and the technique he uses in proof of it are different things." "An author is easy if you can catch the centre of his vision." "I regard him [Hegel] rather as one of those numerous original seers who can never learn to articulate. His would-be coercive logic counts for nothing in my eyes, but that does not in the least impugn the philosophic importance of his conception of the Absolute....." "In a striking page Fechner relates one of his moments of *direct vision* of this truth." All these passages are taken from "A Pluralistic Universe" which was published after Mr. Chatterji had finished his Hindu Realism.

Hindu Philosophy takes it for granted that

(1) Man can *know* metaphysical truths by direct experience (direct vision in James's language).

(2) The *rishis* of old had thus known the whole of metaphysical truth about nature and existence.

(3) Some truths have been demonstrated by *reasoning*

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these metaphysical truths for the benefits of posterity. These demonstrations constitute Hindu Philosophy.

"The function of philosophy, therefore, is not the discovery of metaphysical truth by reasoning and inference, but only the explaining and understanding the rationality of such truth already discovered and realised by experience."

But was not this the attitude of the scholastic philosophy of Europe? The Bible and Aristotle contained every truth. The philosopher's task was to justify their teachings by human reasons. What is the defference between European Mediaeval philosophy and the philosophy of India after the age of the Upanishads?

If philosophy be a matter of vision, *darsana*, or direct experience, why should philosophers differ so much from one another? Does not the same reality appear the same to all people's vision? To this Professor James would answer that Hegel and Spencer had visions of different sides or aspects of reality and hence their difference. Mr. Chatterji would say that there is a fundamental agreement between the teachings of all the *rishis* and their apparent differences are mere concessions to the limitations of the different grades of intellect to which their teachings are addressed. There are in fact three standards [I would prefer to say stages] in the development of philosophic consciousness: (1) the first is the Realistic or creationistic standard (*Nyaya-Vaiseshika*) (2) the second the psychodynamic standard (Samkhya-Yoga), and (3) the third is the polyonymic standard (*vivarta-vada* of the *Vedanta*). This hypothesis of the three stages or standards is well explained in *Vijnana-Bhikshu's* Introduction to the *Samkhya Pravachana Bhashya*, and certainly there is this much of truth in this view, that a Sankhyist must understand and transcend the theory of the *Nyaya*, and a Monistic Vedantist must understand and transcend both. With this idea of *Vijnanabhikshu* may be compared one of Hegel's fundamental teachings, namely, the idea that there is some truth in all systems of thought, and that a philosopher's task is to form a synthesis of the different manifestations of truth that runs through conflicting systems.

Mr. Chatterji has uncritically accepted this idea of *Vijnanabhikshu*. It would have been better if he had given authorities for the antiquity of this view. Many people would regard *Vijnanabhikshu's* reconciliation of the conflicting systems based upon the theory of the three *bhumikas* or stages as a late growth of Indian philosophical consciousness. One of its preconditions is the supposition that the *rishis* are all-knowing and infallible and such a supposition could not have been formed as long as philosophy was a living thing amongst the Indians, i.e., as long as there were actual *rishis* existing in flesh and blood who carried on philosophical speculations. Even *Sankaracharya* is not familiar with the idea of reconciling the philosophical systems, not to say anything of the *rishis* of the *Vedic* and post-*Vedic* periods. Is Mr. Chatterji then justified in presenting this idea as a precondition of *all* Indian philosophy? For one thing, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Chandrakanta Tarkalankara tried to solve the conflict between the different philosophical systems in a quite different way. The curious reader should consult the fifth volume of his Srigopal Vasu-Mallik Fellowship lectures in Bengali.

The book is divided into three parts (1) Introductory (pp. 1-17) (2) the Analytic Aspect of Realism (pp. 19-94) and (3 the Synthetic Aspect of Realism (pp. 95-151).

We have given a short critical account of the Introductory portion above.

The analytic aspect deals with such subjects as the nine realities (usually called substances), the *paramanus*, *akasa*, the five *bhutas*, *kala*, *dik*, 'atman' 'manas' &c. It is not possible to summarize Mr. Chatterji's teachings within the compass of a short review. Suffice it to say that the author's account of 'paramanus,' 'dik' and 'kala' are quite original and remarkably clear. The tyro and the expert both would find much matter for thought in this fascinating book.

The 'paramanus' are ordinarily translated as atoms and are supposed to be something like the atoms of Leuceppus and Democritus: that is, indivisible solid particles to which all sensible realities can be ultimately reduced. According to Mr. Chatterji, however, the 'paramanus' are not spatial. Are they something like Leibniz's monads, "things of no magnitude, i.e., of the nature of points"? Two such go together to make up a 'dvyanuka,' which is of the nature of lines and three 'dvyanukas' form a 'trasarenu' which is a thing having magnitude, i.e., length, breadth and thickness. So a 'paramanu' has no length, breadth and thickness. It is nothing material.

According to Mr. Chatterji's account, Kala (ordinarily translated as time) was conceived by the *rishis* as a universal power or force at the back of all change or movement.

Whether this rationalistic interpretation of the *Vaiseshika paramanus* and their derivatives (*dvyanukas* and *trasarenus*) and of *kala* would be regarded as correct by the mediæval *Vaiseshika* philosophers of India, i.e., *Sridhara*, *Udayana* and *Gangesa*, is more than doubtful. But such interpretations are extremely useful. What would be the worth of Greek philosophy to us, *minus* the interpretations of the great continental scholars? If India is to have her schools of living philosophy, she must begin by re-interpreting the works of ancient Indian authors. The late Mr. Umesh Chandra Batabyal's Bengali monograph on *Sankhya* philosophy, Mr. Brajendranath Seal's oral and published interpretations of Hindu thought, and Mr. Jagadisa Chandra Chatterji's Hindu Realism are sure indications that Life is flowing in into the domain of metaphysical thought in India.

I conclude this notice with the expression of my deliberate conviction that every student of Indian thought would find the book stimulating, and some readers of the book are likely to become Mr. Chatterji's followers in their understanding of the *Nyaya Vaiseshika* metaphysics.

"VAC."

BRAHMASADHAN OR ENDEAVOURS AFTER THE LIFE DIVINE. *By Sitanath Tattwabhushan. Re. 1-8 or 2s. To be had of the author at 210-3-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Cloth, pp. xiv+172.*

This book consists of the following twelve lectures: The Realm of Sadhan, Hindu and Christian Ideals of Worship, "Aradhana" or the Adoration of God, *Dharana Dhyan* and *Samadhi*, the Realization of the God—I, the Realisation of the God—II, Prayer and its Response, the Dialectical Movement in Ethical Life, Piety in Practical Life, Relations with Women, Love and Service of Man, and, Communion with Saints.

We read this book with great interest and profit.

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The author says: "If we are to believe those who are honoured by the world as knowers of God, God can be known so vividly and deeply, that the light of such knowledge can fill our whole life and brighten all our journey. In other words, the consciousness of God, as the Truth of truths, as All-in-all, can colour and permeate all other forms of consciousness, outer and inner, so that we may consciously, as we do actually, live, move and have our being in Him. Likewise, the love of God, instead of visiting us occasionally as a sentiment or emotion, may become an overmastering passion, not excluding, but transmuting and including, other passions, and becoming the guiding impulse of life. In the same manner, the following of God's will, instead of being confined to abstinence from harm or the performance of a stated number of duties, may be a living inspiration, a constant walk with God as his son and servant, so that personal will is wholly merged in the divine and the son of God in us exclaims, 'I and my father are one.'"

He goes on to say that "it is evident that there is a science or system of "sadhan," one which treats of the way to the realization of the divine life, the stages leading to it, the difficulties confronting the aspirant after it, the means of removing them, and the various exercises or disciplines that help the devotee to attain this end." This book treats of such a system of sadhan, treats of the systematic culture of love and holiness. It is written in a lucid and elegant style. To whatever sects they may belong, readers will find the book helpful in their spiritual endeavours. Not the least good which the book does is to awaken thought and challenge many commonly accepted ideas.

It is not for ascetics or anchorites that the book has been written, though they too will find most of the lectures helpful. The spiritual life which the author holds up as our ideal is that led by a pious man living in society in the midst of his family. Naturally, therefore, he attaches great importance to our relations with women and the proper attitude towards them. Says he: "It seems to me that the failure of certain well-known systems of spiritual culture in promoting a really practical and harmonious life of piety is in a large part due to their very imperfect solution of the woman problem." The whole chapter on "Relations with Women" should be read carefully by both reformers and non-reformers. No doubt, this and some other portions of the book are written from the male point of view. A woman writing a similar book would be able to give proper guidance to persons of her sex.

The author has said nothing about man's proper attitude towards the lower animals. We think a "sadhak" requires to pay some attention to this subject. In the Jaina, Buddhistic and Vaishnavite systems of spiritual culture, considerable importance is attached to it.

TALES OF INDIAN HUMOUR: *a collection of humorous stories translated from the Persian of Shahryar Ilahi. By Prof. Norman Reade, M.A. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta. Re. 1. Pp. 77.*

This little book, the author tells us, contains a few of the famous Birbal stories one hears of so often and hears so seldom. For the subject matter he is indebted to Shahryar Ilahi, but the diction and colouring are Prof. Reade's. The stories have been well told. There is much wit and humour in them, much shrewd insight into human nature, and not a little wisdom, too.

AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF MODERN EUROPE FROM 1789 TO 1914 WITH AN HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY TEXT. *By C. Grant Robertson, M.A., C.V.O., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and J. G. Bartholomew, F. R. S. E., F. R. G. S. 3s. 6d. net. Oxford University Press.*

This is a very useful publication. It contains 36 maps clearly printed in many colours on strong paper. All citizens of independent countries who desire to take an active and beneficial part in politics ought to study the evolution of the State-system of modern Europe from the French Revolution to the present day. This the present atlas, with the explanatory historical text and commentary on the Plates, enables one to do to a considerable extent. The importance of such a publication at the present time is that it helps one to understand the historical events which have led to the present war, though, of course, the atlas possesses a more abiding value.

SIX PLAYS BY CONTEMPORARIES OF SHAKESPEARE, *Edited by C. B. Wheeler. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Art Cloth, 1s. net.*

The fame of Shakespeare has obscured that of his great contemporaries. The present collection is an attempt to revise the study of their works. It contains Thomas Dekker's "The Shoemaker's Holiday," John Webster's "The White Devil" and "The Duchess of Malfi," Beaumont and Fletcher's "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" and "Philaster," and Philip Massinger's "A New Way to Pay Old Debts." The text is clearly printed. There are occasionally explanatory notes at the bottom of the page. A brief and well-written introduction adds to the value of the book.

RELIGION AND DHARMA. *By Sister Nivedita. With a preface by S. K. Ratcliffe. Longmans, Green & Co.*

To none else is any introduction to the power and quality of the writings of Sister Nivedita less necessary than to the readers of the *Modern Review*. We will, therefore, content ourselves with a mere transcription of the contents of this volume: Religion and Dharma, Mukti: Freedom, The Greater Ritual, The Crown of Hinduism, Hinduism and Organisation, Co-operation, Sectarianism, The Samaj, The Past and the Future, Religion and National Success, The Spirit of Renunciation, The Sacred and the Secular, Quit Ye Like Men!, Sincerity, Facing Death, Luxury and Manhood, Strength; True Ambition, Character, Discrimination, Fitness, The Teacher, The Guru and His Disciple, Self-Idealism, Realization, Progress, Work, Realization through Work, The Power of Faith, The Bee and the Lotus, The Life of Ideas, The Shaping of Life, National Righteousness, The Flower of Worship, Responsibility, The World-sense in Ethics, Character is Spirituality, The Task Before us, The Ideal.

There is a glossary explaining the Sanskrit and other Indian words in the text The words "Japam," "Jnanam," "Vairagyam," &c., ought to be printed without the final letter *m*. If the Sanskrit forms were to be retained, one would have to write "bhaktah" and not "bhakta," "Karman," and not "Karma," &c. "Sanathan" is a misprint for "Sanatan."

In his interesting preface Mr. Ratcliffe explains among other things why Sister Nivedita used both the words Religion and Dharma.

SPEECHES OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE. *G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 3. Pp. ix+1236+xvii.—illustrations. Cloth.*

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No publicist or other public man, and student of Indian politics and economics can do without this collection of the speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It is very cheap. C.

MUHAMMAD IN ISLAM. GOLDSACK. *The Christian Literature Society (price not stated.)*

The writer "does not profess to offer a complete biography of the prophet Muhammad." He "aims at presenting to the reader a number of pen-pictures of the great reformer." "When anything of special value has had to be chronicled, we have invariably given the "ipsissima verba" of the authorities quoted". These quotations are in fact the most interesting part of the book, which is fairly good of its kind, but without any special originality or merit. The writer seems generally to have followed Muir—although he does not refer to him and takes exactly the same view of the character of the Prophet. He shows no signs of acquaintance with more recent writers such as Caetani and Margoliouth. All the incidents in the life of the Prophet to which Christians generally object are dwelt upon and the writer concludes by asking the reader "to judge whether and in what respect, Muhammad may be considered as indeed a Prophet of God." This line of argument was answered many centuries ago by Muslim theologians. The acts of God must not be judged by the mere human understanding. Children are born into the world, the victims of invariable disease, destined to lead lives of suffering. To human reason this appears cruel, but we know from revelation that God is merciful and compassionate, and we must believe that everything He does is right. So it is with the acts of the prophets, which are all done in direct obedience to the commands of God, though often we cannot understand the reasons for them. God has shown us this in the Suratu'l Kahf. There we read how a prophet whom God had instructed with knowledge committed actions which seemed strange and grievous till their meaning was explained. The prophet says: "Not of mine own will have I done this," and this is true of the actions of all the prophets. They must not be judged as the actions of ordinary men. An ordinary man who intended to kill his child would act very wrongly, but this is what Hazrat Ibrahim did. It is painful to find Christian missionaries, so blinded by controversial zeal, as to use arguments against Islam, which tend to the denial of all revealed truth and even to downright atheism. H. C.

ENGLISH-TELEGU.

A COURSE OF INDIAN GRMNASTICS PART II. Mr. Naidu offers a very good system of physical culture to the public and we must heartily thank him for adding such a valuable book to the few physical culture books written by Indians. It is to be deeply regretted that very few of our Indian physical culture experts could write books. We have previously acknowleged that there are great experts but unfortunately very few know the art of teaching. We however find a few defects in Mr. Naidu's book. No attention has been given to the lower limbs or the abdominal muscles. The muscles which he seems to have a great regard of are, Pectorals, Biceps, Triceps, Trapezius, Latissimus dorsi, Serratus magnus, etc. Mr. Naidu is going to publish a third part, so he should please see to it. The strength and tone of abdominal muscles serve a great function. The Santhola system is weight lifting pure and simple. S. N. M.

SANSKRIT.

SHRI CHAHAGEETA *by Chintamani Rama Chandra Sahasrabudhe with an introduction by Pandita 'Uppinbelgeri' Krishna Shastri. The Karnataka Printing Works, Dharwar. Pp. 82. Price Annas 6.*

The title of the book literally means 'Tea-songs' which implies its contents. It is written in humorous Sanskrit verses occasionally with English and vernacular words entirely in imitation of the Bhagavad-gita of which it may in one way be called a parody though not with a view to undervalue its merits but to bring to light the manifold evils from the ever-growing artificial life of worked-up luxury in our days in which among other things tea-drinking holds an unique position.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI-SANSKRIT.

AGRAJANMADI-BRAHMANOTPATTI-BHASKARA. *The origin and growth of the Agrajanma and Manu-vamsaja Brahmanas, by Pandit Batukaprasada Mishra Bhaskara, Sarai Govardhana, Benares City. Pp. 29. Price As. 8.*

In our days there are several classes of Brahmanas, but in the sacred texts, says the author, there seem to have been only two classes of them, viz. अग्रजन्मा 'first-born' and मनुवंशज 'born in the family of Manu.' He gives their details from the Puranas and supports his view quoting them profusely.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI

DAYANAND CHARITAMRITA *by Kaviraj Joygopal. To be had of Vidya Bhandar Pustakalaya, Shahalami Darwaza, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 189. Price—Rs. 1-4.*

This contains the life of Swami Dayanand till his initiation into his self-abnegating career. The only matter for regret is that the author has been too poetic and has followed the ancient Indian practice of poetic exaggeration, which is often unmeaning. The book is in "dohas" and "choupais" like the Ramcharitmanas and translations of the lines in prose have been subjoined by way of an annotation. But the style of the Hindi Ramayana is not suited to the depiction of the life of a great man who died only the other day and the author might with profit have adopted his style and mode of description to the modern surroundings. In other respects the book is not bad, though there are some mistakes here and there. The get-up of the publication is nice and it has been well-bound.

DARSHANAND GRANTHA SANGRAH *by Pandit Gokul Chandra Dikshit and published by Pandit Bhimsena Sharma, Mahavidyalaya, Jwalapore, Dist. Saharanpore, U. P. Royal 8vo. pp. 806. Price—Rs. 2-0-0.*

This is a collection of some of the tracts of Swami Darshanand Saraswati, a well-known figure in the Arya Samaj. There is much to be recommended in his views, there being a good deal of originality and thoughtfulness in them. His tracts are not merely religious, but have dealt with some of the social and political topics as well in a sound and deliberative spirit. His politics consists of devotion to the Government and in all the pages of the publication under review, we find carefully pointed out, the mistakes of some of the agitators for "Swarajya". The conversation between a clergyman Lortar and a rustic Jat, which forms the subject of an article, is very interesting. In the same way, the Swami has

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his own views on free education. This is only the first part of the collection of the Swami's publications and the list of the articles to be published in the second part which we find in the book, leads us to believe that the second part also will be instructive.

RANA JANGBAHADUR *by Mr. Jaganmohan Varma, Printed at the Leader Press, Allahabad and published by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha. Crown 8vo. pp. 269. Price—Re. 1-0-0.*

Many of the actual incidents mentioned about Rana Jangbahadur of Nepal read like episodes in a novel. Indeed the life of the Rana has been so variegated and romantic that the book under review could not but be interesting. The author has on his own part tried to make the narrative nice, and his style is chaste and correct. Besides the book gives an insight into Nepal life, and is thoroughly readable on the whole. The get-up of the publication is very satisfactory.

NITIDHARMA WA DHARMANITI, *translated by Mr. Bhai Kotwal, Praim Mahavidyalaya, Vrindaban and printed at the Vidyalaya Press, Vrindaban. Royal 16mo. pp. 122. Price—as. 2.*

This is a Hindi translation from the Gujrati. The author has some original ideas on virtue and religion, and the book is instructive. There are some mistakes here and there. The price is moderate, in consideration of the pains taken in the preparation of the book.

SWAWALAMBAN *by Mr. Motilalji Gupta. Published by the Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar Karyalaya, Bombay and printed at the Bombay Baibhav Press. Crown 8vo. pp. 298. Price—Rs. 1-4-0 or Rs. 1-8-0.*

This is a Hindi translation of Smiles' Self-Help. The noticeable feature in the book is that the author has tried in many places to substitute names of Indian great men, in place of those of other countries, cited by Smiles. Thus he has referred to Gokhale, Kabir, Akbar, Prof. J. C. Bose and others. We must commend the author and the publishers on the way in which the work has been done, which is decidedly excellent. The printing and binding are first-class and a half tone of Dr. Samuel Smiles adorns the book. The arrangement of the book is up-to-date, the indexing etc., being nicely done.

SAGARDHARMAMRITA, POORVARDHA, *by Pandit Lala Ram Jain of Indore and published by Morlchand Kissandas Kaparia, Editor, "Digambar Jain," Khapatia Chakla, Chandawadi, Surat. Crown 8vo. pp. 312. Price—Rs. 1-8-0.*

This is an annotated edition in Hindi of the Jain religious book of the same name by Pandit Ashadhar. Some of the principles of Jainism have been very lucidly explained and the author has often gone in detail to Jain rituals. The get-up and binding of the book are nice, and the book will be found specially interesting to the Jains.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

PRABHAS VARNAN, *by the late Shivlal Dhaneshwar, published by his son, Jayantilal Shivlal Kavi, B.A., printed at the Praja Bandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 196. Price Re. 1. Second Edition, (1916).*

It must be very gratifying to the son of the late Kavi, who had during his lifetime attained some measure of success as a writer of verses, to be able to bring out a second edition of the book after thirty years after it was published first. As the tutor to a brother of H. H. the Rao of Cutch, he had had to travel to several places with him, and the natural scenery of places like Poona and Mahabaleshwar appealed to him. He has catalogued such sceneries in his book of verses supplementing the list with many words of admonishment. This kind of poetry is now passing away—going out of fashion.

YASHODHARA CHARITRA, *published by Mulchand Kasan Kapadia, printed at the Jaina Vijaya Printing Press, Surat, paper cover, pp. 190. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1916).*

Kavi Pushpadanta has written in Hindi a life of Yashodhara, the object of which is to preach the doctrine of अहिंसा. This book is a translation of it, and is full of gruesome and revolting incidents, of sacrifices to the goddess, and of several other unsavoury matters, which overlie the moral intended to be conveyed, so thickly that it remains hardly visible.

DEVAKULA PATAK, *by Shastravisharad Jainacharya Shri Vijaya Dharma Suri, A.M.A.S.B., published by Abhaya Chand Bhagvandas Gandhi, printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Paper cover, pp. 24. Unpriced (1916).*

This small pamphlet prints extracts from several copper plates and stone inscriptions, and thus fixes the site of the present village of Delvada, in the territory of H. H. the Maharana of Udaypore, as that of the ancient town of Devakula Patak. Great credit is due to the Acharya for having turned his attention from religious matters to the investigation of historical questions by means of modern methods of research.

CHHALOPALO MARI MASALO, *published by D. P. Madan & Co., Chemists & Druggists, Surat. Printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press, cloth bound, pp. 513. Third Edition. Price 2-4-0 (1916).*

This book which contains numerous recipes for ordinary complaints and serious diseases, is a very useful work. It points out a number of household remedies, whose chief recommendation is their cheapness, and easy procurability, since only indigenous drugs are referred to. We wish it to be widely known, specially as imported drugs and medicines are becoming dear and scarce.

K. M. J.

We have received a report of the working of the Nadiad Hindu Orphanage for the year 1914-15. We do not review such reports.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

MARATHYANCHA DARARA (मराठ्यांचा दरारा) *or the Maratha expeditions against Bengal, by Vasudev Govinda Apte B.A. Price As. 10.*

This is a short sketch in Marathi of the expeditions sent by Nagpurkar Bhonsles in the years 1743, 1744, 1748—1751 against Alivardi Khan who was then the ruling Nawab of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. In this book are described the story of five expeditions one after the other in which the Marathas have not been always successful. The reason for these expeditions was the non-payment by the Nawab of the "chauth" which they claimed because allowed by the Mogul emperors.

The author is not satisfied with the available materials. He has to depend on European, Persian and some Bengali works, the value of which as historical accounts, he discusses in the beginning of his book. He says he has given a connected account

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from the available sources which are not often accurate and reliable. His search after original Maratha historical manuscripts bearing on the subject has not been successful as yet.

The book, even as it is, is worth reading, as it shows the relation and behaviour of the Marathas in their period of glory against the different nationalities and peoples of India who were under Mahomedan rule. It also shows the political ambitions of Marathas, how far they were successful and how they carried them out. Then in such a book one comes to know what other Indians in different provinces thought about in those times of Maratha political power and its extension.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.

HINDUSTHANCHA ARWACHIN ITIHASA *Bhag II (Marathi Riyasat) or A History of Modern India Part II (Maratha Period), New edition, revised and enlarged by Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai B. A. Publishers:—Messrs. D. S. Yande & Co. Bombay (Crown 16mo, pp. 16+372+30) Price Rs. 2-8.*

This forms the first volume of the second part of the great series which Mr. Desai has undertaken to write on the history of Modern India. I had the pleasure of reviewing the new edition of the first volume of the series devoted to the Mahomedan period in the pages of the *Modern Review* in 1912. The present volume covers an important period in Maratha history, viz., from the earliest times to the year 1707, when Shahu, grandson of Shiwajee the Great, was restored to his freedom from his State imprisonment at Delhi and was sent to his motherland, the Deccan, with a small army to claim his Maratha kingdom. The period succeeding this landmark in Maratha history is reserved for another volume, the appearance of which is looked forward to with eager interest by Marathi readers. The first edition of this volume was published in 1902 and had earned for Mr. Sardesai the reputation of a scholar of vast reading and an un-biassed judgment. Let me at once assure Mr. Sardesai that this well-merited praise has not suffered, but is considerably enhanced by his producing this second edition, which is so entirely re-cast and enlarged that it deserves to be treated as a separate and more advanced book on the subject, replacing its forerunner, which has done its part and taken its exit from the literary stage. The volume under notice is for the sake of convenience divided into 14 chapters, half the number of which is justly devoted to the life and work of the great national hero of the Deccan, Shiwajee the Great, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom. Mr. Sardesai has tapped all possible sources of information, ransacked the whole literature on the subject in English and Marathi, thought out the subject for himself with an open mind, arrayed his facts in due order so that a man of ordinary intelligence may be able to comprehend them, shown events in their proper perspective, stated his pros and cons with clearness and with a strict regard for truth and then come forward with boldness to pronounce his judgment, which no wonder captivates the attention of his readers and holds all opposition for a time in suspense. Mr. Sardesai shows himself at his best in this respect particularly in the 4th chapter of his book, which discusses the question whether Shiwajee was the creator or the creature of his times, and again in chapter 12, where merits and demerits of Sambhajee's character are clearly set forth with a view to decide his place in Maratha history. With regard to the first question which is of passing interest, it must be stated that the prevailing opinion among the Maratha people till 1900 was, and to some extent still exists among European writers, that the foundation of the Maratha Empire in the Deccan was more or less a fortuitous circumstance, and the fact that Shiwajee is looked upon as an Avatar not only by the ignorant mob but even by the educated Marathas lends colour to this view. The appearance of the late Mr. Justice Ranade's Rise of Maratha Power in 1900 shattered this view to some extent and gave the reading public for the first time a glimpse of the combination of circumstances which prepared the ground, sowed the seed, and nurtured the tender plant, which subsequently thrived and blossomed under the glorious name of the Maratha Empire. The late Mr. Ranade, however, had this disadvantage, that he had not the privilege of seeing some very important records bearing on the subject. Mr. Sardesai is more fortunate in this respect and fortified with documentary evidence of letters since published, throwing light on the history of many old Maratha families existing from pre-Shiwajee times, he has been able to prove that Shiwajee though endowed with an extraordinary intelligence, shrewdness, foresight, courage and other qualities which made him a remarkable figure in world's history, and was in a way an architect of his fortune, yet he was a remarkable product of the peculiar circumstances which surrounded him and though he was the most pre-eminent mason to build up the Maratha Empire he was not at it single handed, but was prompted and assisted by several Mavalees, who were as much inspired by the spirit awakened in them as Shiwajee himself, and who displayed more astonishing virtues than history has cared to record. Indeed this part of Mr. Sardesai's work took the whole audience in Bombay by surprise in May 1915, when on the date commemorating the accession of Shiwajee to the throne, Mr. Sardesai read some portions of this chapter to the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan or literary gathering.

Mr. Sardesai's book is full of such surprises and revelations for an ordinary reader not caring to keep pace with historical discoveries being made by Mr. Rajwade and others. I shall not tire the patience of your readers by mentioning how the illusion of Grant Duff and other historians that Shiwajee was an illiterate, though a clever illiterate, and that he was a stranger to the art of writing his own name, is dispelled by an unmistakable proof of Shiwajee's own writing in the form of certain original letters discovered by Mr. Rajwade. Mr. Sardesai has not failed to embody such important researches in his volume.

To make this review complete, I must reluctantly turn to the other side of the shield. I have ungrudgingly given the author the praise where it was due. I must now mention at least one instance, where in my opinion, he does not come up to my estimation of him. The relation of Shiwajee with the Brahmin saint Ramdas is an instance in point. There are people who blindly believe in the tradition that Ramdas was Shiwajee's guru long before the latter founded the Maratha Kingdom. These people assert that Ramdas was the first to inspire Shiwajee with the idea of rallying the Marathas with a view to subvert the Mahomedan power and reclaim the Hindu sovereignty which was lost. There are others who, on the other hand, would be too glad to proclaim vociferously to the world that Brahmin influence had nothing to do with that epoch-making event, that Ramdas exerted but little influence over

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Shiwajee's mind and all traditions about the invaluable help rendered by the Brahmin saint towards founding or strengthening the edifice of the Mahratta power are so many myths and fabrications invented by wily Brahmins simply to share with that Mahratta hero and his compatriots the credit and glory which is not theirs. Mr. Sardesai chooses to take the middle path and though he is positive in asserting that Ramdas had no hand whatever in the foundation of the Mahratta power in that he was not so far as introduced to Shiwajee till long after the first Mahratta conquests, he is prepared to concede so much that the Brahmin saint, after his first acquaintance with Shiwajee in 1659, began to exert his moral and religious influence over the young hero with such a force that Shiwajee revered him as a guru and made him the keeper of his mind and spirit. Mr. Sardesai is careful in keeping Shiwajee out of the pale of the political influence of the Brahmin saint. Now the letter in Abhong metre from Tukaram to Shiwajee, Ramdas' letter to Sambhaji, as well as a remarkable letter recently discovered and published by the सत्कार्योत्तेजक मंडली of Dhulia, all give a direct lie to Mr. Sardesai's assertion, and the whole tenour of Ramdas's counsels to his chela, which is nothing but an expression given to the pent up feelings on the political condition of the country is a proof, if any is needed, that Ramdas exerted not only moral and religious influence but also his political influence on his disciple. Application of Vedantic and philosopical thoughts to matters, not only mundane but political was a strong point in Ramdas's life. In fact it was this feature of his life which distinguished him from all other saints of the time. To say that Ramdas exerted no political influence on Shiwajee is to obliterate the best part of the work done by that Brahmin saint, and to play with undeniable historical truths. At least Mr. Sardesai should not have been too assertive on this point. Time alone would have shown to the world where the truth lay.

Mr. Sardesai's volume records one melancholy event in connection with its preparation. The author's son aged 12, who was an exceptionally intelligent, and amiable boy and who had greatly assisted his father in preparing the manuscript for the press met with a sudden end after a slight illness on the very day when the last proofs of the volume passed the author's hand. I had personally known the boy and it is with a deep feeling of sorrow that I am paying this tribute to his memory. I need hardly say that the whole Maharastra fully sympathises with the author in his grief and offers its condolences to him.

V. G. APTE.

MARATHYANCHA DARARA *(or the terror of the Mahrattas) an account of Mahratta invasions of Bengal, by V. G. Apte B.A., Editor "Anand." Price 10 annas, Publisher Manager 'Anand', Poona.*

It is really a happy sign of the times that people are taking a keen interest in the resuscitating and collecting of old Historical materials. It was so far back as 1867 A. D. that late Nilkanta Rao Kirtane read his paper by way of criticism of the monumental work of Captain Grant Duff on the history of the Marathas. The illustrious Vishnu Shastri, who died rather prematurely, blew his trumpet on behalf of this same neglected cause; soon after 'Kavyetihas Sangraha' followed and Messrs. Sane and Modak placed before the world varied materials for History in the shape of original papers. When the magazine ceased to exist for want of fund, bold and dashing men like Rajwade, Khare and Parsnis appeared on the field and took up the task of recovering this valuable treasure which is at present decaying in the dark cellars of the descendants of several historical families. All honour to these self-less workers who have laid their countrymen under a deep obligation.

Mr. Apte's present attempt is in the same direction though of less pretention. He has taken up this task out of pure love. He has been at it for over 7 or 8 years in the past though his labours have been very meagrely rewarded. He tried his best to secure information throwing light on the Maratha invasion of Bengal—an important chapter in the History of the Marathas—at Nagpur and elsewhere but his attempts proved abortive. He therefore directed his attention towards Bengal and the result of his labours there are given in his present modest volume.

He has cited the names of the authorities for his account, in the preliminary chapter of his work, and has given a succinct account of the author and the value of each of the works consulted. He has mainly relied on "Maharashtra Puran" of one Gangaram and 'Tawarikh Usufi' of Usuf Ali; from which other Mahomedan and English Historians appear to have partially drawn their information. Thus those two works represent Hindu and Mahomedan views of the event, respectively, and would counterbalance each other. But the only pity is that Gangaram's work is only partially restored and we should be waiting for the day when the whole work of his is made available to the public. Mr. Apte has identified the authorship of "Maharashtra Puran" to Bengal of which we are somewhat sceptical as 'Gangram' the name of the author suggests a different race.

We have no space here to enter into details of the book and would recommend the reader the perusal of the original book itself. We may however mention here a point or two in the book to which we want to direct attention of our readers. We would particulary invite their attention to the graphic description (chapter III) of the middle of the 18th century where the author is in his best vein. On the whole the impression left on the reader's mind after his perusal of the book is rather sad. That the two races should have been utterly blind to their real interests and sense of self-respect and should not have felt any compunction while sitting on the throat of their brethren! We join hands with the author in his conclusion that the weakest spot represents the degenerate state of society of the time.

Praise is due to the author for having treated the subject with on open mind and we would refer our readers to page 71, 76 (Footnote) where he has spared neither his own men when they were in the wrong. These pages once more powerfully impress the lesson of History on our minds that the result of war depends equally if not more on diplomacy than on pure valour and valour alone.

Thanks to the gentle influence of Pax Britanica that the terror of the last century has now become a thing of past history and the two races once so hostile to each other have now became close friends and are working together for the uplift of their Motherland.

N. K. VAIDYA.

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NOTES

British India and Indian India

At a recent meeting held in the Indian Association Hall in Calcutta, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar is reported to have said that when he was Minister of the Indore State, he was struck by an extraordinary incident. There were villages, side by side, some belonging to the Indian State and others to the British Government, and though the land assessment in the former was a hundred per cent. higher than in the latter, the people there preferred to remain where they were. Sir Narayan enquired into the reason of this strange phenomenon and was told: "We are largely left to ourselves, we are not bothered with the round of visits now from the police, now from the excise department and now from the revenue department."

We do not know whether Sir Narayan has been correctly reported as to the land assessment in the Indore State villages being a hundred per cent. higher than in the neighboring British Indian villages, but there is a general impression that the inhabitants of the Indian States have to pay to the states a higher proportion of their incomes than the inhabitants of British India have to pay to the British Government. In spite of that fact the people like to remain under their Indian rulers, because they are not overgoverned, not interfered with too often and thus have greater opportunities of managing their affairs themselves. In British India no sphere of human life and activity is proof against or free from the inquisitiveness, meddlesomeness and vigilant watch of some officials or other. They directly or indirectly meddle in all affairs, religious, social, educational, moral, political or industrial. Such is perhaps not the case in Indian India.

In a lecture delivered at York by Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, on January 31, the speaker observed that "side by side with British India were the 'native' states, which constituted one-third of the total area of India. These States furnished one of the finest instances in history of the blending of western and eastern methods. Where they were well-governed there was found an air of happiness and ease, and he ventured to think that the population was, on the whole, happier and more comfortable than in British India."

In one respect similar testimony is borne by Wilfred Blunt in his work on India under Lord Ripon when he says that the subjects of the Native States are materially better off than the people of British India. But the author also adds that in mental awakening and intellectual freedom the subjects of the British Government are superior to those of the Indian states. Though education is more widespread in a few Indian states than in British India, Wilfred Blunt's impression that there is greater intellectual freedom and activity in British India than in Indian India seems to be correct.

There is very great possibility of progress in the Indian states. Their weak point is that their progress depends almost entirely on the personal quality of the potentate and the chief officers whom he may appoint. The great desideratum in every Indian state, including the most advanced, is an inviolable constitution. Not that there is such a thing even in British India. But we naturally wish the Indian states to be superior to British India in every respect. The supremacy of law, not the supremacy of any person whatever, has to be established everywhere. We cannot speak from personal experience, but we have heard from persons who have had such experience that in the Indian states persons in authority count for much more than in British India; and consequently there is more intrigue and often greater high-handedness in the former than in the latter. This would not be the case if the law, not the man or men in power, were supreme. So every good Indian ruler should divest his person of all ordinary exercise of power and make the law supreme and binding on all persons, including himself and his suc-

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essors, as Mutsuhito, the great Emperor of Japan, did. That is the greatest and most fundamental reform which the Indian states stand in need of. The assessment of land and other forms of taxation should in no case be higher than in the British provinces, but should be lower. In England Parliament makes an appropriation of money for the expenses of the sovereign and his household. This is called his Civil List. Every Indian ruler should have such a civil list, *fixed on a moderate scale*, according to the income of his state. When the states come to have fully developed representative assemblies these civil lists should be as much subject to increase or curtailment by them as the British Civil List is by Parliament. Some potentates spend too much on foreign travel and other luxuries. They should have an unwritten self-denying ordinance, until the growth of representative institutions makes the squandering of public money impossible.

Already greater attention is paid in several Indian states to education and the development of industries than in the British provinces. This should be the case in all states. So far as we are aware, though in these states the physique of the people is better than in the British provinces, there has not been any organised attempt on a large scale in any of them to improve the physical stamina of the people still further by scientific sanitation and by making it possible for people to have better and more food by the development of the resources of the states.

In the British Provinces, freedom of speech and the freedom of the press are greatly restricted. Still, we seem to be better situated in this respect than those who are under indigenous rule. We have heard that in the states under indigenous rulers, people dare not speak, except in whispers, against the potentates. There may be exceptions, but that is the general condition. We can criticise our Viceroys, governors and lieutenant-governors and lesser men more freely. As for the press, we do not know of a single newspaper, daily or weekly, published in an Indian state, which can be said to perform the duties of an organ of public opinion to the extent that such journals published in the British provinces do. That cannot be an accident. In the majority of these States there is not a single newspaper published, whereas in provinces like Bengal, there is scarcely a district without a newspaper, some having several. Continuous good government is impossible without the ventilation of grievances and the discussion of public questions in the public press. We do not see any reason why Hindu and Musalman rulers should not encourage the growth of public opinion in their dominions. It can only strengthen their position and increase the prosperity of their territories. About a year ago, we think, Mysore took steps to secure the publication of one or more good newspapers, with what result we do not yet know. Hindu and Musalman potentates should so govern their possessions as to be able to bear the full force of public criticism. They ought to know that those who cannot bear to have their actions criticised are without an important and essential qualification of a modern ruler of men. No state can be fit for free men to dwell in where either the body or the mind or both are shackled or stunted. Let the whole of India, whether under indigenous or British rule, progress towards the goal of full freedom and strength of mind and body.

The Chandernagore Volunteers.

From the echoes that reach our shores, of the discussions and dissensions in the press, platform and parliament of Great Britain regarding the further measures of compulsion which may or may not be needed to get more recruits for the British army, it is clear that England wants more soldiers. We have not heard of any such discussions and dissensions in France. Yet the task which France has set herself to perform is by no means less gigantic than that which Englishmen have to face. In any case, France is certainly not more in need of soldiers than England. Yet France has appealed to her tiny Indian possessions to furnish her with soldiers. And this appeal has been made to the inhabitants of the small malaria-stricken Bengali town of Chandernagore also. Twenty volunteers have already proceeded from there to the training station, and fifteen more, it is said, will do so soon. This small number of Bengali boys and young men does not strike one as a perceptible addition to the millions of French soldiers fighting for their motherland. Why then did the French republican

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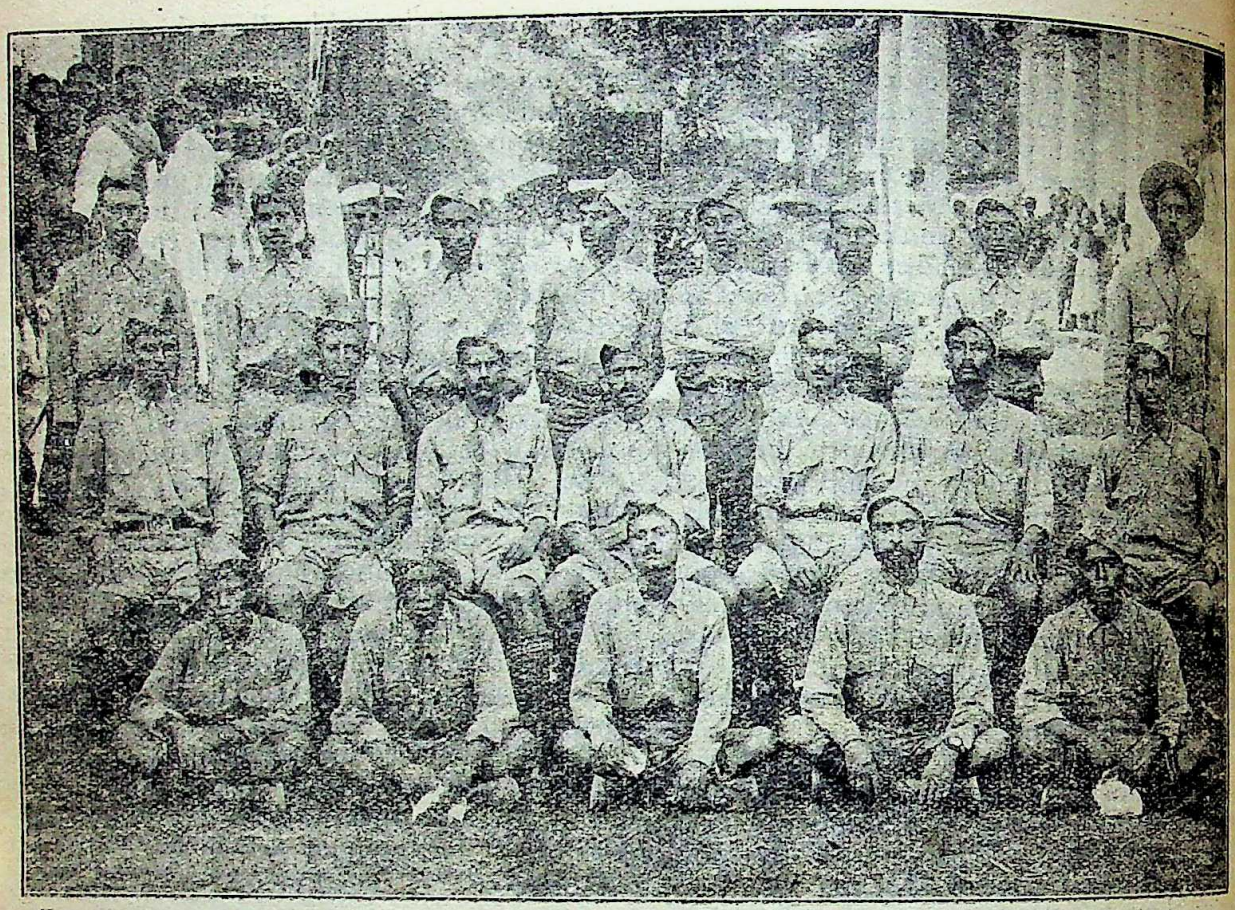

STANDING—
Siddheswar Mallick, Manoranjan Das, Phanindranath Basu, Asutosh Ghosh, Ramaprasad Ghosh, Santosh Kumar Sarker, Radha Kisore Singh, Haradhan Bakshi (Chef.)
ON CHAIRS—
Panchcowri Modak, Taraprasanna Das Gupta, Narendranath Sarkar, Karunamoy Mukerji, Amitabhabuddha Ghosh Brahma Mohan Dutt, Bepin Chandra Ghosh.
SQUATTING—
Balai Chandra Nath, Habul Chandra Das, Pares Chandra Chakrabarti, Joytish Chandra Sinha, Rabindranath Roy.

government appeal to a small Bengali town whose inhabitants have been long unaccumstomed to fight? It is not safe to characterise a whole nation; but from our little knowledge of French history we may venture the guess that the French are a people who can grow enthusiastic over such abstract ideas as justice, citizenship, human equality, &c. So, though France is quite sure that twenty Bengali soldiers cannot turn the tide of battle against the enemy, she may have felt that it is wrong to deprive any section of the inhabitants of a state of military training, as that makes them unable to take part in the defence of their hearths and homes and thus robs them of their self-respect and dehumanises them. Frenchmen may also have felt a desire indirectly to urge their allies the English to avail themselves of the full strength of the British Empire and thus close the war as early as practicable. Among the inhabitants of the British Empire Bengalis are considered by Englishmen the least fit for military life, whether rightly or wrongly we do not care to discuss. And it is these Bengalis whom France has enlisted in her army. What is more, the conditions of their recruitment as to pay, etc., are exactly the same as those of Frenchmen on active military service. Thus France seems to be saying to England: "Why can't you bring to the French soil more soldiers from your vast Empire, to help us to drive away the German invaders? You see I have made soldiers of even Bengalis who are reputed to be the least martial of the races inhabiting your Empire and given them the same pay and privileges as my

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own sons. Why can't you do the same, and thus give me all the help which you are capable of, and give it, too, as early as may be practicable ?"

But the English are a practical people. Their boast is that they are not swayed by abstract political or other doctrines. They deal with the needs of the occasion as they arise. They do not make preparations beforehand, but nevertheless they are proud that they blunder through every difficulty and come out successful and victorious in the end. Whether this has been invariably the case in their history we have no time now to examine, but it is just possible that they may not in future be as lucky as they believe themselves to have been in the past.

There may be another reason why England has been behaving differently from France in the matter of enlisting non-white soldiers, in spite of the fact that England feels the need of men more sorely than France. Probably Frenchmen are more democratic than the imperialistic Englishmen. The former are less influenced by color-prejudice than the latter. Both in theory and in practice Frenchmen are greater believers in human equality than Englishmen.

Most probably, too, Englishmen are afraid of Bengali recruits spreading the infection of sedition in the army. But why are not Frenchmen similarly suspicious ? The Bengalis of Chandernagore are practically subject to France just as other Bengalis are practically subjects of England. Or do the Chandernagore Bengalis feel that they are not subjects but citizens of the French Republic ? If so, why have not Englishmen been able to make the other Bengalis feel that they are not subjects but citizens of the British Empire ?

And supposing a few dozen Bengali or a few hundreds tried to make other Indian soldiers in the battle-field disaffected, they would certainly fail miserably and would be shot down for their pains. But this is an unnecessary supposition. Bengalis have the reputation of being at least intelligent. They are not likely to behave like fools, in any considerable number. Sepoys belonging to the "fighting races" of India have been known to mutiny, to preach disloyalty in the army, and to conspire to rise in rebellion. They have been hanged for these offences. But for this reason, has the British Government stopped recruiting from the races, tribes or sects to which the offenders belonged ? Why then shut the gates of the army against the Bengalis on the supposition that they *may* offend in a particular way, when the brethren of those who have *actually* so offended are not similarly excluded ?

Englishmen think or pretend to think that Bengalis can by no possibility fight. We will not requisition the past history of Bengal to prove that there may be such a possibility. It need only be said that there is no harm in giving them a chance. Even among martial races some soldiers prove unfit for their work. In the present war, we have read of some German soldiers being driven to fight by being prodded on with bayonets by their braver comrades. Numbers of them, on attempting to flee, have been reported to have been mown down with artillery by their comrades. Inspite of these reported cases of cowardice, the German army is still fighting. It is just possible, that of the army of no nation can it be said that every soldier in it is without exception a hero.

Nevertheless, Bengalis need not beg to be allowed to fight. To be able to fight is considered manly. To beg is unmanly. Unmanliness cannot lead to manliness. Should the need arise, England would recruit soldiers from every province of India. And then Englishmen would not be wanting who would be astonished at the generosity of their nation in accepting the services of even Bengalis.

The Chandernagore lads are not going to the front for pay. Nor are they going to fight in defence of their hearths and homes, as Frenchmen are doing ; for there is little chance of Germany ever invading Chandernagore. What for are they, then, going a-soldiering ? Is it merely the spirit of adventure that moves them ? Or are they seeking the bauble glory at the cannon's mouth ? Or is it to show that neither race nor habitat is a disqualification for the discharge of military or other kinds of duties ?

Racial and Individual Inferiority.

No race can be said to be inherently inferior. Of no race can it be said that it can never hope to come up to the level of the superior races. But, leaving aside

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the question of their possibility, so far as the actual condition of the various races of mankind is concerned, it is evident, and therefore need not be disputed, that some races are superior and some inferior. But to admit this is not to admit that every member of the inferior race is inferior to every member of the superior race, or, that no member of an inferior race may be equal to the best specimens of the superior race. As the *Christian Register* of Boston says:

The chief fallacy of those who urge the inferiority of a race as a reason for denying their members opportunity of advancement is that because a race as a whole is inferior every member of the race is therefore inferior. The only thing that can reasonably be said is that a larger proportion in the case of the superior race will be responsive to progress than in the case of the other race. A prison superintendent said to a preacher, "The main difference between your congregation here and your congregation at home is that there will be fewer here than there who will appreciate what you say, but those few will be just as worth your best as any one else." Nothing said of a class can be individualited and accepted with reference to every member of the class. Neither the worth of the best nor the physiological limitations of the lowest can be generalized from in every case.

The Savage our mental equal.

Some civilized races despise not only savages but look upon even other civilized and semi-civilized races as intellectually inferior to themselves. But that is most probably an arrogant prejudice. In his "History of Fiji," published in *The Popular Science Monthly* Dr. Alfred Goldsborough Mayer, of the Carnegie Institution, tells us that the difference between the savage and the civilized man is not one of mental capacity, but rather of the objects upon which that capacity is exerted. "One may display as much intelligence," says the Doctor, "in tracking a kangaroo through the bush as in solving a problem in Algebra."

"Indeed the lowest human beings are not in the far-off wilds of Africa, Australia, or New Guinea, but among the degenerates of our own great cities. Nor are there any characteristics of the savage, be he ever so low, which are not retained in an appreciable degree by the most cultured among us."

Where then is the difference between the savage and the civilized man?

"Yet in one important respect the savage of to-day appears to differ from civilized man. Civilized races are progressive and their systems of thought and life are changing, but the savage prefers to remain fixt in the culture of a long-past age, which, conserved by the inertia of custom and sanctified by religion, holds him helpless in its inexorable grasp. Imagination rules the world, and the world to the savage is dominated by a night-mare of tradition....

"Even with us every effort of progress engenders a counteracting force in the community....Whether the race be savage or civilized depends chiefly upon the nature of the customs that are handed down as patterns upon which to mold life and thought. The more ancient the triumph of the conservatives, the more primitive the culture which is conserved, and the more primitive the culture which is conserved, and the more likely is it to be crude and barbarous....

"Among all races religion is the most potent power to maintain tradition, and for the savage religion enters into every act and thought...Yet it is probable that no savage has ever been more under the dominion of a world of omens and portents than was Louis XI., and even to-day the breaking of a mirror, or the number thirteen, or a stumble while crossing a threshold remains of significance to many of us. All matters of sentiment and credulity are closely wrapt up in this entanglement of superstition; it is hard to divorce ourselves from the idea that moving machines have life and disposition."

Dr. Mayer finds on analysis that "lack of sympathy for the savage and ignorance of his tradition blind our judgment and make us regard his actions in a different light from our own. The cleverness of the Yankee who sold wooden nutmegs is quite amusing, but the Japanese who counterfeits an American trade-mark is criminal. In general, white races show contempt for all that is alien—a characteristic that has enabled us to mold other races to a certain degree and has deceived us into a belief that we have 'civilized' them."

Dr. Mayer proceeds to observe:

"The savage may know nothing of our classics, and little of that which we call science, yet go with him into the deep woods and his knowledge of the uses of every plant and tree and rock around him and his acquaintance with the habits of the animals are a subject for constant wonder to his civilized companion. In other words, his knowledge differs from ours in kind rather than in breadth or depth. His children are carefully and laboriously trained in the arts of war and the chase, and above all in the complex ceremonial of the manners of the tribe, and few among us can excel in memory the priests of old Samoa, who could sing of the ancestors of Malietoa, missing never a name among the hundreds back to the far-off god Savea, whence this kingly race came down.

"One may display as much intelligence in tracking a kangaroo through the Australian bush as in solving a problem in Algebra, and among ourselves it is often a matter of surprize to discover that men laboring in our factories are often as gifted as are the leaders of abstract thought within our universities. In fact, the more we know of any class or race of men the deeper our sympathy, the less our antagonism, and the higher our respect for their endeavors. When we say we 'can not understand' the Japanese we signify that we have not taken the trouble to study their tradition.

"It is a common belief that the savage is more cruel than we, and indeed we commonly think of him as enraged and of ourselves in passive mood. Child-

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...e surely is, and his cruelties when incensed are ...ceasable as the destruction of Louvain or the ...of soldiers from the guns, but are they more ...ing than the lynching or burning of negroes at ...ake, events so common in America that even the ...ional newspapers regard them as subjects of ...interest ?

...Clearly, despite our mighty institutions of free-...efficient systems of public education, and the ...ion of thousands of our leaders to ideals of ...est culture, there remain savages among us. ...centuries of civilisation combat the eons of the ... Within each and every one of us, suppressed ...gs but always seeking to stalk forth, there lurk ...dark lusts of the animal, the haunting spirit of ...ancestry. The foundations of our whole ...ple of culture are sunken deep in the mire of bar-...sm. It is this fundamental fact which deceives ...into the impression that a few decades of contact ...men of our own race will suffice to civilize the ...age. True they soon learn to simulate the ...ners and customs of their masters, but the imi-...tion is a hollow counterfeit, no more indicative of ...lightenment than is the good behaviour of caged ...ects a guarantee of high-mindedness. To achieve ...ilization, a race must conquer itself, each indivi-...l must master the savage within him. Cultured ...n has never yet civilized a primitive race. Under ...domination the savage dies, or becomes a para-...or peon."

"Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur."

Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur, of whom we ...produce in this member a fine portrait ...om an old painting, was a contem-...rary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the ...unjab. The Raja's story is told below.

Raja Bir Singh, Raja of Nurpur, was a ...an of great fortitude and strong will. ...ling to comply with an order of Ranjit ...gh he fell a victim to the latter's ...geance. In 1815 he was driven out of ...urpur and was forced to seek shelter in ...hamba, where he was joined by many of ...own men. With these men he made an ...t to regain his patrimony but failed. ...e left the hills and coming down to ...dhiana he met Shah Shuja of Kabul ...d tried to plot with him against Ranjit ...gh without any success. In 1826 he ...ade another vigorous effort for his lost ...gdom. He was again beaten and he ...ain went to Chamba to seek the protec-...n of his brother-in-law Charat Singh, ...e ruler of Chamba. But he was handed ...t to Ranjit Singh by the latter. Bir ...gh was kept a prisoner for seven years, ...the end of which he was released, but he ...d not accept the *jagir* offered by Ranjit ...gh. In 1836 Bir Singh made a most ...termined attempt to assert his right to ...e Nurpur state. This time he met with ...ccess, although he did not survive to see ...ultimate victory. He died in 1840 before the walls of his own fort at Nurpur after he had overthrown his enemies. He was a true hero, though little known to fame.

U. S. A. Asiatic Exclusion Legislation.

Reuter has cabled that the "Times's" Washington correspondent states that in view of the passing by the House of Representatives and the likelihood of the Senate's passing the Bill excluding Asiatics and legalising the agreement of 1903, restricting the entry of the Japanese, the Japanese Ambassador told President Wilson that Tokio considers such legislation superfluous as Japan has loyally observed the agreement. The President is understood to have promised to try to have the proposed law altered. This does not mean that he intends to try to secure for the Japanese the privilege of free entry; still less naturalisation.

On a previous occasion when this piece of legislation was on the anvil, Dr. Sudhindra Bose and other Hindus in America tried to have the help of the British Ambassador in the U.S.A. to prevent the exclusion of the natives of India, or, at any rate, to obtain some consideration for them. But that official displayed utter apathy in the matter. We cannot expect any consideration now.

So long as the Indian continues to be "nobody" at home, he cannot expect to be treated abroad as a man and a brother. And it is also essentially necessary that we should learn to cordially fraternize with Indians of all castes and sects, and with foreigners.

Chinese Affairs.

On Yuan-Shih-Kai proposing to convert the Chinese republic into a monarchy with himself crowned as Emperor, some provinces declared independence and there was rebellion. Government troops are still fighting the rebels. In the meantime a cabinet is being formed, to which Yuan-Shi-Kai has promised to entrust all the powers which such bodies have in other democracies. It is said that the idea of reversion to the monarchical system has been definitely given up.

For the peaceful progress not only of China but of the whole of Asia, it is imperatively necessary that China should be strong and progressive. But the interests of the Western powers and of Japan would

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seem to require a different state of things. The strongest European powers are now too busy with the war to think of anything else. Japan is determined to make hay while the sun shines; and she wishes to make hay not only commercially and industrially but politically, too. The United States of America is opposed to Japan becoming practically the overlord of China.

U. S. A., Japan and China.

On the 28th of January this year Senator Sherman introduced a resolution in the U. S. A. Senate on the "Open Door in China", which, on his request, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It ran as follows:—

"Whereas Japan has renewed its demands upon China by presenting certain imperative requests which are similar to those presented about one year ago, such requests being of that character that may result in the exercise by Japan of sovereignty over and in the territory of the Chinese Empire, and it may be an assumption of governmental jurisdiction exclusive in its right and including certain powers embraced in such demands as will result in the sole right to Japan of trade, navigation, and commerce, which will close a portion of the Chinese territory and some of the Chinese ports to other nations; and

"Whereas since 1899 the United States of America has proclaimed, and jointly with certain European Powers has established, what is commonly called the open door in China through diplomatic means and by treaty, some of such Powers so acquiescing in or declaring of such open-door policy are now at war; and

"Whereas such open door policy in China is designed to protect the commercial rights of American citizens as well as the citizens or subjects of the Governments of Europe, all of which are threatened to be impaired or destroyed by the demands made by the Government of Japan upon China, or the equal treatment of such citizens or subjects may be thereby impaired or destroyed: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the open door in China as heretofore declared, interpreted, and applied in behalf of the citizens of this country as well as the citizens or subjects of other countries so concerned is a necessary and vital element in the foreign trade of the United States; that the Senate looks with profound concern upon such demands of the Japanese Government, and will regard such pressure upon China in insisting upon such demands, if granted, as a restrictive act upon the commercial rights of the people of the United Sates and their Government, and to be in contravention of the assent of the Japanese Imperial Government expressed December 26, 1899; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Executive, through its Department of State, be, and is hereby requested, to communicate through proper diplomatic channels the protest of the Senate and its declaration that it cannot look with indifference upon the threatened abridgment of the rights of the American people and Europeans concerned to an equality of treatment in trade, navigation, and commerce in China."

There is a reference in the first paragraph quoted above to some imperative requests made last year. They are the following demands which Japan made March, 1915:

(1) Mining rights in Fengtien (Mukden) provinces (2) preferential rights in respect of railway construction in Southern Manchuria; (3) the transferring of the administration of the Kirin-Changchun Railway to the Japanese for 91 years; (4) the employment of Japanese Police experts in Southern Manchuria, Eastern and Inner Mongolia, and also, if necessary, Japanese military, political, and financial advisers for Southern Manchuria. (5) China to undertake not to pledge the duties and taxes of Southern Manchuria as security for foreign loans and, if necessary, Japanese loans shall be negotiated for the provincial requirements of Fengtien. China to accept the request for feedom for Japanese to reside, own land, and trade freely in the interior of Southern Manchuria.

Indians ought to keep themselves well posted in the affairs of China and the relations of China and Japan; as changes in those countries and their mutual relations are bound to exert an important influence on the economic and political condition of India. So far as we are concerned, the most important foreign event may not happen in Europe but in Asia.

Communal Representation in the U. P.

The subject of representation is not simple in any country. It is very difficult to get all sections of the people duly represented in representative bodies. The task becomes comparatively simple when people do not import their sectarian or other non-civic and non-political differences into legislative or municipal affairs. This can happen only when political enthusiasm, national feeling, or public spirit has been duly developed in a country. The sectional, sectarian or communal representation is naturally not demanded by any class; for all classes perceive that the national, political or civic interests of all classes are the same. But where civic ideas are imperfectly developed, where people do not spontaneously recognise that in the conservancy arrangements, or roads, or lighting or drains of a city, there cannot be any peculiarly Musalman or Hindu or Christian characteristics or interests, the question of sectarian or communal representation necessarily arises. Again, where men are more acutely conscious of their sectarian differences than of their common citizenship, people would be apt more to consider how many members of a representative body belonged to this sect and how many to that, than to take into consideration

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e fitness, ability and dutifulness of the embers.

Again, where class-consciousness, sect-nsciousness or race-consciousness over-vers the sense of common citizenship, e rights, interests and convenience of a ss may receive greater consideration an those of others. For instance, in lcutta the parts of the town occupied Europeans are better looked after than ther parts, the lane where a municipal commissioner resides is kept cleaner than me other lanes. For this reason, in me places, if the majority of the munici-l commissioners are Hindu, the Musal-an quarters of the town may be neglect-d and in some other places, where the ajority of the municipal commissioners e Musalmans, the Hindu quarters may ot receive proper attention. Caste bias ay produce similar results.

Not in India alone but all over the orld, civic position and authority are alued by some persons not so much or the opportunities of serving their ellow-citizens which they bring as for the "honour" which they secure. It is to e regretted that this is not the worst otive which prompts some persons to eek civic position. In all countries in e world such position is used by some en for illicit gain or advantage. So that is easy to see that there may be a ramble between such persons belonging different sects for such "honours" and dvantage.

Under the circumstances, whilst the deal of citizenship demands the elimina-ion of all sectarian ideas, considerations and bias from matters civic and political, and whilst the best legislators and unicipal representatives in this and ther lands come up to this ideal, it can y no means be said dogmatically that here can be no reason, good, indifferent or ad, for demanding communal or sectarian representation. And when we see plainly at the generality of Musalmans do not think that Hindus can properly voice their pinions, demands and grievances, it is eless to argue that they ought to have aith in the Hindus, and the Hindus ought o have faith in the Musalmans.

When demands for sectional represen-ation do arise in a country, the only asting and desirable remedy is not com-unal representation, but the growth ng of a sense of civic duty and of common citizenship, so that, whatever the religion, race, or caste of the representatives, they may be eager and able to serve all classes and sections of the community. Sectarian or communal representation retards the growth of a common civic consciousness, and stands in the way of national solidarity. At the same time if circumstances prevent some classes from obtaining opportunities to do public duties and thus stimulate their own public spirit, it may be necessary, as a transitional measure, to make special arrangements for the representation of these classes. Again, if it is found that classes like those which are termed depressed or untouchable do require special help and treatment and there are no representatives to persistently fight for their rights, it is undoubtedly necessary to grant communal representation to them. To be oblivious of the interests and special requirements of certain classes and yet to declaim against communal representation as being destructive of national solidarity, is simply absurd.

There may be other causes which may induce us to acquiesce in sectional representation as a temporary arrangement. But under no circumstances can we agree or reconcile ourselves to such an arrangement as a permanent feature of our civic or political life. Nor can we consent to any section of the community getting more than its due share of representation. To give more than its due share to one class, to any extent, is to deprive other classes of their just share to the same extent. It is not a question of mere abstract justice. The classes deprived of their just share feel humiliated and harbour a feeling of resentment. Those who are favored and those who are wronged find it difficult to work together for a common object, viz., the public good. Hence those in India who want more representation than they are entitled to in proportion either to their numbers or to the total amount of taxes they contribute, play into the hands of the enemies of a Indian national solidarity,—unconsciously it may be.

Mr. Hugh Chisholm, M.A., editor of the current (11th) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, writes:—

While under majority rule, as Mr. Augustine Birrell once remarked, "minorities must suffer"—even large cities—it is on the other hand not likely to conduce to the popularity of representative govern-

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ment that minorities should obtain too great a share of political power.

Of many, if not most, British officials in India it may be said without injustice that they are opposed to representative government in India; and, therefore, they may consider it advantageous that representative institutions should become unpopular owing to minorities obtaining too great a share of power. This does not seem incredible when it is remembered that in Sleeman's days the best officials, including Sleeman himself,* considered even religious riots between Hindus and Musalmans of advantage to the third party!

If Hindus or other sections of the people become jealous of the Musalmans, because of the favour shown to them, if mutual feelings of amity and cordiality are destroyed and bitterness springs up in their place, it is the people of India who will suffer, not the birds of passage. So while saying calmly whatever may be reasonably urged for or against sectional representation, all parties should keep their feelings perfectly under control.

The U. P. Hindu Representation on the Municipalities Bill.

The representation in relation to the United Provinces Municipalities Bill which, in accordance with a resolution passed by a public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Allababad held last month, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, president of the meeting, has submitted to the Viceroy, is a reasoned and soberly worded document. It ought to receive the most serious consideration at the hands of His Excellency. The clause in the U. P. Bill which gives excessive representation to the Muhammadans is not a mere provincial matter; if allowed to stand, it is sure to be taken as a precedent for the insertion of similar clauses in the Municipal Acts of the other provinces.

The representation objects not only to the clause itself but also to the manner in which it was carried. It was sprung as a surprise on the public, who got no time to discuss so important and controversial a matter, and the Lieutenant Governor suspended the rules of business in order that it might be passed. We have no space to reproduce here in full all the facts and strong arguments which the representation contains, but we must not refrain from quoting some passages. The petitioners say:—

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in March, 1914, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, then a member of the Government of India and now Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, stated in reply to a question put by a non-official member that the subject of separate Mahomedan representation in district and municipal boards was still under the consideration of the Government of India. The result of such consideration has not yet been made known to the public. Secondly, the Government of India's Resolution on Local Self-Government published last year made no reference to the subject. Thirdly, your Excellency's petitioners would invite particular attention to the statement made by the Chief Secretary to the local Government on this subject in reply to a question put by a Mahomedan member at the meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council held on the 5th October, 1915, i.e., two and a half months after the introduction of the Bill,—"The Government would prefer to answer the question after the conclusion of peace." Fourthly, it was the repeatedly avowed intention of your Excellency's noble predecessor that no legislation of a controversial character should be proceeded with for the duration of the war, and the public in these provinces had good reason to believe that the sanction of the Governor-General in Council would not be given to the further progress of the legislation under notice with the aforesaid controversial matter inserted by the select committee. This belief was strengthened by the circumstance that the Bill was not taken up at the meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council held on February 13, 1916, as had been announced, nor even at the next following meeting held on March 13, for the reason that the sanction of the Government of India had not been received. Fifthly, there was the assurance conveyed in the select committee's report that the public should be afforded 'full opportunity' to represent their views before the matter was decided. If it had not been for these several circumstances there would have been, your Excellency's petitioners know, an organized public demand for the publication of proposals and the postponement of action.

The petitioners point out in the following passage how the clause does "serious injustice to his Majesty's loyal Hindu subjects":—

Your Excellency's petitioners beg to represent that the concession made to the Musalman population of the municipalities in these provinces by the clause inserted in the Bill in the circumstances narrated above, is so excessive as to constitute a serious injustice to his Majesty's loyal Hindu subjects. It does not take count of the amount contributed in taxes to the municipal revenue respectively by Moslems and by non-Moslems. There is no 'flexibility' about it and it ignores 'the varying conditions of different cities', which the select committee rightly regarded as 'essential'. It assumes as the basis of calculation neither the percentage of the Moslem population in each municipality for the purpose of determining the amount of representation that might be due to it in that particular town, nor the provincial average of the Moslem population which is 14 per cent., but the provincial urban average of 38·75 per cent., which is an altogether unjustifiable average to

* See the article on his book in this number.

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take, as Moslem representation on district boards is not regulated by the provincial rural average of Moslem population, which is less than 14 per cent. The provincial urban average of Musalman population constitutes a minority so strong that it does not seem to require for its protection representation in excess of its proportion. But the clause gives to the Mahomedans an excessive number of seats in a large number of municipal boards. Nor is this all. In towns where the Mahomedans form less than 25 per cent. of the population they are to get 30 per cent. more seats than their proportion to the total population is held to entitle them to. But where they form over 25 per cent. of the population but under 38·75 per cent., which is assumed as the basis, they are to get in excess of what is regarded as their due, as many seats as may be required to level them up to the provincial urban average mentioned above. The unjustifiable anomaly of this will, your Excellency's petitioners venture to hope, become apparent from the following illustration. In a town where the Mahomedans form 10 per cent. of the population they will, for the purposes of this electoral arrangement, be treated as if they were 13 per cent.; whereas in a town where they form 26 per cent. of the population they will get the much greater advantage of being assumed to be 38·75 per cent. In other words, the advantage given to a strong minority is greater than what has been considered to be sufficient for a minority where it is really weak. Your Excellency's petitioners always understood that a strong minority did not stand in need of disproportionate and excessive representation. This principle is so flagrantly reversed by the clause inserted in the United Provinces Municipalities Bill at the last moment and without notice either to the public or to a fairly large number of members of the Council, and 'the varying conditions of different cities' have been so completely ignored, that the result is nothing but a mass of anomalies and inequalities. Mahomedans forming 24 per cent. of the population of a town will get a representation of 24 per cent. *plus* three-tenths of that, while in another town where they may be only 2 per cent. more, *i. e.*, 26 per cent, they will receive the advantage of a weightage of almost 50 per cent. Besides, one-fifth of the whole board being left to be nominated, the effect of the excessive representation granted to the Mahomedan minority will be that the nominated members and the Moslem members will be in a position of considerable advantage over the representatives of the majority of the population. Your Excellency's petitioners respectfully hope that your Excellency will be pleased to regard such an arrangement as standing self-condemned and impossible of acceptance. Your Excellency's noble predecessor was pleased to say in reply to an address of the Bombay Presidency Moslem League, that 'special privileges to one class are synonymous with corresponding disabilities to others.' And obviously, excess of representation can only be given to Mahomedans by taking away something of what is due to Hindus, leaving to the latter less than their fair share of representation. It is not known to your Excellency's petitioners in what manner the interests of the adherents of one religion clash with interests of others in municipal affairs, which are wholly secular, nor are they aware that in any state or kingdom in or out of India, a special legislative provision exists such as is now inserted in their Municipalities Bill, to give disproportionate and excessive representation to a minority, strong or weak, through a separate electorate based on religion.

Nor is it in Municipalities alone that the Hindus will be placed at a serious disadvantage by the provisions of this clause. It will seriously and unjustly impair their influence in the provincial and imperial legislative councils, as the following passage very clearly shows:—

Your Excellency's petitioners further submit that the grant of special representation to Mahomedans on municipal boards through separate electorates has a very prejudicial effect on the representation of the Hindu community in the Provincial as well as the Imperial Legislative Council. District and municipal boards are the only electorates from which middle-class Hindus can be returned to the Provincial Legislative Council, while the non-official members of the latter form the only electorate from which they can get admission into your Excellency's Legislative Council. No qualifications are prescribed in the case of voters for members of district boards, the list of voters being drawn by the magistrate and collector at his discretion. The boards have always been dominated by the zemindar class and their strength has been largely increased from the 1st April of this year. Further the Mahomedan community has been enjoying much more than its due share of representation on those boards. And if the present Municipalities Bill should receive your Excellency's assent, the Mahomedan community will be over-represented on the municipal boards as well. It enjoys special representation on the Provincial as well as the Imperial Legislative Council through separate electorates, four out of twenty-one elective seats on the former, or, say, one in five, being so reserved for it, although the number of Mahomedans in these provinces is only one in seven. Besides, members of that community are further allowed to participate both as voters and candidates in the district and municipal boards as well as landholders' and University electorates for the Provincial Council. Similarly, while Mahomedans return one and two representatives of their own to the Imperial Council at alternate elections through their separate electorates, they are allowed to participate both as voters and candidates in the election to the Imperial Council held by the non-official members of the Provincial Council. And at almost all the elections held until now they have succeeded in carrying one or more seats of the general electorates. In addition, a number of them has also been always nominated by the head of the local Government. Thus, middle-class Hindus are already at a serious disadvantage, being almost wholly dependent on the votes of Hindu and Mahomedan landholders, who have their own separate electorates, in the case of district boards, and being also dependent on Mahomedan members of municipal boards. The increase in the strength of the former, which has already been effected, has made the position more difficult for them in respect of the district boards, and if the Municipalities Bill should receive your Excellency's assent their position of dependence will become almost one of helplessness. The Hindu feeling in regard to the utterly one-sided character of the present Legislative Councils Regulations has been one of intense and widespread dissatisfaction during the six and half years they have been in force and it cannot but become acuter still if, without a concurrent revision of those Regulations and a reform in the constitution of district boards, the provision made in the Municipalities Bill for

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the separate and excessive representation of Mahomedans should become law and be given effect to.

G. Subramania Iyer.

For long years Mr. G. Subramania Iyer had been suffering from a cruel incurable disease. Death has at last come to him as a friend and put an end to his sufferings.

He was one of the promoters and supporters of the Congress movement from its very beginning. Journalism was a power in his hands. He wrote in a clear and vigorous style and with full information. His writings were remarkable for the mastery of facts and figures as well as of sound principles which they displayed. He was equally at home in politics and economics. Many there are who criticize the officials but are themselves slaves to injurious customs. Subramania Iyer had the courage of his convictions in matters social as well as political. He got his widowed daughter re-married and was subjected to social persecution for this act of social justice and fatherly affection.

The industrial advancement of the country also engaged his attention. He was one of the founders of the National Fund and Industrial Association, which has some good work to its credit.

He was one of the too few very able journalists which India can boast of. He will be remembered with respect, gratitude and admiration as the editor of *The Hindu* and of the *Swadesa-Mitran*. Some able Indian journalists now living and doing their work with credit owe not a little of their training in journalism to the departed veteran of Madras. The present writer pays his personal tribute of respect to the memory of G. Subramania Iyer for a word of appreciation which that great journalist uttered in connection with some educational notes contributed to the *Kayastha Samachar* of Allahabad.

Eurasian Regiments.

It is good that it has been recognized that birth and breeding and permanent habitation in India do not disqualify men for admission to the army on a footing of equality with British soldiers. For that is what the formation of Eurasian regiments as a part of the British army in India means. But the other side of the shield is not bright. For, if a Eurasian of Calcutta, whose family has been here for generations, can be considered the equal of a British soldier and entitled to a commission too, why is not a Gurkha, a Garhwali, a Sikh, a Pathan, a Dogra, or a Marhatta to be considered inferior? Neither in physique, nor in valour, nor in intelligence, nor in faithful service, nor in the power and inspiration of their past history, are they inferior to the Eurasian, but are on the contrary vastly superior to him. The English garb and English speech, and, in some cases, a homœopathic dose of British blood, cannot make them better soldiers than the flower of the Indian army. We say, "in some cases," for there are many Eurasians who cannot claim British or even European ancestry either on the father's or on the mother's side.

It may be argued that as the Eurasians owe their existence to British rule, they cannot by any means become disloyal, whereas there is such a possibility in the case of the most faithful "fighting races" in India. But in the face of the prosecution and punishment of Anglo-Indians for supplying dacoits, anarchists and other lawless persons with arms, can such an assertion be made? Supposing, however, that the Eurasian is the beau ideal of loyalty, is it statesmanlike to make an invidious distinction in his favour which cannot but be construed as an injury and an insult to every class of Indians of unmixed Asiatic blood inhabiting this vast country? Can the feeling of gratified ambition of a few hundreds or thousands of Eurasians outweigh the feeling of dissatisfaction of millions of Indians? Or can the former be regarded as a bulwark against the latter? Not that this last question arises out of any contingency within the range of probability. But we put it, because it is the part of wise statesmanship to take into account even possibilities.

The lessons of the admission of Bengali soldiers into the French army on a footing of equality with French soldiers, and of the admission of Eurasian soldiers into the British army on a footing of equality with British soldiers and of superiority to the bravest Indian soldiers cannot but sink deep into the minds of Indians of all races, castes and creeds.

"The false prophet."

"Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." Bigotry is odious because it is one of the festering forms which religion

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assumes. In Elphinstone's History of India, ninth edition, p. 293, we find the following sentence :

"Such was the nation that gave birth to the false prophet, whose doctrines have so long and so powerfully influenced a vast portion of the human race."

The reference is to Muhammad. It is useless to point out to bigots that it is not very probable that a *false* prophet can *for long ages powerfully* influence a *vast* portion of the human race.

The book in which the passage quoted above occurs is and long has been a text-book prescribed for the B A., examination of the Calcutta University. Either the objectionable words should be omitted or the book should cease to be prescribed by any Indian University.

Lake Manasarowar and Mount Kailas.

The eight or nine chapters in Sven Hedin's 'Trans-Himalaya' which describe his travels in and around the sacred regions of which the Manasarowar and the Kailas are the dominating features, are not only the most interesting to the Hindu reader, but they are also the most delightfully written pages of the book. Sven Hedin simply loses himself in raptures in describing 'the incomparable beauties of the scene,' 'this gem of a lake,' where he passed a memorable month of his life. There are eight monasteries on the banks of the lake, all of them 'handsome, interesting, and well-kept.' 'All is so indescribably quiet ; so ethereal, transparent, and transitory, so subtile and sensitive, that I scarcely dare breathe.' Sven Hedin had a midnight sail on the Manasarowar in the boat which he carried with him. 'I enjoyed the voyage to the full, for nothing I remember in my long wanderings in Asia can compare with the overpowering beauty of this nocturnal sail.'

"Manasarowar is the holiest and most famous of all the lakes of the world, the goal of the pilgrimage of innumerable pious Hindus, a lake celebrated in the most ancient religious hymns and songs, and in its clear waters the ashes of Hindus find a grave as desirable and honoured as in the turbid waters of the Ganges. During my stay in India I received letters from Hindus in which they asked me to explore the revered lake and the holy mountain Kailas, which lifts its summit in the north under a cupola of eternal snow, where Siva, one of the Indian Trinity, dwells in his paradise among a host of other deities.....the lake is sacred in the eyes of the Lamaists also, who call it Tso-movang or Tso-rinpoche, the Holy Lake. How can Manasarowar and Kailas be the objects of divine honours from two religions so different as Hindu and Lamaism unless it is that this overpowering beauty has appealed to and deeply impressed the human mind, and that they seem to belong rather to heaven than to Earth ? Even the first view from the hills on the shore caused us to burst into tears of joy. at the wonderful, magnificent landscape and its surpassing beauty. The oval lake, somewhat narrower in the south than in the north, and with a diameter of about 15½ miles, lies like an enormous turquoise embedded between two of the finest and most famous mountain giants of the world, the Kailas in the north and Gurla Mandatta in the south, and between huge ranges, above which the two mountains uplift their crowns of bright white eternal snow. Yes, already I felt the strong fascination which held me fettered to the banks of the Manasarowar....." 'Gurla is a splendid background to the holy lake—no artist in the world could conceive anything more magnificent and interesting.' "The monks of the monastery here do not depend for water on the brooks, but drink the holy water of the lake, which has in reality the taste of the purest, most wholesome spring water. Its crystal purity and dark greenish blue colour are as beautiful as the flavour, and to pilgrims from a distance the water of Manasarowar is preferable to sparkling champagne." "I could live and die on this heavenly lake without ever growing weary of the wonderful spectacle always presenting fresh surprises."

Sven Hedin met about thirty Hindu pilgrims at Manasarowar, who performed "all kinds of absurd, complicated manipulations which I remember seeing at the ghats of Benares," and after bathing in the lake, which was more than 250 ft. deep, they filled small metal bottles with holy water to carry back with them.

"Did fate compel me to pass my life in a monastery in Tibet, I would without hesitation choose Gossul-gompa." "No language on Earth contains words forcible enough to describe the view from it over the lake."

"It is singular that the Hindu pilgrims seem to hold the Lamaistic monasteries in veneration ; at least I saw them bow before the Lamaistic gods in Tugu-gompa, and place a handful of rice in the bowl which a monk held out to them."

"Wonderful, attractive, enchanting lake ! Theme of story and legend, playground of storms and changes of colour, apple of the eye of gods and men, goal of weary, yearning pilgrims, holiest of the holiest of all the lakes of the world, art thou, Tso-mavang [or Tso-rinpoche, Tibetan for 'Holy Lake'], lake of all lakes. Navel of old Asia, where four of the most famous rivers of the world, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Ganges, rise among gigantic peaks, surrounded by a world of mountains, among which is Kailas the most famous in the world, for it is sacred in the eyes of hundreds of millions of Hindus, and is the centre of a wreath of monasteries where every morning blasts of conches sound out from the roofs over the lake. Axle and hub of the wheel, which is an image of life, and round which the pilgrims wonder along the way of salvation, towards the land of perfection. That is Manasarowar, the pearl of all the lakes of the world. Hoary with age when the books of the Veda were written, its blue billows have in the course of centuries seen innumerable troops of faithful Hindus and Tibetans arrive at its banks, then to drink, bathe and find

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rest for their souls....Standing, up on the convent roof while silence reigns around, one fancies one hears innumerable wanderers approaching, and the echo of their stumbling feet on the holy path around the lake. And one casts a glance into the night of past centuries, which have left no trace of their aspirations and vain search after an imaginary blessedness. But Tso-mavang remains the same as it was then, and its azure blue eye sees new generations treading in the footsteps of the old. "After such an hour everything else seems commonplace."—Vol. II, Ch. XLVII.

"My wonderings round Kang-unpoche [Kailas], the "holy ice-mountain," or the "ice-jewel," is one of my most memorable recollections of Tibet. . . From the highlands of Kham in the remote east, from Naktsang and Amdo, from the unknown Bongba, which we have heard of only in vague reports, from black tents which stand like the spots of a leopard scattered among the dreary valleys of Tibet, from Ladak in the mountains of the far west, and from the Himalayan lands in the south, thousands of pilgrims come hither annually, to pace slowly and in deep meditation the 28 miles round the navel of the earth, the mountain of salvation. I saw the silent procession, the faithful bands, among which all ages and both sexes are represented, youths and maidens, strong men with wife and child, grey old men who would before their death follow in the footsteps of countless pilgrims to win a happier existence, ragged fellows who lived like parasites on the charity of the other pilgrims, scoundrels who had to do penance for a crime, robbers who had plundered peaceful travellers, chiefs, officials, herdsmen, and nomads, a varied train of shady humanity on the thorny road, which after interminable ages ends in the deep peace of Nirvana... The stranger also approaches Kang-rinpoche with a feeling of awe. It is incomparably the most famous mountain in the world. Mount Everest and Mont Blanc cannot vie with it.... We, who in our superior wisdom smile at these exhibitions of fanaticism and self-mortification, ought to compare our own faith and convictions with theirs. The life beyond the grave is hidden from all peoples, but religious conceptions have clothed it in different forms among different peoples.... Whatever may be our own convictions, we must admire those who, however erroneous their views may be in our opinion, yet possess faith enough to remove mountains."—Vol. II. chap LI.

Sven Hedin as Explorer.

Every page of the book reveals the strong individuality of the bold and intrepid explorer, and his insatiable ambition. Sven Hedin is a tourist with an eye for beauty in nature, a geologist, a mineralogist, a scientist with a varied knowledge of natural phenomena and the use to make of them, a photographer, an artist who can draw landscapes and human figures, a chartist and surveyor and astronomer, and a dauntless traveller who is as much at home on the snow-driven mountain peaks of the Trans-Himalaya as on the foaming waves of the storm-tossed lakes. He also possesses a working knowledge of several languages, and combines with an iron constitution a capacity for organisation and leadership of a rare order. He felt the call of the mountains as every great explorer in those desolate and little known regions of the earth must do, and the ambition to be first in the field spurred him on when moods of despondency came over him. The spirit of every man who achieves something great in the world, must, we suppose, be cast in the same heroic mould.

"It was a bitter experience now, when we had looked down on the great unknown country crossed only by Nain Sing's route of the year 1874, to see all the grand discoveries, of which I had dreamt so long, blown away like mist. And it was especially irritating to think that others might come here later and rob me of these conquests."

But this mood of disappointment did not last long. Many a time during his awful journeys over the Roof of the World, he converted failure into success by sheer force of will, and wrested victory almost from the jaws of defeat.

"With every new pass on the watershed of the gigantic rivers of India which I have the good fortune to cross, my desire and hope became ever greater to follow its winding line westwards to regions already known, and to fill up on the map the great white blank north of the Tsangpo. I know very well that generations of explorers will be necessary to examine this mighty intricate mountain land, but my ambition will be satisfied if I succeed in making the first reconnaissance."

Passages in this strain abound, but those who would detect in them the characteristic egoistic note of the self-assertive West would do well to remember that he who, greatly daring, achieves much for the cause of science and posterity, must have a strong motive power to feed his impulse, and that motive power in the case of almost all eminent men (except perhaps the very highest) is fame, "the last infirmity of noble minds." The youth of India are once more coming to be conscious of their mighty potentialities. They are beginning to feel that what others have done, they, too, can do. The pilgrimages of ancient India may be converted into geographical expeditions. Rabindranath says truly enough in one of his immortal songs,

"তোমারি পতাকা যারে দাও তারে বহিবারে দাও শকতি"

—he whom Thou investeth with the glory of carrying Thy banner, thou also givest the power to bear it. Let our young men go forward in the confidence that the power to do great deeds will come to them if only they have the courage to undertake them.

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Favoritism in Education.

In the year 1914-1915 there were in the Bengal Presidency 17,36,967 pupils in all kinds of colleges and schools. For their education Rs. 87,02,910 was spent from Provincial Revenues. In the same year there were 10,074 pupils in European schools. For them the sum of Rs. 11,85,239 was spent from Provincial Revenues. Roughly, therefore, Government spent Rs. 5 per head for the Indian pupils and Rs. 118 per head for the European pupils. As Europeans and Anglo-Indians do not pay taxes at a rate 24 times the rate at which Indians pay, as they pay at exactly the same rates at which Indians pay, the Provincial contribution towards their education should not be so high. They get from the Provincial Revenues a total amount which is about one-eighth of what Indian pupils get. But the Europeans and Anglo-Indians do not in the aggregate contribute to the public treasury anything like one-eighth of what the Indians contribute. Nor are the Europeans and Anglo-Indians backward classes in the sense in which the aborigines and the "depressed" and "untouchable" classes are backward.

In the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1914-1915, we could not find any information regarding the amount, if any, spent by Government specially for the education of the backward classes mentioned above. There are 63 pages of tables appended to the Report, of which 20 are devoted to European education. There is not a single table to give us any statistical information about the education of the backward classes. There is no member of the legislative council belonging to these classes to elicit such information by putting a question or two. Inspite of what Government officials and non-official members like Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in the Imperial Council in the course of the debate arising out of Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution on the subject, it cannot be denied that both Government and the educated public have been guilty of indifference to the educational requirements of the backward classes.

Indian Legislative Councils.

The candid speech made by the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar during the last budget "debate" in the Madras Legislative Council has made educated Indians think of what the country has gained by the "reformed" and "enlarged" legislative councils instituted according to the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. The honorable member observed in the course of his speech :—

> My efforts have all been in vain. Anxious to learn for myself I asked that the full correspondence with the Government of India and the High Court might be placed on the table. The Government replied that they were not prepared to do so. I wrote to the Secretary to the Government to put me in possession of the statistics on which they based the statement in the G. O. that the despatch of business in the Madras High Court in the recent years compared not unfavourably with the work of the same Court in earlier years and with the works of other High Courts and Chief Courts in India. I got the curt reply: "Government regret that they cannot undertake to collect books for, and supply them to, Hon'ble Members of the Legislative Council." I must confess that this reply robbed me of my breath.

Other honorable members can relate similar experiences. The question that naturally arises is, are the councils of any use? The reply cannot be entirely in the negative. They have been of great use to the official classes in knowing what the people want. The officials have thereby been forewarned and enabled to strengthen their own position beforehand. A very small amount of real good to the people has also resulted; though it may be questioned whether the price paid for it in the shape of time and energy and dissensions between parties in the country has not been very exorbitant. But the greatest good that has resulted is the disillusionment that has come to the people and to even many of the most gullible and gushing of our leaders; though we are afraid all of them have not yet been thoroughly disillusioned. We speak of this as the greatest good, as there cannot be a greater good fortune than to be brought face to face with the reality. When we see the bare face of truth and fact, we are in a position to take steps to improve our condition and advance.

Famine in Bankura.

The declaration of famine by Government in the Bankura District has led many persons to enquire whether there is still any need of or scope for private charity. Our answer is: "There is need of far greater help than ever before. The declaration of famine by Government, itself shows that the distress has become more widespread and has intensified,

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Government help does not reach all the persons or classes affected."

These are not the mere *a priori* conclusions of a Calcutta sentimentalist not conversant with the facts. They are based on knowledge derived from those who have seen the distressed villages, people and cattle.

We print below portions of a communication which we have received from a very competent and reliable observer who has seen the district quite recently:—

"We have been looking forward to the declaration of famine by Government in the hope of getting a more extensive relief to the distressed people and of getting better facilities for the supply of water for the men, cattle and the fields; and we rejoiced when Government did declare it from the 1st April, believing there would be a change in the policy and extent of relief that was being rendered. But when up to the third week of April no such change was noticed and appeals for help and extended relief operations continued to reach the private relief agencies, it was considered necessary to see things with one's own eyes.

"It had been hoped that in view of the declaration of famine by Government, it might be possible for the private agencies to withdraw in favour of Government, whose resources were practically unlimited. But that hope has not been realized. On the contrary, the demand on the help of these agencies has doubled and trebled, and at the same time the declaration of famine by Government has synchronized with a slower flow and decreasing volume of subscriptions and donations.

"What I found was this—

"(1) The distress is now *worse* and more acute than it has been ever before; and it will grow still worse till there is copious and widespread rainfall.

"(2) Gratuitous relief in most of the centres would have to be given to double the number receiving such help up till now, and still there would be many more left who would urgently require such help. Along with the regular ticket-holders, there are always about half as many who are extremely distressed without any means of subsistence.

"(3) Government help is, as before, given to (according to our point of view) a very limited number of people,—leaving far too many absolutely unattended to.

"(4) Government policy is to see that no one dies of starvation (a difficult thing to prove and often not practicable), and its help is limited to (a) gratuitous relief of the aged and the infirm, (b) remuneration for work to able-bodied men, (c) undertaking of public works like roads, &c. This leaves a very very large number of women and children and also of men unattended to; for a large number of them come under class (b) and practically there is no or very little work for the majority of them. This is my clear impression, though I cannot quote statistics.

"(5) I have found in almost all the villages I visited the utter desertion and desolation of homes,—the men having left the district or been taken away to tea-gardens. There has been a brisk traffic in the recruitment of coolies, and I was told that about a lakh of people have already been drafted to the tea-plantations.

"(6) Government is not holding itself responsible for giving the people water facilities;—at least there is no anxiety visible in official circles regarding water scarcity. The distress due to scarcity of drinking water is most heart-rending; for I have seen and known numerous villages without any suitable well or tank for drinking water or water for cooking purposes. Result—cattle dying off, and the people do not know what a wash is, and the women have to travel for miles in the scorching sun to dig a little water out of the dry sandy beds of rivers and carry home a pitcher of water all the way to quench their thirst or cook their food.

"(7) Clothes are urgently needed. The Weavers' Relief Committee under its kind-hearted and sympathetic president Mr. Tindall, the District Judge, is rendering great help in the matter; but even that is hardly adequate.

"(8) Outbreaks of fire, which cannot be extinguished promptly for want of water, are becoming common, and the distress caused thereby requires immediate attention.

"(9) Many schools are about to be closed on account of the pupils' and peoples' inability to contribute their usual fees and subscriptions and donations.

"(10) The distress amongst the middle class is very severe, and a considerable

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amount of help and tactful handling are necessary in the matter.

"For all these and many other reasons, more private agencies should, if possible, come into the field, and those who are already working should extend their spheres of work and increase the amounts of help.

"Our duty lies clear before us:

"There are thousands and thousands of our sisters and brethren almost dying for lack of water and food (which is worse than death) and dragging a most pitiable existence. Oh! those woebegone, melancholy, despondent faces! Private relief-work is work of the heart, and it is heart that is required when you deal with the distressed. Human life does not go out very easily; and I think the worst punishment ever devised for the worst criminals is to keep them just alive! How *can* we eat and drink and live in ease and comfort when our own people are living so miserably. There are numbers of people who will not beg if they can get any work to do. Government is willing to give them work. Private associations should try their best to get work for them from Government: they should save the schools from death; they should give the villages wells and tanks, and they cannot give too many. Famine would be impossible in Bankura if the land were properly canalized and irrigated in other ways."

Relief Work by the Bengal Social Service League.

We are informed by the enthusiastic and indefatigable honorary secretary of the Bengal Social Service League that in addition to giving gratuitous relief from its many centres in Bankura, the League has already sunk 20 wells and is investigating into the need of at least as many more; and at least two tanks are going to be re-excavated. The League has helped the sufferers from fire in five villages with cash for reconstruction of huts, and with implements such as hand-looms, fishing nets, bellows, &c.

Famine Relief by the Bankura Sammilani.

The recipients of gratuitous relief from the three centres of the Bankura Sammilani have doubled in number. The dried-up tank of which we published a photograph in our last number has been re-excavated, and three wells are being sunk in three villages. The re-excavation of other tanks and the sinking of more wells is under consideration. The giving of help for the construction of a conduit from a small river with a perennial flow is under the consideration of the committee. Many persons whose houses were burnt down in a conflagration have been helped with cash to reconstruct their houses. Many widows and others have been helped with advances to earn their living by husking paddy. Many middle class families who are unwilling to receive gratuitous relief have been helped in a different way.

A brief interesting account of the Bankura district has been published. Requests for copies, *enclosing a half-anna stamp*, should be addressed to Mr. Rishidranath Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Hon. Secretary, Bankura Sammilani, 20 Sankharitola East Lane, Calcutta.

Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai.

On the 8th of April Bombay lost a jewel of a woman in the person of Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai. As the *Gujarati* of that city rightly observes, "by this sad event, an irreparable loss has been caused both to our city and western India." We learn from the same paper that Mrs. Sakkai throughout her life remained a staunch Hindu and did her utmost in all possible ways to help forward the cause of ideal womanhood in India.

Mrs. Sakkai distinguished herself by her exceptionally bright intelligence even as a girl student, and though born in a rich family, shed lustre in idealizing the home life in her husband's family. She also contributed her rightful share in elevating the status of many a Gujrati lady by her life-long labours of love in their cause. Mrs. Sakkai was unfortunate in losing all her own children in their very prime of life, but the Almighty compensated her enormously by giving her the utmost satisfaction in the discharge of self-imposed duties towards her sisters. The force of her magnetic influence was felt by all persons who came in contact with her. During her short public career of thirteen years, she was instrumental in infusing a new and vigorous spirit into the lives of the women of Bombay. Similarly, her influence was perceptibly felt in many parts of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar. The services rendered by Mrs. Sakkai for the Gujarati Hindu Stree Mandal, have been recognized by the Managing Committee of the Mandal at the end of their twelve years' report in these terms:—"We have no hesitation in mentioning publicly that the success which our Mandal has hitherto achieved is practically due to Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai." Mrs. Sakkai's services to the Seva Sadan of Bombay were gratefully acknowledged in a resolution of condolence passed by its Committee on the 10th last,

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which was as follows:—"That this meeting wishes to place on record its feeling of profound sorrow, great regret and heavy loss at the death of one of its distinguished Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Jamnabai N. B. Sakkai. The deceased was connected with the Society from its very beginning upto the time of her death and during that period not only rendered disinterested, self-sacrificing, exemplary and invaluable services to the Society, but also freely helped it with her purse. Her life-long work was to relieve distress and uplift the women of India and in her they have lost a sincere friend and a staunch supporter." The Jain Community has also passed a resolution of condolence, in appreciation of Mrs. Sakkai's services in furthering the progress of education among the women of the Jain community and resolved to keep an enlargement of Mrs. Sakkai's photograph in the Jain Ladies' Institution. The deceased was connected not only with these institutions but also with several others. All these she helped both by her personal labours and the free use of her purse. Mrs. Sakkai throughout her life remained a staunch Hindoo and did her utmost in all possible ways to help forward the cause of ideal womanhood in India. Her exemplary character, her public spirit and her numerous but unostentatious deeds of charity proved a potent force in furthering the cause of the emancipation of Indian women in general and Hindoo women in particular. Mrs. Sakkai, unlike many Hindoo widows and in enlightened response to her husband's last desire, took an active part in the philanthropic and other public activities of our city. Duty was Mrs. Sakkai's watchword and she discharged the same with fearless devotion but without courting public applause. She was a familiar figure on many a platform in Bombay. By her death our city and our country has lost a remarkable Hindu lady. Her nobility was shown by her many good deeds and is further demonstrated by the way in which she has bequeathed a portion of her wealth by her last will and testament. The discriminating and broad-minded spirit in which Mrs. Sakkai has distributed a sum of Rs. 18,000 for various deserving philanthropic institutions of our country shows in an unmistakable manner Mrs. Sakkai's catholic outlook on life.

Mrs. Sakkai's noble, unselfish and strenuous life ought to be a source of inspiration to Indian women all over the country. In Bengal and other parts of the country particularly, where Hindu orthodoxy is wrongly held to be synonymous, among other things, with the immurement of women within the four walls of the Zenana and where the Hindu ideal of womanhood is supposed to require that woman should do nothing more than cooking, sweeping, scrubbing and nursing in her home (which are certainly not derogatory), the activities of Mrs. Sakkai should be widely known. When her biography is published, we hope her relatives, friends and admirers will get it translated into Hindi and Bengali.

Raising of College Fees in the Central Provinces.

By a Government order College fees have been raised in the Central Provinces. It is well-known that owing to the steadily rising high prices of the necessaries of life, the cost of living has enormously increased, without a corresponding increase in the incomes of the people. Education has not made sufficient progress in any part of India,—certainly not in the Central Provinces. Government ought to make it easier for people to educate their sons and daughters. But we find instead a contrary policy adopted. British officials in India seem to think that it is like an incontrovertible and invariable law of nature that education ought to be paid for adequately by its recipients. They wilfully ignore the fact that elementary education is free in almost all civilized countries, that secondary education, too, is free in many, and that even university education is free in the State Universities of the United States of America, and probably somewhere else too.

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Keep me at your door ever attending to your wishes;
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Let me not sink in the depth of languor,
Let not my life be worn to tatters by penury of waste,
Let not doubts encompass me,—the dust of distractions,
Let me not pursue many paths to gather many things,
Let me not bend my heart to the yoke of the many,
Let me hold my head high in the fearless pride of being your servant.

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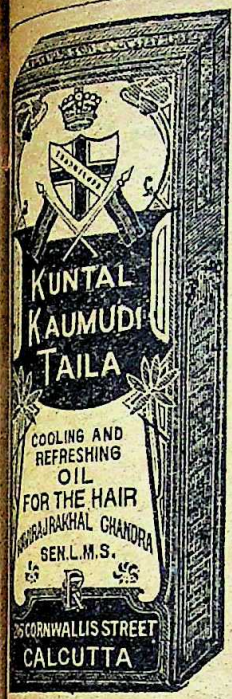

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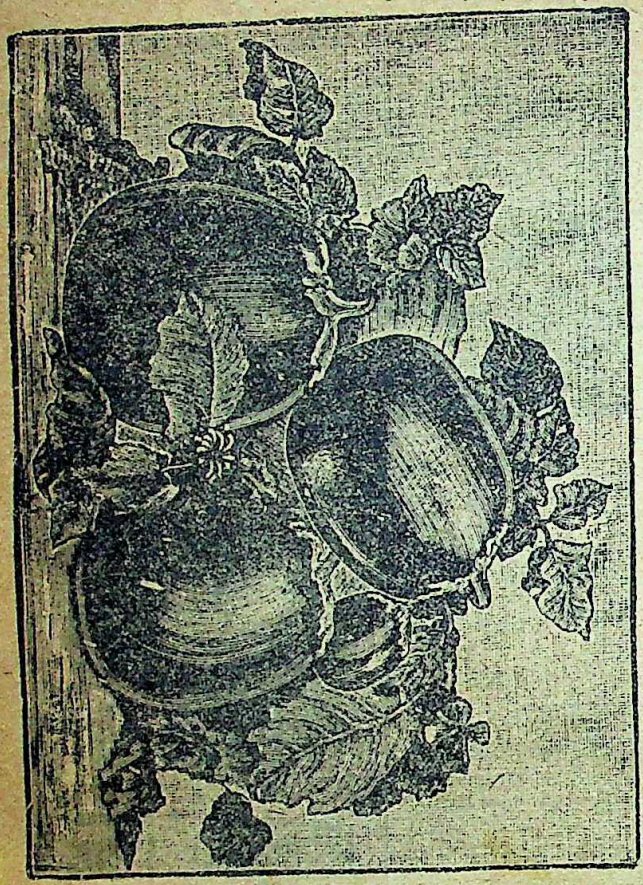

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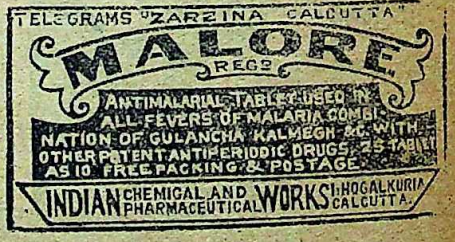

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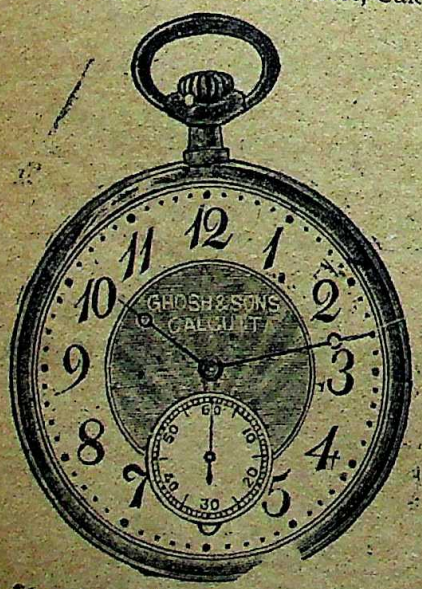

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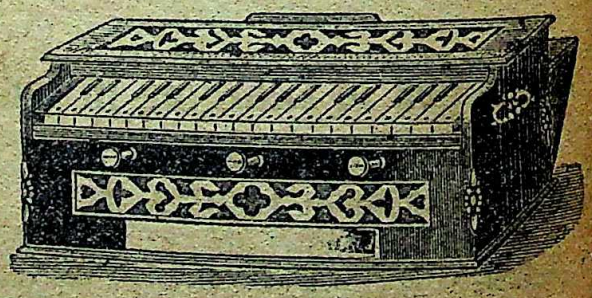

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Contents :

Page

Frontispiece—SITA IN CAPTIVITY UNDER THE ASOKA TREE (in colours)—BY SARODA CHARAN UKIL 583

Pictorial Supplements—
RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN HIS BOYHOOD—BY MR. JYOTIRINDRANATH TAGORE.
"MY ELDEST BROTHER" DWIJENDRA NATH TAGORE—BY MR. GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE.

My Reminiscences (illustrated)—SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D. LITT., AND SURENDRANATH TAGORE, B.A. 583

Round the World with my Master—BASISWAR SEN 590

"The Zoaroastrian Period of Indian History"—NIMROD 597

Report of the Presidency College Enquiry Committee—THE EDITOR 601

Outsiders as Public Servants in British India—THE EDITOR 611

Report on Indentured Labor in Fiji—C. F. ANDREWS, M.A. AND W.W. PEARSON, M.A., B.SC. ... 615

"The Wedding of Sister Clothilde" (short story) NORAH RICHARDS 624

A Japanese on Some English Poets—YONE NOGUCHI 229

The Ancient Hindu's Knowledge of Mathematics PROF. NALINBIHARI MITRA, M.A. ... 633

Gems of Indian Architecture (illustrated)—DR. E. WATTS, M.B., B.S. (London) 639

The First Three Gospels—PROF. HOMERSHAM COX, M.A. 644

Page

Similarities Between Indian and Chinese Religions—BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A. 652

Origin of the Vajrayana Devatas—ARTHUR AVALON 650

Song—SAROJINI NAIDU 671

Gleanings (Illustrated)—
IF THE GERMANS CONQUERED ENGLAND ... 671
ICONOGRAPHY OF DAINICHI BUDDHISM ... 673

Comment and Criticism—
Higher Criticism and the Date of Sukraniti—BENOYKUMAR SARKAR 675

Reviews and Notices of Books—PROF. NALIN BIHARI MITRA, M.A.; PRASAD CHANDRA BANERJI, B.SC (Lond).; VIDHUSHEKHARA SHASTRI; PRINCIPAL SATISHCHANDRA ROY, M.A. (Lond).; V. G. APTE; K. M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B. and OTHERS 676

Indian Periodicals
[UJJAIN; UNIVERSITY REFORM; POETRY OF JOSEPH SALDANHA; MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION; THE COOLIE QUESTION; THE GURUKULA SYSTEM OF EDUCATION; GARDENING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS; SCHOOL GARDENS IN CEYLON; THOUGHTS AND GLIMPSES] 681

Foreign Periodicals
[THE HEART OF HELEN KELLER; SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE TROPICS; WOMAN'S SHARE IN THE WAR'S WORK; HUMOR AND WAR; TAXATION IN INDIA.] 686

Notes (illustrated) 689

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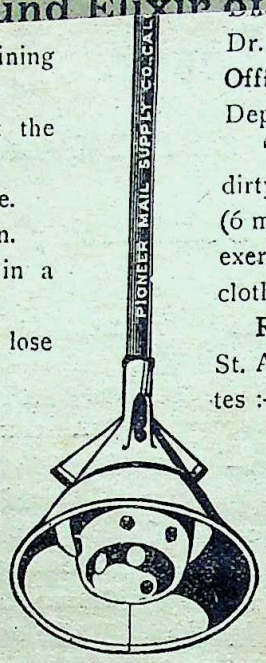

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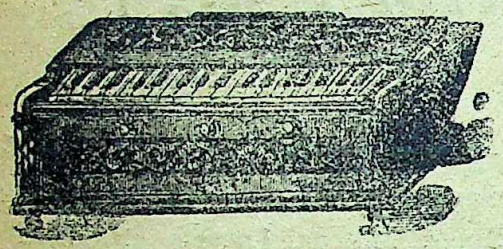

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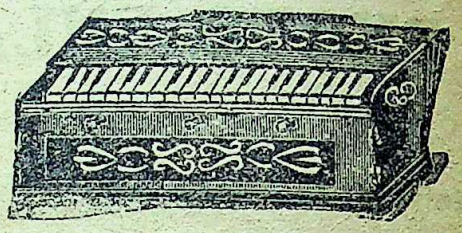

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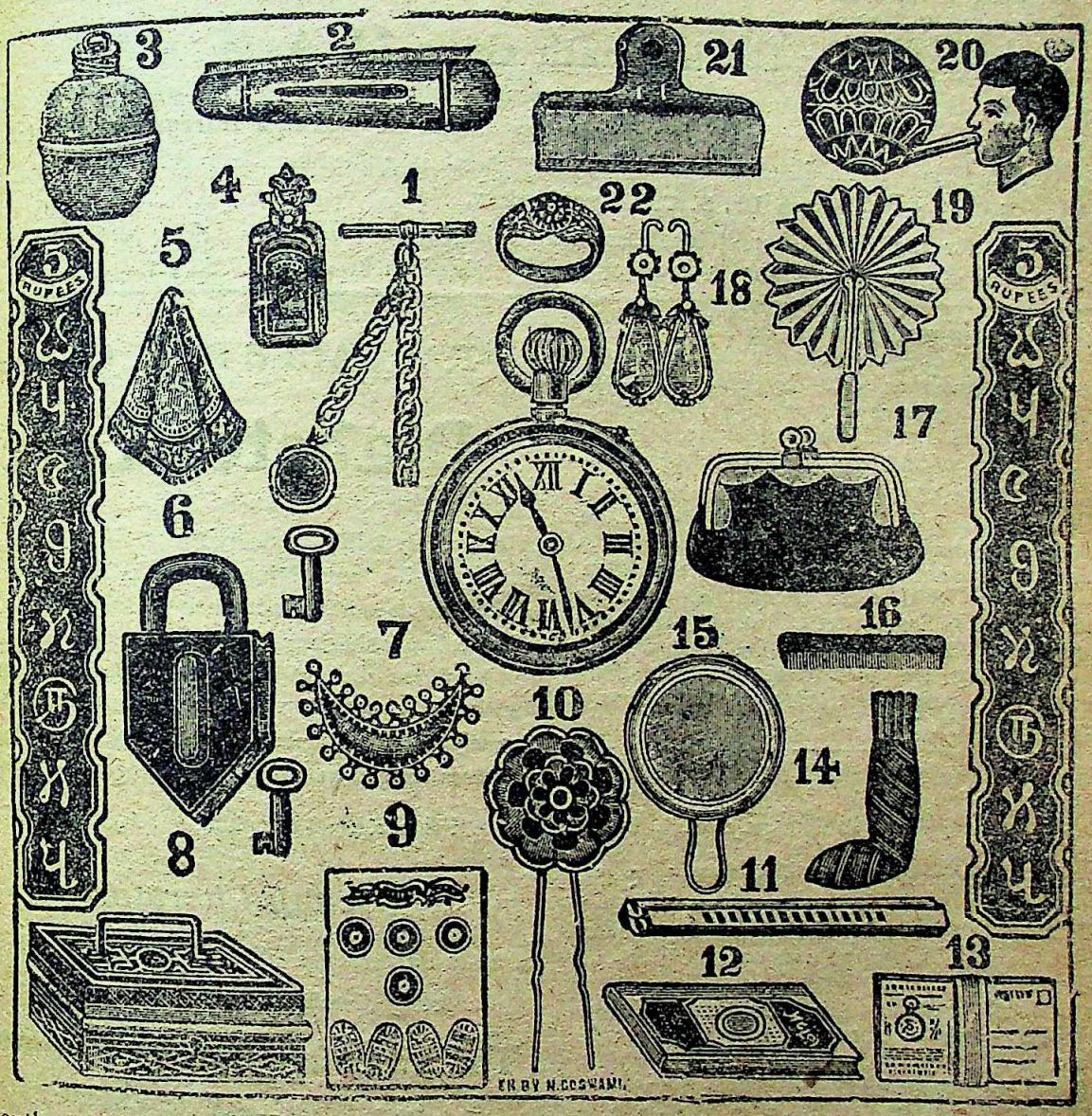

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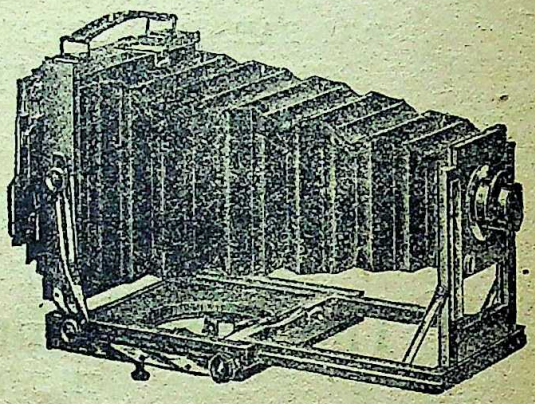

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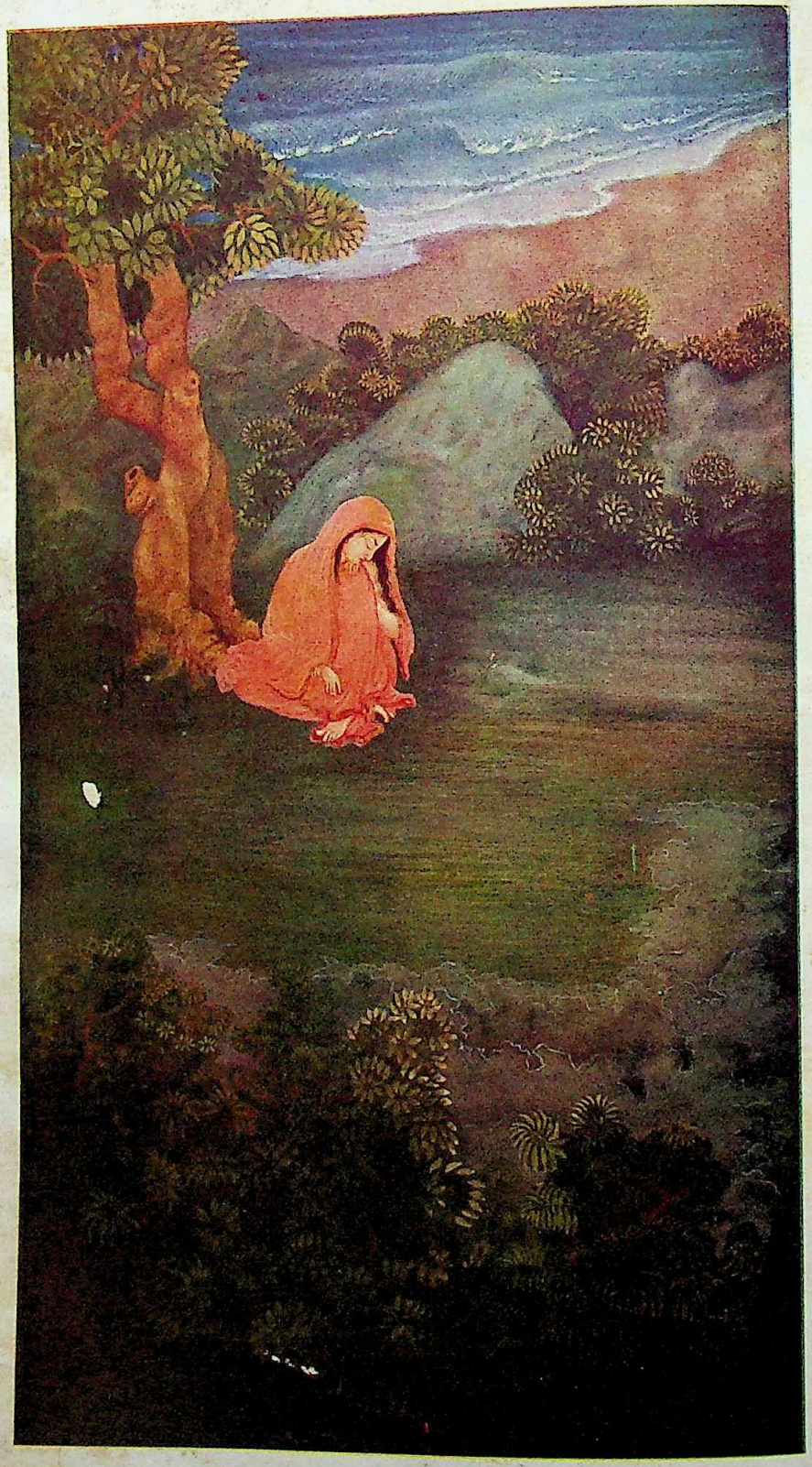

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XIX No. 6 JUNE, 1916 WHOLE No. 114

MY REMINISCENCES

By Rabindranath Tagore.

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(17) *Home Studies.*

GYAN-Babu, son of Pandit Vedantavagish, was now our tutor at home. When he found he could not secure my attention for the school course, he gave up the attempt as hopeless and went on a different tack. He took me through Kalidas's "Birth of the War-god" translating it to me as we went on. He also read Macbeth to me, first explaining the text in Bengali, and then confining me to the school room till I had rendered the day's reading into Bengali verse. In this way he got me to translate the whole play. I was fortunate enough to lose this translation and so am relieved to that extent of the burden of my Karma.

It was Pandit Ramsarvaswa's duty to see to the progress of our Sanscrit. He likewise gave up the fruitless task of teaching grammar to his unwilling pupil, and read Sakuntala with me instead. One day he took it into his head to show my translation of Macbeth to Pandit Vidyasagar and took me over to his house. Rajkrishna Mukherji had called at the time and was seated with him. My heart went pit-a-pat as I entered the great Pandit's study, packed full of books; nor did his austere visage assist in reviving my courage. Nevertheless, as this was the first time I had such a distinguished audience, my desire to win renown was strong within me. I returned home, I believe, with some reason for an access of enthusiasm. As for Rajkrishna Babu, he contented himself with admonishing me to be careful to keep the language and metre of the Witches parts different from that of the human characters.

During my boyhood Bengali literature was meagre in body, and I think I must have finished all the readable and unreadable books that there were at the time. Juvenile literature in those days had not evolved a distinct type of its own—but that I am sure did me no harm. The watery stuff into which literary nectar is now diluted for being served up to the young takes full account of their childishness, but none of them as growing human beings. Children's books should be such as can partly be understood by them and partly not. In our childhood we read every available book from one end to the other, and both what we understood, and what we did not, went on working within us. That is how the world itself reacts on the child consciousness. The child makes its own what it understands, while that which is beyond it leads it on a step forward.

When Dinabandhu Mitra's satires came out I was not of an age for which they were suitable. A kinswoman of ours was reading a copy, but no entreaties of mine could induce her to lend it to me. She used to keep it under lock and key. Its inaccessibility made me want it all the more and I threw out the challenge that read the book I must and would.

One afternoon she was playing cards, and her keys, tied to a corner of her *sari*, hung over her shoulder. I had never paid any attention to cards, in fact I could not stand card games. But my behaviour that day would hardly have borne this

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out, so engrossed was I in their playing. At last, in the excitement of one side being about to make a score, I seized my opportunity and set about untying the knot which held the keys. I was not skilful, and moreover excited and hasty and so got caught. The owner of the *sari* and of the keys took the fold off her shoulder with a smile, and laid the keys on her lap as she went on with the game.

Then I hit on a stratagem. My kinswoman was fond of *pan*, and I hastened to place some before her. This entailed her rising later on to get rid of the chewed *pan*, and, as she did so, her keys fell off her lap and were replaced over her shoulder. This time they got stolen, the culprit got off, and the book got read! Its owner tried to scold me, but the attempt was not a success, we both laughed so.

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra used to edit an illustrated monthly miscellany. My third brother had a bound annual volume of it in his bookcase. This I managed to secure and the delight of reading it through, over and over again, still comes back to me. Many a holiday noontide has passed with me stretched on my back on my bed, that square volume on my breast, reading about the Norwhal whale, or the curiosities of justice as administered by the Kazis of old, or the romantic story of Krishnakumari.

Why do we not have such magazines now-a-days? We have philosophical and scientific articles on the one hand, and insipid stories and travels on the other, but no such unpretentious miscellanies which the ordinary person can read in comfort—such as Chambers's or Cassel's or the Strand in England—which supply the general reader with a simple but satisfying fare and are of the greatest use to the greatest number.

I came across another little periodical in my young days called the *Abodhabandhu* (ignorant man's friend). I found a collection of its monthly numbers in my eldest brother's library and devoured them day after day, seated on the doorsill of his study, facing a bit of terrace to the South. It was in the pages of this magazine that I made my first acquaintance with the poetry of Viharilal Chakravarti. His poems appealed to me the most of all that I read at the time. The artless flute-strains of his lyrics awoke within me the music of fields and forest glades.

Into these same pages I have wept many a tear over a pathetic translation of Paul and Virginie. That wonderful sea, the sea-breeze-stirred cocoanut forests on its shore, and the slopes beyond lively with the gambols of mountain goats,—a delightfully refreshing mirage they conjured upon that terraced roof in Calcutta. And oh! the romantic courting that went on in the forest paths of that secluded island, between the Bengali boy reader and little Virginie with the many-coloured kerchief round her head!

Then came Bankim's *Bangadarsan*, taking the Bengali heart by storm. It was bad enough to have to wait till the next monthly number was out, but to be kept waiting further till my elders had done with it was simply intolerable! Now he who will may swallow at a mouthful the whole of *Chandrashekhar* or *Bishabriksha* but the process of longing and anticipating, month after month; of spreading over the long intervals the concentrated joy of each short reading, revolving every instalment over and over in the mind while watching and waiting for the next; the combination of satisfaction with unsatisfied craving, of burning curiosity with its appeasement; these long drawn out delights of going through the original serial none will ever taste again.

The compilations from the old poets by Sarada Mitter and Akshay Sarkar were also of great interest to me. Our elders were subscribers, but not very regular readers, of these series, so that it was not difficult for me to get at them. Vidyapati's quaint and corrupt Maithili language attracted me all the more because of its unintelligibility. I tried to make out his sense without the help of the compiler's notes, jotting down in my own note book all the more obscure words with their context as many times as they occurred. I also noted grammatical peculiarities according to my lights.

(18) *My home environment.*

One great advantage which I enjoyed in my younger days was the literary and artistic atmosphere which pervaded our house. I remember how, when I was quite a child, I would be leaning against the verandah railings which overlooked the

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

From a pencil sketch by Mr. Jyotirindranath Tagore, dated 15th February, 1877.

By the courtesy of Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

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detached building comprising the reception rooms. These rooms would be lighted up every evening. Splendid carriages would draw up under the portico, and visitors would be constantly coming and going. What was happening I could not very well make out, but would keep staring at the rows of lighted casements from my place in the darkness. The intervening space was not great but the gulf between my infant world and these lights was immense.

My elder cousin Ganendra had just got a drama written by Pandit Tarkaratna and was having it staged in the house. His enthusiasm for literature and the fine arts knew no bounds. He was the centre of the group who seem to have been almost consciously striving to bring about from every side the renascence which we see today. A pronounced nationalism in dress, literature, music, art and the drama had awakened in and around him. He was a keen student of the history of different countries and had begun but could not complete a historical work in Bengali. He had translated and published the Sanscrit drama Vikramorvasi, and many a well-known hymn is his composition. He may be said to have given us the lead in writing patriotic poems and songs. This was in the days when the Hindu Mela was an annual institution and there his song "Ashamed am I to sing of India's glories" used to be sung.

I was still a child when my cousin Ganendra died in the prime of his youth, but for those who have once beheld him it is impossible to forget his handsome, tall and stately figure. He had an irresistible social influence. He could draw men round him and keep them bound to him; while his powerful attraction was there, disruption was out of the question. He was one of those—a type peculiar to our country—who, by their personal magnetism, easily establish themselves in the centre of their family or village. In any other country, where large political social or commercial groups are being formed, such would as naturally become national leaders. The power of organising a large number of men into a corporate group depends on a special kind of genius. Such genius in our country runs to waste, a waste as pitiful, it seems to me, as that of pulling down a star from the firmament for use as a lucifer match.

I remember still better his younger brother, my cousin Gunendra.* He likewise kept the house filled with his personality. His large, gracious heart embraced alike relatives, friends, guests and dependents. Whether in his broad south verandah, or on the lawn by the fountain, or at the tank-edge on the fishing platform, he presided over self-invited gatherings, like hospitality incarnate. His wide appreciation of art and talent kept him constantly radiant with enthusiasm. New ideas of festivity or frolic, theatricals or other entertainments, found in him a ready patron, and with his help would flourish and find fruition.

We were too young then to take any part in these doings, but the waves of merriment and life to which they gave rise came and beat at the doors of our curiosity. I remember how a burlesque composed by my eldest brother was once being rehearsed in my cousin's big drawing room. From our place against the verandah railings of our house we could hear, through the open windows opposite, roars of laughter mixed with the strains of a comic song, and would also occasionally catch glimpses of Akshay Mazumdar's extraordinary antics. We could not gather exactly what the song was about, but lived in hopes of being able to find that out sometime.

I recall how a trifling circumstance earned for me the special regard of cousin Gunendra. Never had I got a prize at school except once for good conduct. Of the three of us my nephew Satya was the best at his lessons. He once did well at some examination and was awarded a prize. As we came home I jumped off the carriage to give the great news to my cousin who was in the garden. "Satya has got a prize" I shouted as I ran to him. He drew me to his knees with a smile. "And have *you* not got a prize?" he asked. "No," said I, "not I, it's Satya." My genuine pleasure at Satya's success seemed to touch my cousin particularly. He turned to his friends and remarked on it as a very creditable trait. I well remember how mystified I felt at this, for I had not thought of my feeling in that light. This prize that I got for not getting a prize did not do me good. There is no harm in mak-

* Father of the well-known artists Gaganendra and Abanindra.—*Ed.*

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ing gifts to children, but they should not be rewards. It is not healthy for youngsters to be made self-conscious.

After the mid-day meal cousin Gunendra would attend the estate offices in our part of the house. The office room of our elders was a sort of club where laughter and conversation were freely mixed with matters of business. My cousin would recline on a couch, and I would seize some opportunity of edging up to him. He usually told me stories from Indian History. I still remember the surprise with which I heard of how Clive, after establishing British rule in India, went back home and cut his own throat. On the one hand new history being made, on the other a tragic chapter hidden away in the mysterious darkness of a human heart. How could there be such dismal failure within and such brilliant success outside? This weighed heavily on my mind the whole day.

Some days cousin Gunendra would not be allowed to remain in any doubt as to the contents of my pocket. At the least encouragement out would come my manuscript book, unabashed. I need hardly state that my cousin was not a severe critic; in point of fact the opinions he expressed would have done splendidly as advertisements. None the less, when in any of my poetry my childishness became too obtrusive, he could not restrain his hearty ha! ha! One day it was a poem on "Mother India" and as at the end of one line the only rhyme I could think of meant a cart, I had to drag in that cart in spite of there not being the vestige of a road by which it could reasonably arrive,—the insistent claims of rhyme would not hear of any excuses mere reason had to offer. The storm of laughter with which cousin Gunendra greeted it blew away the cart back over the same impossible path it had come by, and it has not been heard of since.

My eldest brother was then busy with his masterpiece "The Dream Journey," his cushion seat placed in the south verandah, a low desk before him. Cousin Gunendra would come and sit there for a time every morning. His immense capacity for enjoyment, like the breezes of spring, helped poetry to sprout. My eldest brother would go on alternately writing and reading out what he had written, his boisterous mirth at his own conceits making the verandah tremble. My brother wrote a great deal more than he finally used in his finished work, so fertile was his poetic inspiration. Like the superabounding mango flowerets which carpet the shade of the mango topes in spring time, the rejected pages of his "Dream Journey" were to be found scattered all over the house. Had any one preserved them they would have been to-day a basketful of flowers adorning our Bengali literature.

Eavesdropping at doors and peeping round corners, we used to get our full share of this feast of poetry, so plentiful was it, with so much to spare. My eldest brother was then at the height of his wonderful powers; and from his pen surged, in untiring wave after wave, a tidal flood of poetic fancy, rhyme and expression, filling and overflowing its banks with an exuberantly joyful pæan of triumph. Did we quite understand "The Dream Journey"? But then did we need to absolutely understand to enjoy it? We might not have got at the wealth in the ocean depths—what could we have done with it if we had?—but we revelled in the delights of the waves on the shore; and how gaily, at their buffettings, did our life-blood course through every vein and artery!

The more I think of that period the more I realise that we have no longer the thing called a *mujlis*.* In our boyhood we beheld the dying rays of that intimate sociability which was characteristic of the last generation. Neighbourly feelings were then so strong that the *mujlis* was a necessity, and those who could contribute to its amenities were in great request. People now-a-days call on each other on business, or as a matter of social duty, but not to foregather by way of *mujlis*. They have not the time, nor are there the same intimate relations. What goings and comings we used to see, how merry were the rooms and verandahs with the hum of conversation and the snatches of laughter. The faculty our predecessors had of becoming the centre of groups and gatherings, of starting and keeping up animated and amusing gossip, has vanished. Men still come and go but those same verandahs and rooms seem empty and deserted.

In those days everything from furni-

* In Bengali this word has come to mean an informal uninvited gathering.

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"MY ELDEST BROTHER" MR. DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

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ture to festivity was designed to be enjoyed by the many, so that whatever of pomp or magnificence there might have been did not savour of hauteur. The appendages of the rich have since increased in quantity, but they have become unfeeling, and know not the art of making high and low alike feel at home. The bare-bodied, the indigently clad, no longer have the right to use and occupy them, without a permit, on the strength of their smiling faces alone. Those whom we now-a-days seek to imitate in our house-building and furnishing, they have their own society, with its wide hospitality. The mischief with us is that we have lost what we had, but have not the means of building up afresh on the European standard, with the result that our home-life has become joyless. We still meet for business or political purposes, but never for the pleasure of simply meeting one another. We have ceased to contrive opportunities to bring men together simply because we love our fellow-men. I can imagine nothing more ugly than this social miserliness; and, when I look back on those whose ringing laughter, coming straight from their hearts, used to lighten for us the burden of household cares, they seem to have been visitors from some other world.

(19) *Literary Companions.*

There came to me in my boyhood a friend whose help in my literary progress was invaluable. Akshay Chowdhury was a school-fellow of my fourth brother. He was an M. A. in English Literature for which his love was as great as his proficiency therein. On the other hand he had an equal fondness for our older Bengali authors and Vaishnava Poets. He knew hundreds of Bengali songs of unknown authorship, and on these he would launch, with voice uplifted, regardless of tune, or consequence, or of the express disapproval of his hearers. Nor could anything, within him or without, prevent his loudly beating time to his own music, for which the nearest table or book served his nimble fingers to rap a rigorous tattoo on, to help enliven the audience.

He was also one of those with an inordinate capacity for extracting enjoyment from all and sundry. He was as ready to absorb every bit of good-ness in a thing as he was lavish in singing its praises. He had an extraordinary gift as a lightning composer of lyrics and songs of no mean merit, but in which he himself had no pride of authorship. He took no further notice of the heaps of scattered scraps of paper on which his pencil writings had been indited. He was as indifferent to his powers as they were prolific.

One of his longer poetic pieces was much appreciated when it appeared in the *Bangadarsan*, and I have heard his songs sung by many who knew nothing at all about their composer.

A genuine delight in literature is much rarer than erudition, and it was this enthusiastic enjoyment in Akshay Babu which used to awaken my own literary appreciation. He was as liberal in his friendships as in his literary criticisms. Amongst strangers he was as a fish out of water, but among friends discrepancies in wisdom or age made no difference to him. With us boys he was a boy. When he took his leave, late in the evening, from the *mujlis* of our elders, I would buttonhole and drag him to our school room. There he would with undiminished geniality make himself the life and soul of our little gathering, seated on the top of our study table. On many such an occasion I have listened to him going into a rapturous dissertation on some English poem; engaged him in some appreciative discussion, critical inquiry or hot dispute; or read to him some of my own writings and been rewarded in return with praise unsparing.

My fourth brother Jyotirindra was one of the chief helpers in my literary and emotional training. He was an enthusiast himself and loved to evoke enthusiasm in others. He did not allow the difference between our ages to be any bar to my free intellectual and sentimental intercourse with him. This great boon of freedom which he allowed me, none else would have dared to do; many even blamed him for it. His companionship made it possible for me to shake off my shrinking sensitiveness. It was as necessary for my soul after its rigorous repression during my infancy as are the monsoon clouds after a fiery summer.

But for such snapping of my shackles I might have become crippled for life. Those in authority are never tired of holding forth the possibility of the abuse

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of freedom as a reason for withholding it, but without that possibility freedom would not be really free. And the only way of learning how to properly use a thing is through its misuse. For myself, at least, I can truly say that what little mischief resulted from my freedom always led the way to the means of curing mischief. I have never been able to make my own anything which they tried to compel me to swallow by getting hold of me, physically or mentally, by the ears. Nothing but sorrow have I ever gained except when left freely to myself.

My brother Jyotirindra unreservedly let me go my own way to self-knowledge, and only since then could my nature prepare to put forth its thorns it may be, but likewise its flowers. This experience of mine has led me to dread not so much evil itself as tyrannical attempts to create goodness. Of punitive police, political or moral, I have a wholesome horror. The state of slavery which is thus brought on is the worst form of cancer to which humanity is subject.

My brother at one time would spend days at his piano engrossed in the creation of new tunes. Showers of melody would stream from under his dancing fingers, while Akshay Babu and I, seated on either side, would be busy fitting words to the tunes as they grew into shape to help to hold them in our memories.* This is how I served my apprenticeship in the composition of songs.

While we were growing to boyhood music was largely cultivated in our family. This had the advantage of making it possible for me to imbibe it, without an effort, into my whole being. It had also the disadvantage of not giving me that technical mastery which the effort of learning step by step alone can give. Of what may be called proficiency in music, therefore, I acquired none.

Ever since my return from the Himalayas it was a case of my getting more freedom, more and more. The rule of the servants came to an end; I saw to it with many a device that the bonds of my school life were also loosened; nor to my home tutors did I give much scope. Gyan Babu, after taking me through "The Birth of the War-god" and one or two other books in a desultory fashion, went off to take up a legal career. Then came Braja Babu. The first day he put me on to translate "The Vicar of Wakefield." I found that I did not dislike the book. But when this encouraged him to make more elaborate arrangements for the advancement of my learning I made myself altogether scarce.

As I have said, my elders gave me up. Neither I nor they were troubled with any more hopes of my future. So I felt free to devote myself to filling up my manuscript book. And the writings which thus filled it were no better than could have been expected. My mind had nothing in it but hot vapour, and vapour-filled bubbles frothed and eddied round a vortex of lazy fancy, aimless and unmeaning. No forms were evolved, there was only the distraction of movement, a bubbling up, a bursting back into froth. What little of matter there was in it was not mine but borrowed from other poets. What was my own was the restlessness, the seething tension within me. When motion has been born, while yet the balance of forces has not matured, then is there blind chaos indeed.

My sister-in-law ‡ was a great lover of literature. She did not read simply to kill time, but the Bengali books which she read filled her whole mind. I was a partner in her literary enterprises. She was a devoted admirer of "The Dream Journey." So was I; the more particularly as, having been brought up in the atmosphere of its creation, its beauties had become intertwined with every fibre of my heart. Fortunately it was entirely beyond my power of imitation, so it never occurred to me to attempt anything like it.

"The Dream Journey" may be likened to a superb palace of Allegory, with innumerable halls, chambers, passages, corners and niches full of statuary and pictures, of wonderful design and workmanship; and in the grounds around gardens, bowers, fountains and shady nooks in profusion. Not only do poetic thought and fancy abound but the richness and variety of language and expression is also marvellous. It is not a

* Systems of notation were not then in use. One of the most popular of the present-day systems was subsequently devised by the writer's brother here mentioned. Tr.

‡ The new bride of the house, wife of the writer's fourth brother, above-mentioned. Tr.

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small thing, this creative power which can bring into being so magnificent a structure complete in all its artistic detail, and that is perhaps why the idea of attempting an imitation never occurred to me.

At this time Viharilal Chakravarti's series of songs called *Sarada Mangal* were coming out in the *Arya Darsan*. My sister-in-law was greatly taken with the sweetness of these lyrics. Most of them she knew by heart. She used often to invite the poet to our house and had embroidered for him a cushion-seat with her own hands. This gave me the opportunity of making friends with him. He came to have a great affection for me, and I took to dropping in at his house at all times of the day, morning, noon or evening. His heart was as large as his body, and a halo of fancy used to surround him like a poetic astral body which seemed to be his truer image. He was always full of true artistic joy, and whenever I have been to him I have breathed in my share of it. Often have I come upon him in his little room on the third storey, in the heat of noonday, sprawling on the cool polished cement floor, writing his poems. Mere boy though I was, his welcome was always so genuine and hearty that I never felt the least awkwardness in approaching him. Then, wrapt in his inspiration and forgetful of all surroundings, he would read out his poems or sing his songs to me. Not that he had much of the gift of song in his voice; but then he was not altogether tuneless, and one could get a fair idea of the intended melody.* When with eyes closed he raised his rich deep voice, its expressiveness made up for what it lacked in execution. I still seem to hear some of his songs as he sang them. I would also sometimes set his words to music and sing them to him.

He was a great admirer of Valmiki and Kalidas. I remember how once after reciting a description of the Himalayas from Kalidas with the full strength of his voice, he said: "The succession of long ā sounds here is not an accident. The poet has deliberately repeated this sound all the way from *Devatatma* down to *Nagadhiraja* as an assistance in realising the glorious expanse of the Himalayas."

At the time the height of my ambition was to become a poet like Vihari Babu. I might have even succeeded in working myself up to the belief that I was actually writing like him, but for my sister-in-law, his zealous devotee, who stood in the way. She would keep reminding me of a Sanscrit saying that the unworthy aspirant after poetic fame departs in jeers! Very possibly she knew that if my vanity was once allowed to get the upper hand it would be difficult afterwards to bring it under control. So neither my poetic abilities nor my powers of song readily received any praise from her; rather would she never let slip an opportunity of praising somebody else's singing at my expense; with the result that I gradually became quite convinced of the defects of my voice. Misgivings about my poetic powers also assailed me; but, as this was the only field of activity left in which I had any chance of retaining my self-respect, I could not allow the judgment of another to deprive me of all hope; moreover, so insistent was the spur within me that to stop my poetic adventure was a matter of sheer impossibility.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

* It may be helpful to the foreign reader to explain that the expert singer of Indian music improvises more or less on the tune outline made over to him by the original composer so that the latter need not necessarily do more than give a correct idea of such outline. Tr.

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ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

By a Disciple of Prof. J. C. Bose.

The Maida Vale Laboratory.

I SHALL now give an account of my Master's Maida Vale Laboratory which has attained historical interest. It soon became the meeting-place of the foremost thinkers in England. It is impossible to give an account of all the visitors, and I shall only give a brief reference to some of the most distinguished men that visited the Laboratory.

Sir William Crookes.

One of the first visitors who called was Sir William Crookes, the President of the Royal Society. His scientific activities, extending over half a century, are too well known to require description. Perhaps his most important discovery is that of the *Radiant* state of matter. His invention of the Crookes'-tube was the fore-runner of two great lines of inquiry, viz., the X-Rays and Electrons. Under the exceptional high vacuum which he was able to produce, luminous phenomena was observed which had their origin at the negative electrode or the Kathode. Crookes attributed this to the bombardment of an attenuated matter but many German physicists opposed this view considering the new phenomenon as one of light. This Kathode discharge was found to pass through solid sheet of aluminium. Hence it was thought that the discharge could not be of a material nature. Crookes, however, urged that no matter was absolutely solid; it was more of a spongy structure with innumerable pores of infinitesimal small dimensions. If the Kathode particles were small enough they could wriggle through these minute pores. That these Kathode discharges were really fragments of matter have since been conclusively proved leading to the discovery that the atoms could be broken up into minute fragments—the electrons.

It has been said that these minute particles are transmissible through solids and their impact on photographic plates gave rise to latent image as by light. It was the fogging of a photographic plate in a dark slide which was lying near a Crookes tube which led Rontgen to discover the astonishing properties of the X-Rays. This will explain the remarkable Latin motto in Crookes' seal, which may be freely translated as "No light without the Cross." The Latin words *Ubi Crux Ibi Lux* bear however a double meaning "Where there is Crookes there is light"!

No scientific man is held in higher esteem than this great scientist, who even at his 83rd year had not lost his youthful enthusiasm in welcoming any great advancement of knowledge. He had been present at my Master's two previous Discourses at the Royal Institution and now came to see the recording of the plant autographs. My Master had recently made another discovery of a revolutionary character,—nothing short of the possibility of the Control of Nervous Impulse, a problem not only of far-reaching influence in physiology but in psychology as well. This new discovery had not then been communicated to any scientific society. It was my Master's desire to communicate it to the Royal Society. In order to discuss the subject Sir William Crookes brought with him the distinguished physiologist Sir Rose Bradford, the Secretary of the Royal Society. Both of them followed with keen interest the experimental demonstration and fully realised the importance of the new lines of investigation. And on the next day my Master received from the President of the Royal Society the following letter :—

"I was much impressed by the most ingenious and novel self-recording instruments, whereby you are able to make plants automatically record their response

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to electric and other stimulation and their own movements when no outside stimulus affects them. The means of physiological investigation thereby afforded is of much importance. I will give a review of your researches in the *Chemical News* so that others may be able to read and understand the novel facts you have discovered."

I may mention here that my Master's experiments on the possibility of Control of Nervous Impulse were found so convincing that the results of the researches were published by the Royal Society.

PHYSIOLOGISTS.

It would be hardly believed that even in Europe in the realm of science there is a strong caste feeling, on account of which any intrusion from one branch of science into another is strongly resented. And this was the reason why my Master's transition from the Physical to Biological investigations in science was, at first, strongly opposed. Most of the physiologists regarded the phenomenon of life as due to a mysterious vital force, which was a very convenient cloak to hide our ignorance. My Master, however, tried to show a continuity of reaction in Living and Non-Living matter and unravel the physico-chemical basis of the so-called vital phenomenon. He refused to evade all difficulties by postulating an unknown force 'whose convenient property was to meet all emergencies in virtue of its vagueness.' The bold standpoint taken by him extorted from *Nature* in the review of his work the euology that "A Biologically equipped reader will experience dazzled admiration for the logical progressive way in which Dr. Bose builds up, not in words, but actually experiment on experiment, a complete functioning plant from three simple conceptions." As the physiologists had not hitherto the chance of seeing these experiments, there was a very widespread incredulity. How complete was the change of attitude that the actual demonstration produced may be gathered from the fact, that after seeing the experiments one of the leading physiologists admitted that he had hitherto regarded these results as due to the free play of a rich Oriental imagination and that it was his casting vote which had hitherto witheld the publication of his Papers by the Royal Society. And he said: "Dr. Bose, now I see that you have been in the right and we have all along been wrong. Henceforth there would be no question whatever of the results to an experimenter who has carried accuracy of such a pitch of perfection."

Among the plant physiologists who came, was Professor Farmer of the Royal College of Science. He on behalf of the Imperial College of Science extended a cordial invitation to give a discourse before them. Professor Blackman invited him to give a lecture before the Botanical Society. Professor Oliver of the University College had been a warm supporter of my Master's theories and was greatly impressed "with the brilliancy and importance of the methods which he demonstrated at the Maida Vale Laboratory." The eminent animal physiologist Professor Starling wrote enthusiastically about "the ingenious and original mechanisms which you have invented for getting an answer to questions put to the plants." Professor Sherrington, who is one of the greatest authorities on nervous reactions, was deeply impressed with the extraordinary similarity of neurile phenomena in plant and animal and the new possibilities which these investigations opened out.

Thus the physiological group who at first resented my Master's intrusion in their field now received his work with high appreciation.

I shall now speak of the distinguished literary group of men who visited our Laboratory.

MR. GARDNER.

Mr. Gardner, the Editor of the London *Daily News*, is one of the great forces for liberalisation in England. After his visit to our Laboratory there appeared a very brilliant article in the *Daily News* on The Human Plant. It says that

> "In these days it seems to be impossible to live more than a few weeks at a time without receiving some more or less serious mental shocks.....Just now Professor J. C. Bose is giving people shocks in Maida Vale. If you watch his astonishing experiments with plants and flowers, you have to leave an old world behind and enter a new one. The world where plants are merely plants becomes mercilessly out of date, and you are forced abruptly into a world where plants are almost human beings. Professor Bose makes you take the leap when he demonstrates that plants have a nervous system quite comparable with that of men, and makes them write down their life history. So you step into yet another world....."

Another brilliant writer known as "Lens" whose works on eugenics and other

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subjects are well known, wrote in the *New Statesman* a very striking article "Ex Oriente Lux." He concluded:

"The old idea of a University as a collection of books has yet yielded place to the truth. The Indian Universities, founded as examining bodies, have done some teaching, no doubt, but still await their true development into places where Truth is wrested from the Unknown, for the service of mankind. 'I make not, therefore, my head a grave, but a treasure, of knowledge,' wrote Sir Thomas Browne. The library, or 'collection of books' is too often a mere cemetery of knowledge; a real University is a treasure of that most treasurable kind which gives itself freely to all and yet ever accumulates, and a real University cannot, I believe, fail properly to value such a growing point of vital knowledge as is the work of Professor Bose."

Mr. Massingham.

The most important literary journal in England is undoubtedly the *Nation*, and its editor Mr. Massingham with his brilliant group of writers exerts a great power for national righteousness. Mr. Hobson, the great economist and Mr. Graham Wallace, are among his collaborators. The following is an extract from the vivid description which appeared in the *Nation*:

"In a room near Maida Vale, there is an unfortunate carrot, strapped to the table of an unlicensed vivisector. The wires of an electric battery pass through two glass tubes full of white substance; they are like two legs whose feet are buried in the flesh of the carrot. When the vegetable is pinched with a pair of forceps it winces. It is so strapped that the shudder of pain pulls an electric recorder, to which is attached a tiny mirror. This casts a beam of light on the frieze at the other end of the room, and thus enormously exaggerates the tremor of the carrot. A pinch near the right hand tube sends the beam seven to eight feet to the right, a pinch near the other wire sends it as far to the left. Thus can science reveal the feelings of even so stolid a vegetable as the carrot.....

"He has attacked with imagination many problems just at that point where scientific botanists had given them up as beyond their scope and he has measured the known life of plants with a new minuteness. The vegetable has been a parable for man, an analogy not quite on all fours, an argument by poetic license. Closer investigations will deduce from it laws of life immediately applicable to the once-considered separate kingdom of animals of locomotion. Plants like animals, grow tired, rejoice, despond. A green house life makes them less than themselves, certainly overgrown and flabby, poorly capable of response to shock till they have carefully hardened to a fuller existence.....

"It is impossible to estimate the effect of this rather psychic stone flung by Professor Bose into the pool of physical botany; there are so many directions through which the ripples must run. We wonder what the verdicts of his machines would be on the nerves and sentiments of those plants that are male on one root and female on another. Again what aid may they not render to the hybridizer? Do the feet of new varieties through selection? In the wider sweep of the ripple what bearing have they on the difficult heresy of the inheritance of acquired character? On the other hand the plant has become a more eligible witness to prove the case for all life. Can the plant be trained to anticipate its shock and respond by association of ideas? There are countless questions for the answering of which our little brothers the 'vegetating animal' will be put to the test."

George Bernard Shaw.

Perhaps no English writer in modern times has so profoundly affected literature as the brilliant and paradoxical Bernard Shaw. He holds a unique position among the English-speaking race and his sayings are extensively quoted both in England and America. In conversation he holds his audience spell-bound by his brilliant wit, and it must be said that when he is present no one has a chance of getting in a word edgeways. When he came to our Laboratory it was noticed as a very striking fact by his friends who accompanied him that once at least he was speechless with something deeper than wonder at what he saw. He had all along taken a great pride in being more than a humanitarian, for he ceased to subsist by devouring his fellow-creatures. He had been the strictest of vegetarians. And the virtuous elation which he had hitherto enjoyed received a rude shock when he saw a piece of cabbage shudder at a pinch and be thrown into violent convulsion when scalded to death.

Professor Gilbert Murray.

Another dominating influence among English men of letters is Professor Gilbert Murray, the eminent professor of Greek at Oxford. He is a man of international reputation. His great personality and his living sympathy with all great movements have made him an important element in all national activities. After his visit to our Laboratory he wrote:—

"I have read your Discourse at the Royal Institution twice with extraordinary interest and I think I can realise the immense amount of skilful and patient work that lies behind such a short and clear statement. It certainly makes the world seem even a more wonderful place than it did before."

The leading philosophers and psychologists were also deeply interested in certain aspects of my Master's work.

Professor Carveth Read.

The famous author of the "Metaphy-

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sics of Nature" writes in his classical work that

"Whosoever grants consciousness to the new-hatched chick but denies it to the new-laid egg, can only excuse his rejection of continuity by some device of conjuring a ghost into the chicken. Again, the simplest forms of life are indistinguishably animal or vegetal; and if the least organised plant-life is indistinguishable from animal life that is admitted to become conscious, it is arbitrary to deny consciousness of such plant life. Having got so far beyond the range of human sympathy as the level of plant-life, the principle of continuity carries us further and points to some actuality even in the inorganic nature, corresponding with animal nature, however vague and undifferentiated. J. C. Bose in his Response in the Living and Non-living, after showing that under stimulus plants exhibit fatigue and are affected like animals by anaesthetics and poisons, goes on to prove the same properties of tin and platinum wire. These also become fatigued; there is a threshold of response; subliminal stimuli become effective by repetition; response increases with the intensity of stimulus up to a certain point; some subsances act as stimulants upon tin and platinum; others as poisons destroying all response; a small dose may increase the response; and a large dose of the same may abolish it. The resemblance of these results to some of those obtained in physiological psychology is obvious. Inorganic matter is much simpler than organic; the simpler an organism the simpler its consciousness; hence no doubt inorganic consciousness is the simplest of all."

After seeing the demonstration of Nervous Impulse in Plants he wrote: "I have not met with anything in Biology so significant as your experiments for many a year. Their influence, by affecting our general way of thinking about living things, will exert a profound influence on Psychology."

Lord Crewe.

The high appreciation and keen interest that was aroused by my Master's work in England was reflected even in the India Office. And Lord Crewe expressed a desire to visit our Laboratory. So genuine was his interest that he wished the permanent officials in the India Office to become acquainted with what he regarded as one of the most important contributions made by India for the advancement of knowledge. On his visit he brought with him his staff, including Sir Thomas Holderness, the permanent Under Secretary of State for India. The Secretary of State not only took a very keen interest in every experiment, but took special pains that his staff should also realise the many-sided interest of these new lines of inquiry. At the end of the demonstration he spoke warmly of the pride which he and the India Government felt in my Master's work. It was a matter of high gratification to him that India should once more make such contributions for the intellectual advancement of the world.

Invitation to Germany.

I have already mentioned how our visit to Germany was postponed to the month of August. My Master received very cordial and pressing invitation for an extensive series of lectures before the leading Universities. Prof. P. Van der Wolks wrote:

"The results of your researches brought me a great deal nearer to the correct interpretation of plant reactions and I am continuing my investigations in your footpath."

Professor Fitting, the eminent Physiological Botanist of the University of Bonn, wrote:—

"It will be a special honour to be able to greet you in our University. I look forward very much to make your acquaintance and to be able to see the workings of your remarkable instruments. I followed your work with the greatest interest and expect to learn from you much that is highly interesting."

Professor Verworn, who is acknowledged as the greatest living physiologist, also sent an equally warm invitation.

From a subsequent letter we learnt that arrangements would be made for my Master's address before the University of Bonn on the 4th of August, 1914, and that we should be received at the station on Monday, the 3rd August. A cable would, however, be addressed to us confirming the arrangement and we received accordingly the following:

From Bonn

To Bose,

136 Southerland Avenue, London.

Montag ist gut.

Fitting.

"Monday would be good," and we accordingly made preparations to reach on that date. We, however, wrote to the Continent for a reserved compartment to ensure safety of our apparatus and plants but the Railway authorities wrote us in return that on account of the mobilisation of the army no such accommodation could be guaranteed. At the time there was some correspondence going on between the different embassies regarding Servia and the various demonstrations by European Powers were regarded merely as so much bluff. We hoped that some reassuring

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news would soon be issued, and postponed our departure even to the 3rd of August, hoping to arrive at Bonn just in time for the lecture. On the 3rd we actually went to the Victoria Station. But some vague premonitions made us return, and on the following day the world was startled by the declaration of war. My Master's nephew Aravinda Mohan Bose, who preceded us, was prevented from returning and is still in Germany.

THE IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

The next engagement which my Master undertook to fulfil was to give an Address before the London Imperial College of Science. He welcomed this for a special reason, because a very distinguished physiologist of the College was bitterly hostile on account of my Master having completely upset his theories, and it was understood that all who were with him would gather there in great force. Nothing could be a source of greater stimulus than the opportunity of meeting his opponents in their stronghold. It was evident that the President of the meeting had a bias but tried to be non-committal. In introducing the lecturer he spoke of his brilliant services in physical science; as to his incursion into the physiological realm it was admitted that he has discovered many startling phenomena by means of his apparatus of unprecedented delicacy. His conclusions, however, ran counter to many of the theories hitherto accepted by the physiologists. The audience would soon have the opportunity of seeing the experiments of a crucial character which supported his conclusions.

My Master took up the implied challenge. He began with the well-known Indian parable of the blind men, who went out to investigate the characteristics of that animal which is called the elephant, and showed its parallel in the different classes of investigators who tried to define the mysterious phenomenon of life. Some attempted to solve the problem from the construction of structure and took lacerated animal fragments and stained them with dyes and looked at the defunct tissues through the end of a miscroscope; others would take more massive and bleeding fragments and subjected them to shocks and measured their shuddering reactions. Sometimes the successive answers would seem to wane; this they would say was due to the explosive downward chemical change or dissimilation, but sometimes the answers would show an augmentation, and this must, therefore, be due to building up or assimilation; yet at other times the answers show an alternate augmentation and diminution. Here the tissue assimilated and dissimilated at the same time! Thus at the bidding of the physiologist the tormented and bewildered living tissue now assimilates, then dissimilates or did both to serve his particular requirements! Were they to remain satisfied with travesty of facts or were they to throw off all preconceptions and learn directly from answers which *life* gave to our questionings, normal life such as of plants grown in nature in fresh air and under sunshine and not of the abnormal reactions of the dismembered limbs on the vivisector's table? At one time it was the orthodox view that the life reactions of nature's highest production, man, were quite different from those of lower animals. Now many of the animal physiologists claim for their subject of attention a place unattainable by their poor vegetative brethren. Sir Burden Sanderson had declared that owing to their conservative vegetative character and predominant anabolism the electric reactions of plants were diametrically opposite to those of animals. There is thus no continuity, but a chaos where special characteristics are to be postulated for different grades of living creation. He would, however, show that there was no such chaos but that the same law pervaded throughout life,—from its simplest beginnings to its highest manifestations.

Then followed a series of experiments which established in a striking and convincing manner the identity of reactions of all tissues,—contractile, nervous and rhythmic,—both in plants and animals. The audience which had hitherto remained in perplexity by the bold assertion of such a great generalisation now expressed their enthusiastic appreciation.

When the question time came and opportunity was given for discussion, one speaker after another spoke how these new conceptions, now experimentally demonstrated, cleared up many problems which had hitherto perplexed investigators. The president, who at the beginning had been apathetic, now went to the other extreme of high appreciation. Here I may mention one fact which is not

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perhaps sufficiently realised here,—the delight and astonishment which I found universally evoked by my Master's unique power of luminous presentation of the most recondite problems. The President after referring to the astonishing character of the experiments, which shed a new light on physiological problems, spoke of the remarkable power of the lecturer to invest the most difficult and abstruse facts with extraordinary human interest, which at once put them in tune with the pulse throbs of the living creation. The lecturer had spoken how there was a considerable lost-time, or latent period, between the stimulus that came from outside and the response of the living organism and how this latent period lengthened with the feebleness of the outside stimulus. In their lectures on physiological subjects he and his colleagues had experienced great uncertainty as to the reactions of their pupils; the response seemed to be very sluggish and sometimes even wanting! From the immediate rapport which the lecturer established between himself and his audience he envied the students of the Presidency College and realised how vanishing in their case the latent period must be and how instantaneously would they respond to the stimulus of their great teacher.

Sir Lauder Brunton.

One day three gentlemen called at our Maida Vale Laboratory; while two of them were talking with my Master I entertained the other, who was a particularly benevolent-looking old gentleman. In the previous week we had visits from the literary men. I took him to belong to that group. There happened to be on the table the pulsating leaflet, recording its movements on the Oscillating Recorder. So I began to give him some elementary ideas about the throbbing pulsation of the heart with which the particular plant movement had a remarkable resemblance. I held forth on the two movements which constituted a complete pulse-throb of the heart, the systolic contraction and the diastolic expansion. I was so completely absorbed in enlightening the visitor about this mysterious action that I did not recognise the significance of the sundry kicks which my friend Dr. Joti Prokash Sircar was administering from the other side of the table specially as the visitor appeared to follow my explanation with interest. I had to make haste to leave the room under some pretext to regain my equanimity, when Joti informed me in a whisper that I was enlightening one who was the greatest living authority on the action of the heart, the great physiologist who collaborated with the great Darwin in his researches on insectivorous plants, one who is also one of the greatest authorities in Medical Science! For this amiable gentleman was no other than the renowned Sir Lauder Brunton! The other two visitors were Sir James Reid, the King's Physician, and Sir Francis Champney, the President of the Royal Society of Medicine. All of them followed the various demonstrations with intense interest and specially the action of drugs on undifferentiated protoplasm in the plant. They spoke of the great bearing these investigations had on the practical application of medicine, which had hitherto been more or less emperical. After their visit my Master received the following letter from Sir Lauder Brunton:

"I have read the very interesting collection of pamphlets in which you show that something akin to living reaction may be possessed even by metals. Ever since I began to study Botany in 1863 and still more since I made some experiments on the action of poison on plants in 1865, the movements of plants had a great attraction for me. For Mr. Darwin I made some experiment on digestion in insectivorous plants in 1875. All the experiments I have yet seen are crude in comparison with yours, in which you show what a marvellous resemblance there is between the reactions of plants and animals."

The Royal Society of Medicine.

The Royal Society of Medicine holds the same high position as the Royal Society of London. So impressed was Sir Francis Champney with the importance of my Master's work in furthering the science of medicine that the Secretary on behalf of the Royal Society of Medicine sent him the following invitation :—

"I am instructed by the President of the Society to write to express a hope that before you return to India you will be able to give a demonstration of your work on the 'Reactions of Plants' before this Society, preferably in October or November

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next, as the meetings for the present Session are practically over.

"Your Lectures on this subject have evoked much interest in the medical profession, and through this Society and its 'Proceedings,' in which your lecture would be published, you would reach practically all the leading members of the profession in this country."

My Master's period of deputation was now over, but the Society cabled to the Government of India to extend his stay in the West to enable him to give the Address and this Extension was readily granted.

A very representative gathering of the leading physicians and surgeons met to hear the Address illustrated by experiments. My Master spoke how in the scientific study of drugs the aim should be to get at the very fundamental reaction of drugs on the simplest protoplasmic mechanism of the plant for it would be admitted that it was only by the study of the simpler phenomena of irritability in the vegetal organism that we could ever expect to elucidate the complex physiological reactions in the animal tissues. He would demonstrate the similar physiological characteristics in the vegetal and animal organisms. He then spoke of the action of the various stimulating and depressing agents, such as constant electric current, various drugs, and poisons, on the contractile, the conducting and rhythmic tissues of the plant. He explained that the normal effect of a drug on the plant was profoundly affected by two other factors, first, the influence of dose or strength of application, and the second, the change induced in the tissue by the cumulative action of stimulus, in consequence of which the response of the organism underwent a complete cyclic change. The remarkable discovery of this last factor, that of the Molecular Cycle, solved the hitherto obscure phenomenon which caused the greatest perplexity in medical practice. He explained that a given agent might cause a certain effect on one individual and an altogether different effect on another—"what is one man's meat is another man's poison." This he showed was due to the cyclic molecular change in the tissue determined by its past history. The same phenomenon of morbid response may be due to fatigue on one side of the Cycle or lack of stimulation on the other side. In the one case stimulation would kill, in the other it would tone and revivify. Doctors would find analogies in their practice to both these states and might realise that the stimulating remedy which would save one patient might finish the next, failing the differential diagnosis based on the characteristic properties of the Molecular Cycle. His Address, which had been followed with wrapt attention, concluded with this peroration :—

"I have given in this brief address accounts of my experiments which bring the plant much nearer to us than we ever thought. We find that it is not a mere mass of vegetative growth, but that its every fibre is instinct with sensibility. We find it answering to outside stimuli, the responsive twitches increasing with the strength of the blow that impinges on it. We are able to record the throbbing of its pulsating life and find these wax and wane according to the life conditions of the plant and cease with the death of the organism. We have seen the whole plant is made one by connecting threads, so that the tremor of excitation initiated at one place courses through the whole, and how this nervous impulse, as in man, can be accelerated or arrested under the several actions of drugs and poisons. In these and in many other ways the life reactions of plant and man are alike; thus through the experience of the plant it may be possible to alleviate the sufferings of man."

How highly is regarded the honour of being asked to deliver an address before the Society will be realised from the fact that the only other distinguished foreigner who was similarly honoured was the famous Metchnikoff. What influence it had on the members of the medical profession may be gathered from the following letter addressed by the Society to the Secretary of State for India :

The Royal Society of Medicine
Nov. 3rd, 1914

To
The Right Honb'le
Marquess of Crewe, K. G.

My Lord,

I have pleasure in reporting to you that as the result of your kind permission Prof. J. C. Bose, C. S. I., C. I. E., M.A., D.Sc., lectured here before the Fellows on Friday last to a large and representative audience, including many of the leading members of the Medical Profession, under the Chairmanship of Sir Henry Morris, Bt.

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The lecture was one of the most successful we have had yet and evoked the keenest interest in the audience, Sir Lauder Brunton, Bt. and others taking part in the discussion, and warmly congratulating Professor Bose and the Society on the value of his work. Since then I have received many expressions of appreciation that the Society was able to offer to its Fellows such an interesting demonstration of an entirely new departure in biological science.

ARTHUR BALFOUR.

Our stay in England was drawing to a close as the Master received urgent invitations to give a series of lectures before the leading Universities in the United States, the Academy of Science of New York and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Before we left we had a most interesting visit from Mr. Balfour, the ex-premier, and the present First Sea Lord. Perhaps no one is held in such high regard by all parties as this great philosopher. "Punch", which belongs to the Liberal party, always calls him "Prince Arthur" after the prince of the Arthurian legends, for his high chivalry. He is related to many of the great scientific men in England, himself being the nephew of the late Lord Salisbury, who was not only a great political leader but also a distinguished chemist. His sister is Lady Rayleigh and his nephew is Honb'le Mr. Strutt, whose work on electrons and radio-active bodies is well known. His younger brother, the late Professor Balfour, is regarded as one of the greatest Embryologists of the age.

One seldom meets with a man of such high culture and of such wide and varied interest. My Master that day met a mind which put him to his highest mettle. The eager questions which the philosopher put at the beginning of every experiment were most stimulating. At the conclusion of each demonstration he would break forth with the remark, "Since you have proved this, it would perhaps be possible to carry it further and win yet a higher step." But that was the very experiment that had been arranged for the next demonstration. In this way step by step was built up before the astonished visitor a great structure, beginning with the universal molecular responsiveness which lies behind all excitation, to its more complex manifestation in organised structures. Then rose the question of these recondite conditions on which life depends and at the arrest of which life passed into non-life. How with simpler structure there is potential immortality; with the ascent to higher grades how the molecular unstability becomes more and more pronounced with the concomitant easier upset by changes of environment, which led to greater range of consciousness and the penalty of which was ultimate death. The demonstration of Nervous Impulse in Plants led to the question of sensatiou itself; how this sensiferous impulse originated in a wave of molecular disturbance in the highly complex neurile structure; and how the tone and quality of sensation, pleasure or pain, was determined by the extent of this fundamental molecular upset in response to stimulus, internal or external; how every shock gave rise to an impulse which potentially bears within it the possibility of both pleasure and pain; how it is possible to vary one at the expense of the other by modifying the directive movement of the molecular wave; how man is not, thus, after all a mere creature at the mercy of external circumstances, but has within himself a power by which he can modify the molecular disposition on which the quality of sensation depended.

BASISWAR SEN.

"THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY"

III.

THE second part of Dr. Spooner's paper published in the July (1915) number of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal deals with other points which we intend to examine and see how far they can appeal to our average powers of reasoning and common sense. The warm enthusiasm and confidence with which he proceeds to deal with them melt away like summer clouds when the intense light of logical reasoning and scientific analysis is brought

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to play upon them. Assumptions improved and crude are to be found broadcast in the paper and no special technical skill is required to point them out. Things unworthy to be placed in the niche to arrive at conclusions equally unwarrantable. "The inference is thus direct," he goes on, "that the palaces to which the Mahabharata refers are those of Pataliputra"!*

What can be more startling than this? In the Mahabharata the reference is in very general and vague terms to palaces. Dr. Spooner has found in the accounts of the Chinese travellers a reference to the magical origin of Pataliputra. The palaces in the *Mahabharata* are also described as owing their origin to the magical skill of Maya; hence, by a curious synthesis, countenanced only by some outlandish logicians belonging to Dr. Spooner's School, the conclusion is at once jumped to, namely, that in the Mahabharata the reference is to the palaces of Pataliputra.

Then he quotes from the Mahabharata the following passage:—

दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादाः हि मया कृताः।

The simple meaning of the passage as we understand it is this:—

"Oh Partha! In former times the palaces of the Danavas were built by me (i.e. Maya)."

The passage has been tortured to yield the meaning suitable to the purpose in view and so the learned scholar finds a very remarkable reference in the Mahabharata to the palaces at Pataliputra and understands it to mean that "these structures were erected for the Danavas." Such logic and such scientific method are now going to be introduced in Archaeology by a prominent member of the Archaeological Department of India!

Then again he says:—

"But if the monarchs for whom Persian palaces were built by a divine spirit reminiscent of Ahura Mazda were themselves non-Hindu, as the Mahabharata implies, it follows obviously enough, that they must have been Iranian in race and Zoroastrian in faith."†

Now let us analyse this piece of argument. This involves three statements: (1) the palaces were built by a certain person, human or divine, for some monarchs; (2) the builder was reminiscent of Ahura Mazda; and (3) these monarchs were non-Hindu. Hence, he concludes, these monarchs must have been (a) Iranian in race and (b) Zoroastrian in faith.

Now if the premises be taken one by one they will be found all to be false. Let us take up no. 1. We have already proved it sufficiently to enable us to say that Dr. Spooner has failed absolutely to prove any trace of Persian influence in structure of the so-called palaces unearthed by him, so that, the statement embodied in premise no. 1 cannot stand. The attempt of Dr. Spooner to establish the equation of Ahura Mazda—Asura Maya has not been successful: so that the truth of premise no. 2 cannot be established. Nowhere in the Mahabharata is it to be found that the palaces in the Sabhaparva were built for non-Indian kings. Maya simply asserts his claim as an architect, as one who is versed in building palaces and had built certain palaces for Danavas in the days of yore. Therefore the conclusions drawn by Dr. Spooner cannot be said to be correct.

Now let us take up the next equation assumed by Dr. Spooner as true and brought up as an evidence in support of his theory. The word *Maurya* can never be equivalent to *Mourva* or *Margu*. No scholar has ever attempted to propound such an arrant absurdity. Dr. Spooner thanks Mr. Jayaswal for having put him "on the track of this important evidence." But if Mr. Jayaswal had done so, we cannot say that he did so in a very serious mood, for he denies it altogether in the pages of the journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society.* If he had changed his opinion of late, it would be all the more apparent that he did not bestow any serious consideration on the subject when Dr. Spooner wished to have his views, or that he playfully suggested something which he himself never believed.

The next evidence brought up by Dr. Spooner turns upon the weights of the punch-marked coins. He cites the authority of Mr. J. A. Decourdemanche, who has attempted to prove that the weights of the punch-marked coins do not agree with Manu's system.† But the conclusion arrived at by the French savant cannot at the present stage of the discussion be regarded as conclusive or accepted as final. And that the system of weights found in

* J. R. A. S., 1915 pp. 405-406.

† J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 406.

* J. B. O. R. S. Vol. 2, pt. 1.

† J. A. 1912 pp. 117-132.

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the punch-marked coins agree with that of the Achaemenian system has yet to be proved by the examination of a still larger collection. So long as such an examination is not made, the conclusion that the punch-marked coins were derived from the Achaemenian ones cannot be accepted as final.

Then follows the remarks on Hindu symbolism. "The branch," Dr. Spooner goes on to say, "which as such is untraceable in Hindu symbolism, is intelligible as the sacred branch of Hom, in which the Archangels brought to earth the Guardian Spirit at the time of Zarathushtra's birth."* Can any one of us who are mere lay people expect such a remark from one who is by profession an archaeologist and has been so long working with credit in the field of Indology? Dr. Spooner's remarks on the Indian symbolism shows that he has yet much to learn and wait still a good many years before any of his utterances on the subject could be regarded as of value. He is altogether ignorant of Indian symbolism. The branch of the sacred tree is a well-known symbol in the Vedic and the post-vedic rituals. If Dr. Spooner finds time and opportunity to go in for a more intimate acquaintance with the Vedic ritualism he will find references to branches of many trees which were regarded as sacred from various points of view. The anthropologists would tell him about the ancient prevalence of tree worship in India, and this fact is established by frequent references to sacred trees in the Vedas, and also by the statement of Q. Curtius that the companions of Alexander the Great noticed that the Indians "reputed as gods whatever they held in reverence, especially trees, which it was death to injure."† This ancient reverence for the trees was only recognised by Buddhism and adapted to its more advanced mode of thought.

The humped bull Dr. Spooner readily explains with reference to the Bull of Mithra. "While the taurine (never hitherto explained)," goes on Dr. Spooner, "reproduces the ancient emblems of the Persians, which was in the form of a bull's head. And let me note that it occurs also on Sassanian coinage."‡

In reply to what has been quoted above we might inform him that the humped bull is also an ancient symbol and was held sacred long before its association with Siva. The taurine symbol has not yet been fully explained, and nothing can be said about its antecedents, or its provenance, unless new facts are discovered and new light is thrown on the subject of ritualistic symbolism. Can Dr. Spooner prove its exclusively Sassanian origin? Its mere occurrence in the Sassanian coinage does not enable us to say that the symbol is of Persian origin. Let us also note that the *svastika* symbol occurs in the olden form of the Chinese coinage; would it, therefore, be legitimate to conclude that the svastika was originally a Chinese symbol?

The next point that has been made much of by Dr. Spooner is the "so-called Caitya symbol." There is nothing significant in this. The Caitya of the numismatists is really the mount Meru of the Jains. Students of Indian numismatics have never attempted to understand the real bearing of the Indian symbols and have made more blunders in their interpretation than the workers in any other field of Indian antiquarian researches. The views of Sir John Marshall with regard to the Mesopotamian origin of the so-called Caitya symbol cannot be accepted unless further proofs are brought up.

If Dr. Spooner had taken the trouble of seriously studying the ancient literature of India, he could never have had the boldness to write that chariots were "a speciality of ancient Persia." I would advise him to make himself a little more acquainted with the general literature of India before making any such assertion.

"In perfect accord," writes Dr. Spooner, "with the suggested foreign origin and import of the Mauryan name is the extraordinary infrequency of its occurrence in purely Hindu works." But Dr. Spooner should have considered another fact, namely that the Mauryas, or at least some of them, were Buddhists, and as such the mention of their names was studiously avoided in the Pauranic literature except in some rare cases.

The next point brought up is the Kharavela inscription in the Hathigumpha cave on Khandagiri. "There is no *Moriya*," says Dr. Spooner, "in that epigraph at all." There is no reason to doubt the correctness of Bhagavanlal's reading.

* J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 412.
† Quintus Curtius, *De Gestis Alex.*, viii, 33.
‡ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 412.

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Portions of the inscription which he read have now become illegible. The line in which the word *Moriya* occurred has now become utterly defaced. A few of those letters which can still be read shows clearly that Dr. Fleet's version is untenable and visionary. It is impossible to assert now that there was no *Moriya* in the epigraph. At present and in future Dr. Bhagavanlal's reading of the defaced portion of the epigraph must be accepted.

Dr. Spooner's theory with regard to the composition of the army at the head of which Chandragupta marched on Magadha is baseless. "When Chandragupta marched on Magadha," says our learned excavator of Pataliputra, "it was with a largely Persian army that he won the throne. The testimony of the *Mudraraksasa* is explicit on this point, and we have no reason to doubt its accuracy in a matter of this kind."* The statement contained in the above quotation cannot be said to be true. In *Mudraraksasa* it is stated that Chandragupta's army was composed of Sakas, Yavanas, Parasikas, etc., that is, all sorts of frontier tribes. We do not understand how Dr. Spooner can bring up the evidence of a dramatic work compiled about the twelfth century A.D. in support of his views relative to the history of the fourth century B.C. A scholar of the stamp of Dr. Spooner is expected at least to be aware of such an absurdity. But even if *Mudraraksasa* were a work of undoubted historical value, nowhere has it been stated there that the Persian element predominated in the army of Chandragupta.

Dr. Spooner next speaks of the introduction of a script by Chandragupta and says "the script he introduces is of Achaemenian origin."† This statement fails to appeal to our understanding.

Will Dr. Spooner tell us what script was introduced by Chandragupta and what evidence is there with regard to the statement that a particular script was ever introduced by Chandragupta the Maurya?

Was it Kharosthi? This was introduced long before his time; and as for Brahmi, it was introduced centuries earlier.

The next point turns upon the statement that Chanakya was a Magian. Dr. Spooner's grounds for such a statement are the mention of astronomy among the Vedangas and the dedication of his work to Sukra and Vrihaspati. Enough already has been said about this by Mr. Berriadale Keith in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic society,* and we refrain from repeating what has been said elsewhere by a scholar of considerable note.

Dr. Spooner is perhaps wrong in his interpretation of the passage quoted by him from the Vishnupurana. "Angirasa is one of the Vedas in Sakadwipa."* Well, but who can say that Sakadvipa is Persia without committing a serious blunder in identification? Sakadvipa is Indo-scythia. Dr. Spooner admits that at that time there was no caste system in Persia and yet the account of Sakadvipa, on which Dr. Spooner mainly relies, is explicit about the existence of four castes there. The Bhavishya Purana is not a reliable history, yet if one has to rely on it he must admit that Sakadvipa cannot be identified with Persia.

Then comes the statement that in Magadha there was an ancient settlement of Magas. Of these we have two classes of Brahmins, namely, the Sakadvipis and the Acaryas of Bengal. These might have come into the country and settled here, fleeing from their own native land at the time of Zoroastrian ascendancy. There is nothing to show that Magas were Zoroastrians, rather their retirement from the land proves the contrary. The main centre of these foreign settlers was not Magadha, as Dr. Spooner is led to believe. They were scattered, as they are at present, all over Northern India from the Punjab to Bengal.

The next step that Dr. Spooner has taken is equally false. He ventures the statement that, when the *Prabodhachandrodaya* speaks of Magadha as the *mlecchaprayaa janapadah*, it must be that reference is made in the passage to the Zoroastrian settlers from Persia. We do not understand how he could arrive at such an interpretation. We understand the passage in the *Prabodhachandrodaya* to mean that these regions were inhabited by people who had become almost heterodox in their opinions and manners. The evidence of *Prabodhachandrodaya* which dates, according to Goldstucker, from the end of the twelfth century A.D. is not reli-

* J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 416, 417.

† J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 417.

* J.R.A.S., 1916, p. 140.

† J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 422.

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able owing to its not being a contemporary record. Another thing that goes against its being taken as a piece of historical evidence is that it is a Brahminical work in which the Buddhists and the Jains are equally held up to ridicule. So it is no wonder that the Buddhist Province of Magadha would be styled *mlecchapraya janapadah*.

The stern silence of Megasthenes on the subject of the Persian origin of Chandragupta, or his affinity with the race, may be regarded as a conclusive proof of the fact that the Mauryas were neither Persian in origin, nor Zoroastrian in faith.

The evidences brought up by Dr. Spooner about the Persian origin of Buddha and his religion are as unreliable as any other that we have dealt with in the course of our article; and besides, another worker in the field of oriental research has come forward already to analyse the evidences brought up by Dr. Spooner on the subject.

We think we have said all that we felt it necessary to put forth for the sake of truth and have tried to offer to our readers a complete analysis of Dr. Spooner's theories and methods. If our criticism be challenged, we shall always be ready to substantiate our statements with further corroborative evidences.

NIMROD.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

THE report of the committee appointed by the Bengal Government to enquire into the general state of discipline at Presidency College, Calcutta, with special reference to a strike which took place on the 10th January, 1916, and to an attack upon Professor Oaten which occurred on the 15th February last, and the Government Resolution thereupon, have been published.

The Report tries to show Mr. James in a more favorable light than the accounts of the incidents enquired into which the public were in possession of previously. This attempt has not been entirely successful. For, though it appears from the Report that Mr. James said and wrote to Mr. Oaten what was proper, he left the students entirely in the dark as to what he was doing. They were, therefore, justified in concluding that their Principal was not just and sympathetic. Their strike was, therefore, not so unjustifiable as the Report would have us believe. Perhaps Mr. James wanted to save the prestige of Mr. Oaten by not telling the boys what he had said or written to him. This was an unwise thing to do. And it showed want of strength and firmness on his part. Mr. Oaten proved clearly unmanageable by him. The strikers did not deserve any punishment, particularly after they had made up their quarrel with Mr. Oaten. The general fine ought to have been entirely remitted. As the boys were satisfied with Mr. Oaten's expression of regret, they had a right to think that their apology too had been accepted in the same spirit and had put an end to their troubles. Instead, they found that they had not been forgiven,—most of them had to pay the fine. An dthe college was closed in addition, which was a great blunder and injustce. Of the 12 recommendations of the committee, we are in entire agreement with the members as regards five; namely, No. 4 which recommends the retention of the departmental system but strongly advises that a member of a department should not be chosen as its head merely because he is a member of the Indian Educational Service, No. 5 which recommends the practical abolition of the distinction between the Provincial and Indian Educational Services, No. 6 which urges that European professors should have a competent knowledge of the vernacular, No. 7 which thinks it imperative that the Principal should take an active part in the work of instruction and thus come into direct contact with the

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students, and No. 9 which suggests structural alterations in the Presidency College buildings. The eighth recommendation which suggests that the Indian professors of the College should be graduates of special distinction, &c., is also good. Only when the Report says,

> Scholar of this stamp alone are likely to be able to command readily the respect of their students and to maintain a position of equality as professors in the company of their European colleagues.—

it seems to suggest by implication that professors of European origin are *ipso facto* superior to their Indian colleagues; though there is no such natural or general superiority, and though as a matter of fact at present the European professors of the Presidency College cannot boast of any outstanding superiority to their Indian colleagues. The eleventh recommendation is also acceptable in the main, though we do not think any inordinate expenditure incurred in providing residential quarters near the college or hostel for the European professors would result in any proportionate or appreciable good to the students, so long as India is unable to rise out of her present inferior political status and thereby banish from the minds of European professors the idea that they are "fragments of royalty."

The Resolution says:—

> With regard to the strike which occurred in January, they are of opinion that it is clearly established that some at any rate of the Students' Consultative Committee entirely failed in their duty and that, so far from assisting the Principal, some members rendered the task of the Principal more difficult by deliberate misrepresentations of his attitude. In respect of the assault on Mr. Oaten, the Committee are impressed with the gravity of the offence committed by those who organised and carried it out, and consider that they should be severely punished. As to the light thrown by these incidents upon the general question of discipline in the college, the view taken is that "it would be unjust to base on these two incidents alone a sweeping condemnation of the entire college, or to conclude that there had been any lack of strenuous and successful effort on the part of the Principal and the staff to maintain discipline in the institution." The Committee consider that, on the other hand, "the true reasons for the present condition of things must be sought for in other directions." They come finally to the conclusion in which the Governor in Council concurs that no further disciplinary action of a general nature is required, and that the Governing Body may be left to deal with any individuals who may have been concerned in the assault on Professor Oaten, and also with those members of the Stndents' Consultative Committee who were implicated in the strike.

Both the Government and the Committee think that the punishments inflicted upon students of the college as a body and on particular students have been well deserved, and they leave it to the Governing Body to inflict further punishments upon individual students who may be found guilty. So far as Prof. Oaten and other professors are concerned, the only words of criticism contained in the Resolution are "exhibition of want of tact on the part of the teachers." We have italicized below the only words of criticism of Prof. Oaten that we have found in the Committee's Report, and they are contained in the following extract from it:—

> The next day Mr. Oaten returned to the college. He was interviewed by a select number of students and the matter was amicably settled. The students admitted that there had been on their part a technical breach of rules, while Mr. Oaten expressed regret for what had happened. Mr. Oaten was enthusiastically cheered by the students when he left the college premises in the afternoon and everything seemed to have ended peacefully. It now appears that after the strike was over Mr. James called together all the European members of the staff and impressed upon them that they should not on any account touch the persons of students, as experience had shown that this invariably led to serious trouble. This demonstrates how utterly unfounded was the impression that Mr. James lacked sympathy towards the students of the college.
>
> On the day following the strike an untoward event, however, unexpectedly happened. Mr. Oaten had to lecture to some of his students in History. When he went to his class, he found that a dozen students were present, of whom ten had been absent on the day previous. He asked the students who had been absent to leave the class. As Mr. Oaten explained to the Committee, he did so to mark his disapproval of the conduct of his own students who had failed to stand loyally by him. These students thereupon withdrew from the class and complained to the Principal of the treatment they had received at the hands of their professor. The Principal sent the complaint to Mr. Oaten, who replied in writing, seeking to justify his action as a disciplinary measure. *Mr. James has expressed the opinion before the Committee that the action taken by Mr. Oaten was extremely injudicious, and in that view we all concur.*

It is clear, therefore, that the show of reconciliation with the students was insincere. Mr. Oaten had not forgiven them, and deliberately revived the quarrel, thus breaking faith with them. The students probably felt that they had been tricked into admitting their fault without receiving the pardon for their technical breach of a rule which reciprocity required. Neither in the Resolution nor in the Report is there anywhere any recommendation, suggestion or hint that Prof. Oaten should be subjected to any disciplinary action even in the gentlest manner. Yet, however heinous the offence of the students

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may be held to have been, a perusal of the Report leaves no doubt that but for the provocation given by him, or, taking the most charitable view of his conduct, but for the wrong impression created in the minds of the students by his conduct on different occasions, neither the strike nor the assault would have taken place. What Sir Rabindranath Tagore anticipated has thus come to pass. He wrote in the April number of this REVIEW :

"Now that the evil has come to light, clearly judgment has to be given and punishment to be apportioned. This is the critical time. The affair, as it stands, is hardly respectable. Therefore, for propriety's sake, if there must be punishment for somebody or other, it is just possible that it will take the line of least resistance, choosing the weak for its visitation. When the mistress of the house feels afraid of chastising her daughter-in-law, she generally finds it convenient, in fulfilling her duty, to beat her own daughter."

Attention may here be incidentally drawn to the fact that "after the strike was over Mr. James called together all the *European* members of the staff and impressed upon them that they should not on any account touch the persons of the students, as experience had shown that this invariably led to serious trouble." Evidently it was not thought necessary to call together and caution the Indian professors in this way, because being "barbarians" (we use the word in the hellenic sense), they are not accustomed to the muscular method of character-building or moral training which is instinctively resorted to by some of the hellenized and therefore superior cultured occidental professors.

The incidents which preceded the assault on Mr. Oaten are thus narrated in the Committee's Report :—

We next come to the second incident, which took place on the 15th February following. On that day, there was an accident in the Chemical Laboratory and the Professor of Chemistry was not able to take one of the classes. The lecture was delivered by a substitute, who dismissed the class five minutes before the appointed time. The students passed out of the laboratory and proceeded along the corridor. The evidence shows that they talked to each other and were possibly somewhat noisy. Mr. Oaten was very near the end of a lecture he was delivering in a room adjoining the corridor. (The room and the corridor, it may be added, are different from those which formed the scene of the first incident.) He came out and remonstrated with one of the students. As soon as he turned his back and was about to enter the room, another student in the crowd, Kamala Bhusan Bose, called one of his fellow-students, Panchanan, by name. There is no reason to suppose that the boy did so with intent to create a disturbance or annoy Mr. Oaten. Mr. Oaten, however, heard the boy call out in this way, came out of the room, caught hold of him, took him to the steward and had him fined Re. 1. The boy asserts that he was caught by the neck and was called a rascal ; Mr. Oaten, on the other hand, asserts that he took the boy by the arm and denies that he called him a rascal. Whatever might have actually happened, it is certain that the impression quickly got abroad that the boy had been rudely treated. As a matter of fact, the boy forthwith complained to Mr. James that he had been caught by the neck and called a rascal. Mr. James thereupon directed the boy to make a written complaint and to see him later in the day. It appears now that Mr. James asked Mr. Oaten to see him about the matter and to meet the boy in the Principal's room. The boy appears to have drafted a petition forthwith and to have taken it home with the intention of showing it to his father ; this draft has been produced before us ; the fair copy was filed before the Principal on the day following. Meanwhile about two hours after this incident and shortly before 3 o'clock Mr. Oaten went to the ground floor of the college premises to post a notice on the notice board. He observed a number of students (his own estimate is from 10 to 15) who were assembled near the foot of the staircase. They at once surrounded him, threw him on the floor and brutally assaulted him.

The Committee could and ought to have taken evidence to ascertain whether Mr. Oaten really called Kamala Bhushan Bose a rascal and caught him by the neck. It cannot be taken for granted that a European Professor has an infallible memory or is incapable of mendacity. As the incidents which have formed the subjects of the Committee's enquiry centred round Mr. Oaten, the utmost possible light ought to have been thrown on his interesting personality, which has not been done.

The Resolution thus summarizes the causes to which in the opinion of the Committee the incidents are due :—

3. The Committee have made a careful examination of the general state of discipline at Presidency College. They find that recently there has been some ferment among the students as a body due, in the main, to political causes, which has resulted in the spread among them of a spirit of insubordination and the existence of what is described as "a spirit of excessive touchiness." The Committee note that there is a tendency among these young men to insist upon what they consider to be their rights without a full realisation of their accompanying responsibilities. These unfortunate conditions are attributed in part to the activities of dangerous revolutionary propagandists, and to the baneful influence of injudicious discussion in the public Press of breaches of discipline. They are also, in the opinion of the Committee, due in part to the irritation caused by the division of the members of the college staff between the Indian and the Provincial Educational Services, and to the want of free intercourse between the European professors and the students, which has led on four specified occasions in the past four years, to the exhibition of want of tact on the part of the teachers and to an undue

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sensitiveness on the part of their pupils. The Governor in Council believes that the Committee have accurately summarized the disturbing influences which have been at work, and desires to express his general concurrence in their findings.

As the political causes referred to have been at work all over the country and in all Calcutta Colleges, it has to be explained why they should have given rise to undesirable incidents in the Presidency College alone. Should the ferment be characterised as anti-British, the reply is that there are other Colleges in Calcutta where there are European professors, but none of them have ever been assaulted. There have been unseemly scenes and incidents between students and particular professors in Presidency College before 1905. Were they due, by anticipation, to the subsequent political ferment of the last decade? Students' strikes happen in other countries too. Are they due to political ferment? The Committee say:

The evidence proves conclusively the presence in the college and the collegiate hostel of a number of turbulent youths whose capacity for mischief is by no means of a restricted character and who are evidently able to make their presence felt whenever there is an occasion calculated to excite the students to an outbreak against authority.

This may be true; but, as noted above, since breaches of discipline in Presidency College have not occurred for the first time in the year 1916, there having been many previous instances, is it to be assumed that that College is a breeding ground of turbulent characters, or that turbulent characters for some special reason prefer it to other institutions? Why do not other Colleges generate turbulence in youths or attract to themselves young men who are already turbulent? Why this vain effort to whitewash erring British professors and throw almost all the blame on the students?

There is no doubt that there is insubordination among some of our young men; in what country is there not? But we do not think the generality of our youth are more insubordinate than persons of the same age in other countries. On the contrary, our boys are more inclined to reverence where reverence is due. Sir Rabindranath Tagore says:—

"I know our students intimately. They differ from Western undergraduates in this, that they are eager to worship their teacher and their hearts are extremely easy to win."

Young men are sometimes apt to mistake disobedience and haughtiness for a spirit of independence and a keen sense of self-respect. Similarly their elders, too, are liable to mistake obsequiousness for reverence and its absence for insubordination, just as sometimes our growing political consciousness is looked upon by some bureaucrats as rebelliousness. This is a matter which requires very wise, judicious and delicate consideration and handling, lest in the endeavour to crush insubordination we crush the spirit of independence, too. There has been for ages so much servility in our country that it might perhaps be necessary to take the risk of the incidental and unintended growth of some insubordination, sauciness and impertinence in some thoughtless young men, in order to ensure the gradual attainment by Indians of the proper erect human posture. Insubordination is sometimes the morbid form which assertion of independence or self-respect takes.

"But it may be asked," writes Sir Rabindranath Tagore, "whether teachers should put up with every form of students' wildnesses.

My answer would be that students will not go wild. They will act with respect, if they themselves get their due respect from the teachers. But if the students' own race or religion is insulted by the teacher, if the students know that for themselves there is no chance of justice, and for professors of their own nationality no fair treatment, then they are bound to break out into impatience; and, indeed, it would be a thousand pities if they did not."

The Report shows that some of these causes of "impatience" existed in Presidency College.

The following extract from the Committee's Report will show why they attribute excessive touchiness to the students:—

We cannot refrain from mentioning the harm done by the occasional use of tactless expressions by certain European professors in adressing students. For instance, evidence has been given before us to the effect that a professor of the college as Chairman of a meeting of students in the Eden Hindu Hostel once said in substance that, as the mission of Alexander the Great was to hellenise the barbarian people with whom he came into contact, the mission of the English here was to civilize the Indians. The use of the term "barbarian" in this connexion in its literal Greek sense, i. e., "non-hellenic," was misunderstood and engendered considerable bitterness of feeling. It is also plain that, although the true meaning was subsequently explained, the explanation reached only a small proportion of those who had heard the original version. We also had evidence to the effect that a young European professor asked certain students in the Presidency College why they were howling like wild beasts; another asked on a

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different occasion why they were chattering like monkeys; while a third is reported to have enquired of his students why they had behaved like coolies. Only four such instances have been reported to us as having occurred in four years, but reports of these have spread and have not been forgotten. We are convinced that in none of these instances had the professor concerned any ill-will towards the students or a desire to wound their feelings; yet the deplorable fact remains that these unfortunate expressions have been interpreted as an index of ill-will on the part of the professors towards their students or towards Indians in general. We are equally convinced that if a healthier tone had prevailed generally among the students these expressions would probably not have been interpreted as they have been.*

We may finally add that the evidence shows the existence of what may be called a spirit of excessive touchiness amongst students of the rising generation. They have a very keen sense of what they call their rights but we have unfortunately not gained the impression that they are equally alive to their responsibilities. This characteristic is, in our opinion, a matter for serious concern.

The Committee have taken a very charitable view of the use by certain European professors of some expressions which are not excessively complimentary. We do not see how the explanation of "barbarian" as "non-hellenic" makes the European professor's remark entirely inoffensive. Without discussing the historical question of Alexander's real motive in trying to conquer the then known world, it may be said that if he wanted to hellenize the "barbarians" (in the Greek sense), it was because in his opinion the Greeks were superior to the barbarians. Similarly, if in the European professor's opinion, the mission of the English here was to civilize the Indians, that means that the Indians are uncivilized. We are entirely against fostering a spirit of boastfulness in our countrymen, young or old. But, though it is not good for us to attach undue importance to the following words of Sir Thomas Munro, written a century ago, Englishmen, particularly Western teachers of our youth, may with advantage bear them in mind:

"I do not exactly know what is meant by civilizing the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient; but if a good system of agriculture, if unrivalled manufactures, if the establishment of schools for reading and writing, the general practice of kindness and hospitality, and above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy towards the female sex, are among the points that denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior in civilisation to the people of Europe."

Though it would be unwarrantable dogmatism to assert that no Englishman comes to India with the conscious mission of "civilising" her people, the plain truth is that the English originally came to India to shake the pagoda tree, and, speaking generally, they still come here with the same object. India gives them careers and a field for training and for the exercise of power. Not that they do not do any good to India. They do both harm and good. But just as it is not their intention to do us harm, so it is not their main or direct object to do us good. Harm and good are incidental. The main and direct object is self-interest. An unfounded claim does not increase our love and respect for him who makes it. But supposing Englishmen really are here to civilise us, it cannot be very pleasant for us to be reminded that we uncivilised folk require to be civilised.

To liken students to wild beasts, monkeys and coolies, may not indicate any ill-will towards the students or Indians in general, but it certainly betrays contempt for them. One can bear to be hated, but to be despised is harder to bear. For it is their equals and superiors that men generally hate, but they despise only those who are considered inferior. Assumption of superiority is offensive, both when people express contempt for others as well as when they play the role of patrons. The relation of teacher and student should not offer any scope for such displays.

As for the "spirit of excessive touchiness," if it exists, we should consider it a symptom of reaction from the spirit of excessive servility and the consequent insensibility to insults that have prevailed too long in our country. Touchiness is not good in itself, but it may be valuable as a mark of returning self-respect. Moreover, we do not see any evidence of touchiness in taking offence at being called "barbarians" (even in the Greek sense), "monkeys," "wild beasts," and "coolies." With regard to the last word, we may be permitted to observe that an honest coolie (and there are innumerable such persons) is as good a human being as any others, Indian or European; it is only the contemptuous use of the word which is objectionable.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore considers extreme sensitiveness a natural and universal symptom of adolescence, not a peculiar defect of Bengali boys and youngmen. He says:—

I cannot hold it to be true, that the mental atti-

* "Mr. Maitra does not share the view indicated in this sentence." *Committee's Report.*

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tude of the Bengali student is a kind of special creation, unique in the region of psychology.

Students, at the College stage, are always in a state of transition. For the first time in their lives, they have come out of school discipline into freedom. And this new freedom is not merely outward. Their minds, also, have left the cage of syntax, and spread their wings into the open air of ideas. They have gained their right to question, and their right to judge for themselves.

This transition period of life is full of sensitiveness. The least insult pierces to the quick. On the other hand, the simplest suggestion of love makes the heart glad. This is the time, therefore, when the influence of human contact is most powerful, because this is the time when man is moulded by man.

The truth of this has been acknowledged everywhere. Therefore we have in our scriptures the verse: "When the son has attained his sixteenth year, his father must treat him as a friend."

A text like this implies, that at the adolescent stage it is necessary for the growth of life, that the son should know his father as a man, and not as an engine of discipline.

This is the reason why, in all countries, university students are raised to a level, where they come nearer to their teachers and have living contact with them. This is the age when students, having completed the rudiments of education, begin to assimilate humanity itself; and such a living process can never be gone through, except with freedom and self-respect.

Because such is the case, lads at this particular age become almost hyper-sensitive about their dignity. As, when a young child attains the age of mastication, its teeth come through with an inflammatory disturbance, so when the time has arrived for a lad to cut his wisdom teeth, his sense of self-respect becomes almost painfully aggressive.

This, again, is the age when students are apt to break out into unexpected explosions. Whenever the relation between the teacher and the student is natural, these are allowed to pass by in the main current of events, just as drift and refuse are swiftly carried away in a flood tide, but become objectionable if deliberately dragged up to the surface in a net.

There is a law of Providence, which brings even Bengali students to years of discretion, when their inner faculties blossom out in self-expression. They aspire to attain the dignity of manhood, and their soul is eager to worship greatness wherever found. They are both self-assertive and receptive of outward influences at the same moment. They need sympathy and inspiration and a large atmosphere of life. But to invent disciplinary grinding machines for manufacturing lifeless pulp out of these human souls is a saerilege against God.

The Committee observe that "they (the rising generation) have a very keen sense of what they call their rights, but we have unfortunately not gained the impression that they are equally alive to their responsibilities." This is a very vague remark, which would be applicable to elderly men, too, in India, and in many other countries as well. For instance, in Bengal, elderly men clamour for their rights, but do they adequately do their duties to the poor and illiterate and the famine-stricken? Many young men have been found self-sacrificing in this respect. They have given freely of their time, energy and money. Englishmen highly value their right to enjoy their liberty and property; but if they had all been equally alive to the responsibility of defending their liberties and belongings, there would have been no need for the Compulsion Act. It would have been helpful if the Committee had told us in what respects the students are more irresponsible than the generality of men and of Indians. In the relief of distress caused by flood and famine, on the occasions of bathing festivals, as Congress and political, social, religious and literary Conference volunteers, students display a sense of discipline and show that they are alive to their responsibilities in positions involving hardship, privations and possible danger. They have many faults, no doubt, but to enable them to reform themselves, it is necessary to point out definitely wherein they have failed. There are undoubtedly scoffers, pleasure-seekers, and effeminate and characterless men among them. But we do not think irresponsibility is a general characteristic of Bengali students.

The complaint that studends are irresponsible is heard in other countries, too. For instance, in an article on the Ethics of College Students contributed to the *Harvard Theological Review* (published by Harvard University) by President George Harris, LL. D., occurs the following passage:

"Have college students a code of ethics in any way peculiar? It is thought that their notions of right and wrong are twisted, differing in some respects from the commonly accepted code;...that the individual is sub-ordinated to the community and does not assert himself against college sentiment, which is often wrong; that, in general *freedom from restraint and sense of irresponsibility* mark the college student."

But President Harris does not support these charges. On the contrary he says:

"I think that, so far as there is any ground for these suspicions, it is in the carelessness and thoughtlessness of youth rather than in any conscious immorality, or that it is found in love of fun. I think also that the great majority of students act under a very high ethical standard."

Rights and responsibilities undoubtedly go together. Every right has its corresponding duty. But every duty, too, carries with it a right. Anglo-Indian bureaucrats, professors, and exploiters have lectured to us on our duties, but have generally turned a deaf ear to our demand for civic rights. What wonder if young men should

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make the opposite mistake of valuing their rights without being alive to their responsibilities,—supposing, of course, that the committee are correct in their diagnosis?

One of the recommendations of the committee runs as follows :—

(2) The Consultative Committee of students has we understand, been disbanded. If the Principal desires to reconstitute the Committee in future, he should himself nominate the members on the recommendation of the professors. The system of election which owed its origin to the natural wish of the Principal to secure a Committee whose views would represent as closely as possible those of the general body of students, has proved a failure, as it has brought on the Committee students of what may be called the demagogue type who are not necessarily the most desirable members from an intellectual and moral standpoint.

We think the conclusion of the Committee (which has been accepted by the Government) that the system of election has proved a failure has been rather hasty. One or two incidents do not suffice for a generalisation. Numerous instances can be given from English parliamentary history of the house of commons making grave mistakes on momentous occasions and of members criminally abusing their position. Such has been the case with elective bodies in other countries, too. Yet, inspite of all the faults of the elective system, it has not yet been declared a failure anywhere. The system of nomination is certainly not better. The nominated students are not likely to enjoy the confidence of their fellow-students and have the same influence over them as those whom they might elect; nor are they likely to be in a position to correctly represent the wants and grievances of their classes.

It seems to us that if we really want representative government, as we seem to do, it would be necessary to accustom the rising generation to representative methods. Let us here briefly describe what is done in America.

All schools and colleges are little republics in which the internal affairs of the student community are governed and administered by officers elected by themselves. Every year the students of each Department elect their officers and also a council which regulates all matters relating to discipline. All complaints of misconduct or misbehaviour are reported to them and their decisions are reported to the head of the Department for necessary action.

Theoretically the Head of the Department may or may not act on the recommendation of the students' council but in practice he *must*. The President of a University or a College can interfere with a decision of the Students' Committee no more than the king of England can with the decision of the cabinet.

As regards the results of this system of student government, we learn from the *Cyclopedia of Education* published by Macmillan :

"The large universities officially do not attempt to control the private life of the students, except in cases of notorious misconduct. Drunkenness and licentiousness are generally acknowledged to be less common than formerly. Classroom discipline has become unnecessary, and cases of intentional disorder, collective or individual, are rare, though sometimes there is a demonstration against an unpopular professor or a ruling believed to be unjust. In some institutions, notably the universities of Princeton and Virginia, the "honour system" of examinations * prevails and proctors are dispensed with,....." Volume V, p. 437.

The system of election ought to be given a fresh trial in the Presidency College and introduced in other colleges as well. Should it be felt imperatively necessary in the beginning to give the principal and staff some power over the constitution of student committees, the students may be asked to elect from among themselves four times the actual number of members required, from whom the principal and staff may select one-fourth.

The Governor in council accepts the suggestion of the committee that the Governing Body of the Presidency College should be reconstituted so as to make it more representative and bring it into closer touch both with Government and with the public. Neither the Resolution nor the Report tells us how the two representatives of the Indian community are to be selected. They should obviously be ex-students or representatives of the guardians of the students. Nomination may not succeed in securing men able to voice independent Indian opinion. We do not see why a representative of the non-official European community should be in the Governing Body. That community does not send its youth to the Presidency College, and therefore has no *locus standi*. Nor is that community famous for its expert knowledge of educational questions, or for its interest in the higher education of Indians, unless

* Under which, in examinations and recitations, "every student signs a pledge on his paper that he has neither given nor received assistance, and there is no faculty or monitorial watch over students in examinations; the system is administered by a student committee, to which any dishonesty in examinations is to be reported, and which then investigates the charge, and if it finds it true reports the offender to the faculty for dismissal." *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th edition, Vol. XX11, p. 347.

This "honour system" works satisfactorily in Sri Rabindranath Tagore's school at Bolpur.

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its anxiety to retard or stop that education be called by the name of "interest in the higher education of Indians." We are decidedly of the opinion that a representative of the non-official European community has no business or right to be in the governing body of the Presidency College. The Committee wish to see the growth of an *esprit de corps* in the College. But unless the students and the staff enjoy full self-rule, and outsiders cease to have anything to do with its internal affairs, the growth of such a spirit is not possible.

The Committee observe :—

The circumstances to which the pernicious influence of this class of students may rightly be attributed are not far to seek, and, as will presently appear, they have been in a large measure beyond the control of even the most devoted and efficient Principal. (1) In the first place, we hold it undeniable that during the last ten years there has been a ferment amongst students in general, due mainly to what may be called causes of a political character which need not be described here in detail. This has led in many instances to a manifest spirit of insubordination and reluctance to render unquestioning obedience to rules and orders promulgated by lawful authority. (2) In the second place, there is the baneful influence of obviously injudicious discussions in the public press whenever a case of breach of discipline arises in an educational institution. The harm caused in this way is incalculable. (3) In the third place, we are bound to dwell upon the possibility of a disturbing influence of a very grave character. No evidence is needed in proof of the undoubted fact that revolutionary propagandists have with considerable success carried on their work amongst students and have from time to time brought into their camp disaffected youths of even considerable ability. To what precise extent the influence of that organisation may have affected the rank and file of Presidency College students, it is impossible to determine on the evidence before us; but it is significant that the hostel premises have been searched more than once in quite recent years, though on neither occasion was any incriminating article found. We cannot ignore the fact that one student of the college has been prosecuted under the Indian Arms Act and that his conviction was upheld by the High Court. We cannot also overlook the fact that action under the Defence of India Act has been taken by Government against more than one student of the institution.

The political ferment referred to has no doubt produced some evil consequences, but it has also made our students more practically patriotic, and helpful in the way of social service, than ever before. To the call to service they quickly respond. They are ready to help. They have helped to popularise indigenous industries and taught the illiterate. There have been numerous striking instances of unquestioning and immediate obedience, of the endurance of great hardships and privations and of other forms of noteworthy self-sacrifice,—*all in doing acts of loving service*. To some of these, high officials have borne testimony. It, therefore, requires patient and unprejudiced investigation to find out why in the same class of youth, namely students, there should have been manifestations of such opposite qualities as obedience and insubordination, &c. We do not in the least want to encourage or wink at insubordination. But when we find such opposite characteristics in the same class of persons, it raises a doubt in one's mind as to whether the students alone have always been to blame. May not authority, too, in some instances have been wrong?

As regards the presence of revolutionary propaganda and tendencies, we do not attach much importance to house-searches by the police. It is well-known that very many innocent men have been interned and the houses of many inoffensive persons have been searched. One wishes to know whether the commitee had any independent evidence (not proceeding from the police) before them on this point of their enquiry; but there is no mention of such evidence in the report. Recently in England Lord Hardinge has said, and said correctly, that in India the anarchists are a mere handful, the vast majority of the population are not anarchists. If there be a few anarchistically inclined students, why should the whole class be branded? The committee themselves admit, in the extract given above, that they had not much evidence before them on this point so far as Presidency College was concerned; and they have also admitted in the opening portion of the Report that, generally speaking, discipline in the college has been not unsatisfactory.

Regarding the baneful influence of discussions in the press of breaches of discipline in colleges, the observations in the report and the resolution seem to us far too sweeping. Discussions in the press generally follow breaches of discipline, they do not precede them. If the authorities of colleges can settle their internal disputes and remove the grievances of the students, why should journalists interfere? They have sufficient other topics to write upon. Whatever qestion has a public aspect, we have a right to discuss. It is also a duty. We do not discuss the domestic quarrels of husband and wife; but

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when they come out and fight in the street, or have recourse to law, the press may discuss the social aspect of such unedifying exhibitions of conjugal love. We suppose the internal affairs of a college are not more private or sacrosanct under all circumstances than those of a family. If children have rights against parents as evidenced by the existence of laws to prevent cruelty to them, have students no rights which the press may help to safeguard and uphold? Every person in authority would like very much to have his domain declared a sort of harem or preserve where journalists may intrude only on pain of death. But publicity, with all its faults, is a great preventive of highhandedness and a means of obtaining redress. But for discussions in the press, the Committee would not perhaps have been appointed, and the many good recommendations made by them and accepted by the Government, would never have been made. We journalists sometimes make mistakes. Our judgment cannot always be depended upon. But no class of persons can claim to be free from these failings. As others exercise their functions inspite of their defects, so must we. In civilised countries the law protects children even from their parents when necessary. Are professors alone so superhuman and godlike that their dealings with their students must always remain above criticism? Students' strikes are not peculiar to this country. These and similar other things happen in other countries, too, and are discussed in the press. It is not the discussions, but the causes that lead to the strikes, etc., which the authorities ought to try to prevent. Who is the greater benefactor, the surgeon who opens a festering abscess or the man who would keep it nicely covered up?

The Committee says:—

> In these circumstances, we are of opinion that special precautions should in future be exercised in the matter of the admission of students to the college, that their conduct there should be carefully watched, and that all suspicious characters should be promptly removed from the roll by the Governing Body.

This sentence contains suggestions of a most serious character. The principal or head-clerk is not a thought-reader. How is either of them to know whether a candidate for admission is good, bad or indifferent? Are all applications for admission to be submitted to the C. I. D. for their opinion and approval? And after a student has been admitted, how is his conduct to be watched and by whom? Are spies to be engaged for the purpose? Who is to pick out suspicious characters for removal, and how? Espionage never made honorable and free citizens. It produces either revolutionaries or skulking cowards. It is mainly by appealing to and depending on the students' sense of honour that one can make men of them by helping to evolve the best that is in them. There is no other way. This method has its uncertainties, but which has not? Principals and professors would certainly inspire greater terror by exercising police functions or being in communication with the police, but they would also lose all moral influence over their students. The relation of student and teacher would be poisoned. And police rule might be gradually extended over all colleges, state, aided and private, and students might be entirely at the mercy of the police for their higher education, and in consequence all public spirit might be crushed out of them.

The Committee observe that

> The problem of the creation of a Univeesity town and the removal of the college to a more healthy and commodious site in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta and within easy reach of the Indian community whose boys receive instruction in the institution is by no means impossible of solution. The question is one of grave importance, and we feel convinced that unless it is approached and solved in a generous and statesmanlike spirit, there is no real hope for radical improvement; it is imperative that the large majority of the students—in fact all who do not reside with their parents or natural guardians—should be removed from unhealthy influence and every possible facility should be given for a free social intercourse between the students and the members of the staff, both European and Indian.

We should not be absolutely opposed to the removal of the college to a more healthy and commodious site in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta, provided it could be done without curtailing other more urgent educational expenditure, though it is plainly a superficial remedy. But we think free intercourse with European professors can do our students good only when the former are sincerely in active sympathy with the earnest desire of our youths to attain their highest possible stature morally, intellectually, politically and economically. Otherwise mutual contact can only do harm to both the parties.

A university town has certainly its advantages. But it has its defects, too. It is

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a materialization of the mediæval idea of making and keeping men studious and virtuous by removing them from temptations and distracting influences. But as the world does not require studious men and bookworms more than active men of affairs, as it does not require valetudinarian virtue so much as militant virtue, it would seem that educational institutions placed in the ordinary centres of human activity have their uses. University towns can serve the purposes only of the few who are well-to-do. The vast majority of men require colleges in the towns and cities where they dwell. Oxford and Cambridge are university towns with old-world institutions which are being gradually modernised. But no new university towns have been created in Great Britain. Instead we find new universities in such busy industrial, business and political centres as London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, Leeds, &c. The seats of continental universities like Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Petrograd, &c., of American universities like Chicago, Columbia, California, &c., and of Japanese universities like Tokyo, Kyoto, &c., are not university towns like Oxford and Cambridge. Are Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, London, &c., less full of political ferment, distractions and temptations than Calcutta? In modern times the Oxford and Cambridge ideal would seem to be rather the exception than the rule. Seeing how the want of funds is made an excuse for not extending educational facilities rapidly enough, we are not in favour of creating such an educational luxury as a university town at an enormous cost. Let the lives of our students in Calcutta and other collegiate centres be well-regulated and brought under healthy influences, as the lives of Western students are in London, Glasgow, &c.; that will suffice.

Cities are apt to be thought of only as places of temptation, where there are many sources of distraction and baneful influence. But do they not also possess great educational advantages in the broadest sense? Are there not men of culture, eminent judges, lawyers, physicians, scientists, philosophers, artists, and leaders of religious, social, political and industrial movements there, whose influence, exerted in various ways, may benefit the students? Not to speak of museums, art galleries, public libraries, and zoological and botanical gardens, one can learn much even from factories, mills, business houses, dockyards and the various activities of the port. That we do not utilise these advantages, is not their fault. Education is not confined merely to class-room work.

Dr. Abraham Flexner stands to-day in the first rank of American authorities in the field of educational science and administration. In an article contributed to the April number of the *American Review of Reviews*, he writes as follows of the extra-curricular activities of a modern school:

> "So far I have discussed the Modern School only from the standpoint of its course of study. It is time now to mention other implications of the realistic or genuine point of view. If children are to be taught and trained with an eye to the realities of life and existence, the accessible world is the laboratory to be used for that purpose. Let us imagine a Modern School located in New York city; consider for a moment its assets for educational purposes: the harbor, the Metropolitan Museum, the Public Library, the Natural History Museum, the Zoological Garden, the city government, the Weather Bureau, transportation systems, lectures, concerts, plays, and so on. Other communities may have less, but all have much. As things now are, children living in this rich and tingling environment get for the most part precisely the same education that they would be getting in, let us say, Oshkush or Keokuk [two small American towns].

We may similarly say that Calcutta students get the same education as those in Daulatpur may. But that is not the fault of Calcutta. We are not utilising our "rich and tingling environment."

Some bureaucrats may desire to have a specially created Indian university town where students would be more or less cut off from the main currents of national life, because they like the static condition in the governed, not the dynamic. We have no such desire. To English students even politics is not taboo even in Oxford and Cambridge. We know that all political propaganda are not good. But we also know that the political ferment of the last decade has produced good results, too. It has produced political consciousness in young and old. This cannot be regretted by any patriotic Indian. That students have become such useful and active social servants (a fact to which we have referred before), is due to the political ferment, whether directly or indirectly, it does not matter. It is, no doubt, necessary to take steps to prevent students from associating with or joining the ranks of the anarchists. But measures which

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re merely repressive or segregational, vill not do. The anarchists hold some sort f an ideal before the rising generation. To ounteract their propaganda, a noble and spiring ideal should be unfolded before he students. Have the authorities any much ideal? Or do they think it will do merely to tell the boys, Don't do this, Don't do that? What are they to *do*? What is the goal which will beguile their steps along the path of lifelong strenuous endeavour?

OUTSIDERS AS PUBLIC SERVANTS IN BRITISH INDIA

ORD Hardinge and some other rulers and some Anglo-Indian papers have laid down a principle that so long as he war lasts nothing of a political charac- r should be said or done which is likely to ive rise to heated controversy. But Govern- ent do not follow this principle. Last ear the Indian Civil Service (Temporary rovisions) Act was passed in England. his year in the U.P. a municipal act has een passed embodying provisions for giv- ng separate and excessive representation n municipalities to Musalmans. Now gain, on the 8th of May, Reuter cables rom London that "the House of Lords to- ay passed the first reading of the Bill sup- lementing the India Consolidation Act of 915." On none of these measures the ndian public have had any opportunity o express their opinion. Not that any pression of opinion on our part leads to y material alteration in any legislative easure; but the publication of a bill be- re it is passed has long been considered a cent thing for Government to do. Just s hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays virtue, so has the publication of a bill efore its enactment been considered a kind f deference to public opinion on the part f the bureaucracy. But the present pre- ding deities of the India Office have per- aps such supreme contempt for Indians, hat they do not consider even this nomi- al deference necessary.

Clause three of the new bill provides hat the Viceroy with the approval of the ecretary of State may declare eligible for ppointment to any civil or military office which natives of British India may be ppointed, the ruler or subjects of any tate in India, subjects of any State in erritory adjacent to India, or members of ny independent race or tribe in territory djacent to India.

In British India there are more qualified candidates for public appointments than there are posts. The vast majority of the higher appointments are monopolised by Englishmen. Under the circumstances we do not see what necessity there is for going outside the limits of British India in search of candidates for appointment. Is there any dearth of suitable men in British India for the kind of appointments which are generally given to our countrymen? For the discharge of the duties appertaining to civil offices, a knowledge of English is necessary. Such knowledge is more widespread in British India than in the Indian States. Members of the independent races or tribes in territory adjacent to India are generally innocent of any knowledge of English. It is, therefore, unnecessary to go outside British India for filling civil appointments. Still as the Indian States give employment to men from British India, and as there ought to be a growing solidarity throughout India, British or Indian, we need not object to the subjects of the Indian States getting some posts in British territory. The Indian States, too, should reciprocate. For instance, the Mysore Civil Service should be thrown open to British Indians also. As regards the independent races or tribes, we do not see how they have any right to share our official loaves and fishes with us.

The employment of the rulers of the Indian states as public servants in British India seems objectionable from every point of view. Some of them, like the Nizam, are allies of the King-Emperor. It would be derogatory for them to accept office as subordinates of even the highest British officials in India. Even the feudatory chiefs, whatever their real power or worth, hold equal rank with the governors of India. They cannot accept office

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under the latter without loss of dignity and without lowering themselves in the eyes of their subjects. But supposing they do accept office, they will go in for the highest which now fall to the lot of the most distinguished of Indian officials or office-seekers. Such competition is neither desirable, nor proper or dignified. A ruling chief accepting office in British India must neglect one or both of his duties: he must neglect either his duty as ruler, or his duty as a British official, or both. Besides the very fact of his being an absentee from his state must incapacitate him largely for the discharge of his duty to his subjects. Chiefs having an inordinate passion for foreign travel are already guilty of such neglect of duty. Why introduce an additional cause of neglect? Indian Chiefs are not so conversant with conditions in British India or with our wants and aspirations as the educated inhabitants of British India. Nor are the Chiefs generally so well-educated, or likely to be in a position to voice independent opinion if placed in high office, as some of the ablest of Indians who have hitherto held such office.

Reuter's latest telegram on the subject runs as follows:—

In the House of Lords Lord Islington moving that the Government of India Bill be read a second time drew special attention to the clause enabling appointment to be made to civil posts and military commissions of rulers and subjects of Native States and adjacent territories like Nepal. Many of these persons were now serving and had previously served in the army and done loyal and gallant service to the empire. He was confident that the proposal would give satisfaction to the rulers of those states, many of whom freely employed British subjects in their territories. These states, though enjoying a large measure of autonomy, had always been proud to consider themselves component parts of the empire and had presented our forces with some of the finest and most reliable of our fighting material. Provisions enabling selected subjects of these states to compete in the Indian Civil Service examinations and enabling the rulers and subjects to be nominated for the Legislative Councils were significant of Indian development and he felt sure that they were in full accord with the modern Indian sentiment.

Lord Inslington speaks of appointment to be made to military commissions of rulers and subjects of Native States and adjacent territories like Nepal. Considering that the bravest of Indian soldiers recruited in British India are not given commissions, it would be highly unjust to bestow them on outsiders. That European subjects of His Majesty obtain commissions whilst Indians are denied that right, is itself an injustice and humiliation. Are the Indian subjects of the king to be further humiliated by conferring a right on other Indians and Asiatics which we do not enjoy?

Lord Inslington felt sure that provisions enabling the nomination of the rulers and subjects of "these states" for the Legislative councils "were in full accord with the modern Indian sentiment." We are against such nomination. Whether elected or nominated, the members of the Legislative Councils ought to be representives of the people of the British Provinces. But the rulers and subjects of the Native States cannot be considered our representatives. Far less can any inhabitants of Nepal, Tibet, Afghanistan, China, Siam, Persia and Arabia (adjoining Aden, which is a part of the British Indian Empire) be considered representatives of British India. We speak of all these regions, as clause three is wide and elastic enough to sanction their inclusion. The British Government in India has, no doubt, to deal with the Native States and some adjacent territories. But these dealings do not form part of the business of our legislative councils. If Government wish to give a voice to the Native States and adjacent territories in these matters in a formal and constitutional manner, the place for their representatives would be in a sort of Imperial chiefs' council. When and if the whole of India becomes federated, the Native States will no doubt have their places in the Federal Council. But that time is not yet.

We have already said that a knowledge of English is an essential qualification for employment in civil offices in British India, and that such knowledge is to be found in it to a greater extent than in adjacent territories, tributory, feudatory, semi-independent, or independent. There is also no reason to believe that the help of Indian or other Asiatic men dwelling outside British India in making laws for us is considered so valuable as to necessitate fresh legislation. For these reasons we think it is military appointments rather than civil that clause three of the bill has in view. Should our conjecture be correct, it would be necessary to consi- der why Government should feel obliged to go outside British India, and even Indian India (from which sepoys are even now recruited) for officers and soldiers. Has it become impossible to find a sufficient number of eligible

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Indian recruits, or can they not be trusted? Sir Charles Elliot, a late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was so much struck by the deterioration of the physique of the Indian people that he wrote:—

"The deterioration of the physique of the population is a matter of common observation among officials, and is telling on the productive capacity of the laborers, and also on the recruiting of the Indian army, compelling government to obtain soldiers among the Gurkhas of Nepaul and the Baluchs and other better-fed peoples of the native states."

Instead of employing outsiders as soldiers, Government ought, by extensive sanitary measures and agricultural and industrial improvements, to improve the physique of the people of all the British provinces and employ them as soldiers. While the majority of the classes and races inhabiting India are considered unfit for soldiering, the importation of soldiers from outside the Empire would be felt by the people as a new yoke of the stranger imposed upon them. Nor would it add to the prestige of the British Empire to have to depend upon outsiders to prevent its dismemberment. The only creditable and effective means of keeping the empire intact is to use its own resources in men to the full. There is no race inherently unfit for soldiering. Give proper training and the latest effective weapons to any race, and they are sure to give a good account of themselves.

The proposal to employ foreign mercenaries (*i.e.*, those living outside the British Empire) is not new. The Government of India under the direction of the Court of Directors of the East India Company issued circular letters, dated 21st May and 16th June, 1858, to prominent civil and military officers then serving in India. Among the questions which the letters contained was the following:—

"Will it be expedient to enlist natives of other tropical countries equally qualified for service in India with the natives of the country; and if so, should they be formed in separate regiments or in companies, or otherwise?"

The answers which this question elicited are very interesting and instructive. There were many who supported the idea of having regiments in India composed solely of natives of foreign tropical countries. Colonel Davidson, who was Resident at Hyderabad, wrote in his letter of 7th June, 1858:—

"So far as the difference of circumstances admits, we might do well to imitate the Roman policy, which jealously excluded the employment in their conquered provinces of troops native to the place, and substituted for them men having no local sympathies of country and kindred."

Colonel Burn, who was Superintendent of Army Clothing, wrote:

"If natives of other tropical countries can be procured they ought certainly to be enlisted for service in India. I would form them in separate regiments."

"The Malays, Arabs and Kroomen all suggest themselves as the men best suited for soldiers. Afghans make excellent soldiers, and are enlisted to a large extent in the Punjab regiments. I have an idea that Chinamen, under discipline, would make good soldiers; they are strong athletic men, and would be more tractable than the Malays or Arabs."

Brigadier Coke, who commanded Moradabad in 1858, wrote:—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. "*Divide et impera*" should be the principle of Indian Government."

Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, who was Quarter-master General of the Army, was also in favor of the introduction of foreign mercenaries in the Indian Army. He wrote:—

"The more variety of race the better, and it might be practicable to get men from the Cape, from the Mozambique Coast, and from the Western Coast of the Red Sea, by establishing recruiting depots for the purpose..... Africans from the Mozambique Coast are procured for sugar plantations, both at Mauritius and Bourbon. They are an able-bodied race of men, and ought to make good soldiers."

Brigadier Hill, commanding Hyderabad Contingent, gave as his opinion:—

"The only races qualified for the military service are the Malays and the South Africans. There is a difficulty in entertaining Malays even for the Ceylon rifles, and none could be expected therefore for the Madras army. Sierra Leone would be a wide recruiting field for the army, and an agency especially for that purpose would obtain such certain annual supplies of recruits as would, I conceive, render it very advisable to raise a few corps for the Madras Presidency of this particular race; as they are known to be excellent soldiers, expert marksmen, and would doubtless be true to the Government at all times, as they would enjoy the same advantages of pay and pension as the native army are entitled to."

But the introduction of foreign mercenaries in the Indian Army was strongly opposed by many high officers in responsible situations, such as Sir John (afterward Lord) Lawrence, Mr. (afterward Sir Bartle) Frere, General John Jacob and several others.

Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier General Neville Chamberlain and Colonel Herbert B. Edwardes wrote:—

"Military service is one of the most powerful means

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of conciliation which the British Indian Government has at its disposal; but after we have given all the service that is available, it is still one of the popular complaints that we give so little. It is a necessity of our position in India that we must spend a large proportion of the revenues of the country on European soldiers, but no such necessity exists for bringing in Mahommedan, Hindoo, and Buddhist foreigners from other tropical countries. Such a policy would be felt to be oppressive, and would be departing from the benevolent desire we have ever had to rule India for the benefit of the Indians. Moreover, with the memories of 1857 still fresh, we doubt much whether the natives of India are not the most docile of coloured military races. Again, every foreign coloured soldier that you bring into India displaces an Indian soldier,—a soldier, too, by caste and profession,—who will take to no other livelihood. What would the advocates of foreign mercenaries propose to do with these displaced military classes? No statesman can ignore them. The wise policy is to feed, use, and control them."

Mr. Frere, at that time Commissioner in Sind, said:—

"Some tribes of negroes have, I believe, a sort of dog-like fidelity. But they have peculiarities of their own very dangerous to their employer, and as far as I can judge of races of whom my personal knowledge is very limited, Tartars, Chinese, or Malays, with whom your only bond of union must be the mercenary one of pay, would require an overpowering force of Europeans to ensure their fidelity."

Again, he wrote:—

I think it would be a very great, if not a fatal mistake, to look to other tropical countries out of India for recruits for the non-European portion of our Indian Army. I do not speak of what may be advisable in a sudden emergency, but as part of our ordinary system, I have heard of and I can imagine no single reason for such a step, except that such tropical foreigners will be found able to stand the sun as well as natives, and will be more trustworthy,"

"As regards the first point, their capacity for standing the extreme heat of an Indian sun, I would admit, for the sake of argument, that if men of the tribes I have heard named..... could be dropped down in the midst of a hot weather campaign, as few of them would be likely to die of mere solar heat as if they were natives of the country. But it is not heat alone which kills men in and after such a campaign, and I know of no reason for hoping that tropical foreigners would be more exempt than Europeans from the diseases which are caused by such heat, ... while they would be far more obnoxious to all that great and fatal class of diseases which are caused or aggravated by mental depression."....

"As to their superior fidelity, I think it will be more than doubtful if they are ever employed in numbers sufficient to make them a real counterpoise to the natives of India."

"They can have to us no single tie, but the mercenary one of pay, in which we may be at any time outbid. No sepoy in India can possibly be so purely and entirely mercenary as these tropical foreigners must be."....

General John Jacob was a born leader of men. He was very eccentric in his habits and manners, but his eccentricities were the eccentricities of genius. He grasped the situation so well, and took such a statesman-like view of the whole affair, that, leaving aside the question of the employment of mercenaries from foreign tropical countries, he was even opposed to the increasing of English soldiers in India. He wrote:—

"I would also remark, that it seems to me to be absolutely certain that we cannot hold India by an army chiefly, or in large proportions, composed of English soldiers, and that to attempt to do so must be attended with speedy and utter ruin.

"In the first place England could not supply the number of soldiers supposed, on the most moderate estimate, to be required for the purpose of maintaining such an army in the East.

"And again, it is clear to me, that if we could command even such a host of Europeans as the grand army with which Napoleon invaded Russia, the attempt to coerce India by such forces would only end in more complete and hopeless failure.

"The mere brute force of hundreds of thousands of men becomes powerless before that of hundreds of millions of such people as the nations of India. The whole force of the Moghul empire was never able to subdue even one of these nations—the Rajpoots.

We commend the above to those who are never tired of repeating that England holds India by the sword.

Major General Sir Sydney Cotton, commanding Peshawar Division, also disapproved of the introduction of foreigners of colour as soldiers in India. He wrote:—

"I think they would become a great burden to the state when worn out, and perhaps very tronblesome. Look at the Arabs in the Deccan in the service of the Nizam, and if I mistake not, the corps composed of Malays, Caffres, and sepoys in the British service in the Ceylon regiments in former days were not found to answer,..."

Colonel Mayhew, who was Adjutant General of the Army, said that

The only foreign troops in India should be Europeans. ..... Black races will always make common cause against white races, and should not be trusted: they would probaby be nearly as expensive as Europeans, and more difficult to keep up."

The opinions of Lawrence, Edwardes, Frere, Jacob, and other officers prevailed and thus India was saved the humiliation of being garrisoned by mercenaries of tropical and semi-tropical countries outside India. These opinions ought still to carry weight, seeing that the aforesaid officers gave these opinions inspite of their personal knowledge and experience of the greatest insurrectionary movement which the British have known in India.

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REPORT ON INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI

By C. F. Andrews, M.A., and W. W. Pearson, M.A., B.Sc.

MEDICAL aid to the Indian community has not shared the same fate as that of Education. Owing to the express regulations, sanctioned by the Government of India and enforced throughout the colony, the medical treatment of the Indian indentured population has been, on the whole, satisfactorily undertaken. The present Head of the Government Medical Department for the Islands, Dr. Lynch, has taken the utmost pains to carry out the Government regulations, not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which they were drawn up. The result has been a low death-rate among indentured Indians. One unsatisfactory feature remains,—the very high death-rate among infants. But this will never be put right, so long as the mother is forced by the very Law of Indenture to neglect her own children.

We were impressed by the ability, not only of the Head of the Department, but also of the staff which he had under him; though it appeared to us to be too small for such a highly important work. The hospital arrangements were also satisfactory. We were not ourselves able, on account of the shortness of our visit, to see any of the outlying Islands where medical aid must be much more difficult to provide adequately. But what we did see was good. We heard also from the Indians themselves about the truly noble work that was being done among the lepers on the Leper Island.

The real medical difficulties among Indians (which Dr. Lynch was himself the first to point out to us) are to be found mainly with the free population. These, both in India itself and in the coolie 'lines,' have been used to receiving practically free medical assistance in times of sickness, and they cannot reconcile themselves to beginning, late in life, to provide and pay for their own medical treatment. They are very ignorant indeed, and not seldom very poor (though some are prosperous) and it is regarded by them as a very great hardship when they are compelled to pay heavy medical fees.

To give examples, when free Indians ask for admission into the hospitals, which are built for the indentured population, they have to pay two shillings a day, unless they can prove that they are destitute. To prove this, they have to obtain a special order from the Magistrate or Immigration Officer. The delay and hindrances in getting this, during times of sickness, are often so great, that in order to obtain immediate medical aid, money is borrowed somehow, and the high fees of an English Doctor are paid. Then, afterwards, the family of the Indian, who has been ill, is weighed down by a heavy burden of debt. We were told by one man that his wife's confinement had cost him over Rs. 150 in medical fees, and that he had been in debt ever since. Not seldom, in such cases, hopelessly unskilled treatment is called in and the poor woman suffers agonies and even death. It should be remembered that there is not a single qualified Indian Doctor in the whole of Fiji. There is no possibility of treatment, also, by the Ayurvedic or Yunani system.

An English Medical Officer told us the instance of a whole Indian family, which was ordered into the hospital as a precaution against the spread of typhoid. Each member of the family had to pay two shillings a day, for as long a period as they were detained. The Doctor, who told us this, regarded this charge as a great hardship and tried to get it removed.

In Suva there is an excellent hospital which admits free Indians without any such heavy charges. It was a great pleasure to us to visit this and to find how friendly the Fijians and Indians had become towards one another under its common roof. In earlier days, for the sake of peace and quietness, they had to be kept in different wards, but now they were quite happy even when one ward overflowed into another and both races were mixed together.

We consulted with Doctor Lynch, at great length, concerning the possibility of introducing Indian doctors into the

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Islands, at suitable rates of pay, who might be able to come closely in touch with the whole Indian population. Doctor Lynch was himself entirely in favour of such an introduction. We also discussed with him the question of a complete State system of free medical and sanitary aid for all Indians alike, similar to that which we were suggesting to the Fiji Government with regard to education. In our own minds, one of the great additional advantages of two such schemes would be, that these would provide the Indians in the Colony with a respected class of their own fellow countrymen, whom they might look up to as their natural leaders.

If a considerable number of such qualified doctors were introduced from India, in addition to qualified teachers engaged in the education of the young, then in a perfectly natural manner the illiterate and depressed Indian population would obtain that very leadership which it now so sadly requires. As such men, by their very profession, would have a good standing in the Colony, they would give to the Indian community a weight and dignity which is wholly lacking at present. They would restore to the Indians themselves not only health and knowledge, but also self-respect.

The emphasis which we have laid on the need of building up, entirely anew, from the very beginning, what we have called the 'leadership' of the Indian community in Fiji, may appear strange to those who have not witnessed with their own eyes the present condition of Indians in the Islands. To us, as we saw things on the spot, this one question of 'leadership' seemed to be more important, in dealing with the future, than any other. Assuming that the present fatal disproportion of the sexes will be altered and the indenture system abolished, there is one thing further that will be required, namely, the recovery of self-respect. The free Indian population has to be built up anew into a self-respecting community,—a community in which such vices as now are rampant will be condemned in no uncertain way by public opinion. But such public opinion can only be formed by leaders; and at present no leaders exist.

If the conception of attempting to plan out a new leadership be regarded as artificial, and it is argued that leaders, like poets, are born and not made, then the answer may be given that educational and medical reforms are, for their own sake, sorely needed in Fiji. They are not artificial wants at all. Therefore, all that is asked for, or required, is that the men who are sent out to carry through these reforms should be worthy men, carefully and wisely chosen. The rest will follow of itself. Some at least, among such men will have the gift of leadership, and, what is more important still, the whole of them together will fill a gap, in what is now an entirely artificial and unnatural social structure, namely, an Indian community without any responsible leaders.

As in the matter of education, so in the case of medical aid, we have reason to believe that the Fijian Government would welcome most warmly a representative from India, who fully understood the needs of the Indian people, and could help and advise Dr. Lynch himself in carrying out his far-reaching and progressive ideas.

We discussed with the medical authorities one further question of great importance. This was the restoration of the burning ghat for the last rites of the Hindus. We found to our great surprise that the sanitary religious custom of burning the dead, along with all its ceremonial, had been entirely abandoned by all Hindus, —even by Brahmans. The insanitary custom of burying the dead, often in shallow ground only slightly below the surface, had been substituted for it. As far as we could see there was no religion, and scarcely any decency, in this function. Broad rivers and open sea shores abound in Fiji on every side, and it would be quite easy to restore the ancient Hindu custom of cremation at the water's edge if only the desire for it was still present among the people. But religion has ceased to be a daily reality among Hindus in Fiji. Things have worked themselves out in a vicious circle. The loss of outward observance has led to a decay of the inner religious spirit, while the decay of the inner religious spirit has now almost obliterated the desire for the restoration of ceremonial rite and worship. And, as we have pointed out, the abandonment of religion has led to an abandonment of morals. Whatever may help to bring back religion will help to bring back morals also.

It is a relief to turn from this chequered

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picture of light and shade to describe what we expect for the future.

When the present indenture system has been abolished and the present recruiting system stopped, we have every hope that a rapid recovery of the morals of the Indian population will ensue. With the improvement in morals, other changes will follow in their turn.

We wish to state, in conclusion, the reasons which we have for this hope.

First, our whole experience in Fiji has taught us to place a great faith in the powers of nature and of mother earth to bring back a wholesome moral life to those Indians who settle on the land. Again and again, the evidence of this fact cheered us in Fiji, and it is one of the most striking pieces of evidence which we have brought back with us. For countless generations in India, the villager has lived close to the soil and he has gained certain moral qualities thereby. He has lost these, for the moment, by the unnatural life in the coolie 'lines' of Fiji. But he has not lost them altogether. They are far too deep-seated for that. They may be very rapidly recovered. And when they are recovered, we could hardly imagine any country in the world which could give them more scope than Fiji.

It was wonderful to notice how nature, with all its beauty, appealed still to the Indian coolies, even in the midst of their squalid surroundings. They often used to speak to us about it. "Sahib," one woman said to us, "this place is more beautiful than India. But man is much worse here." This, indeed, was a commonly expressed opinion. We heard it on all sides.

Among the Indians living in the towns, squalor still prevailed. Even on the outskirts of towns the aspect of free Indian settlements was not pleasing. But far away in the country, the whole character of life was quite different. Both in Fiji, and in Natal, we found that a love of nature, and a delight in the soil, are ingrained in the Indian villager. The moment conditions are favourable, the flower of this love blossoms and healthier moral conditions follow.

The land of Fiji is still virgin soil, over vast areas. Only a fringe of the coast and of the river valleys has been touched by cultivation. The climate is very healthy indeed. It was a pleasure to see the chubby little Indian children in the free Indian settlements, so different from those we knew in malaria-stricken Bengal and in the up-country districts of India. The crops of rice and maize are good, where they have been sown, and there is no overcrowded population.

Not only is there a natural aptitude in the Indian settler to build up a healthy family life on the land, when the artificial hindrances are removed, but, in the matter of land settlement the Government is now fully awake to its own responsibilities. The Sugar Companies, also, have seen the great advantage to themselves of a free resident population occupying the soil in the neighbourhood of their cane crushing mills. Hitherto there have been great difficulties and hardships owing to the leases being held by the Fijian communal tribes. A lease could only be entered into with the whole tribe. But Government, while observing strictly the rights of the Fijians, is now at last acting for them on a great scale in the matter of leases. Thus the Indian villager, in future, will be able to obtain his land direct from Government, a method of ownership which he has been used to in India itself. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has placed fifteen lakhs at the disposal of Government for Indian settlement alone,—the rate of interest charged being only four per cent. They would be prepared to offer still greater amounts of money to Government if this first adventure turns out to be a success. The Company's capital, invested in the Islands, already amounts to five crores, so that they are able to do things on a large scale. They have now found out, by practical experience, the great value of the Indian settler as a cultivator of the soil and are anxious to retain him. Therefore, from a strictly business point of view, it is certain that they will offer to him every inducement to become an independent farmer sending his sugarcane to their mills.

Our second cause of hopefulness is the character of the administration in Fiji. There has been very much indeed in the past, which has been mistaken and even foolish. The continuance of the old marriage regulations for over thirty years is a case in point. There has been a strange negligence in getting expert advice from India, which has frequently led to disaster. The difficulty of the problem of Indian immigration was hardly realised, and things

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were allowed to go on in an haphazard way. All this, and more, might be said with regard to the past.

But we found today, in Fiji, a just and enlightened Government, sincerely anxious to do its duty by the Indians. We discovered, on our arrival, that they had already taken in hand, in a liberal and broad-minded spirit, some of the very reforms which our own experience in Natal had made us anticipate to be necessary in Fiji. The question of land settlement, was one of these. The complete revision of the Marriage Law was another. The practical abolition of all penal clauses from the present Law of Indenture was a third. Many other questions of great interest to the Indian population had been carefully considered. There were two separate committees in session dealing with these matters while we were in the Islands.

We would wish, at this point, to express our sense of the very great benefit which has come to the Indian community in Fiji owing to the visit of the Government of India's Commission to the Islands more than two years ago. It will be seen by those who have read the Commission Report that the conclusions arrived at by the two Commissioners did not go so far as our own. Nevertheless, there were facts mentioned about excessive prosecutions, frequent suicides, and sexual immorality, which were serious enough to make the thoughtful reader pause. And so far as the Commissioners had been able to reach the facts, they had attempted fairly to face them. They suggested also important improvements.

From the time of the Commission onwards, all these recent changes have taken place, and all these new schemes have been carried forward, especially those with regard to land settlement and marriage,—the two subjects which appeared to us of vital importance for Indians in Fiji. There have been valiant attempts, also, to bolster up the indenture system itself, in order to make it look respectable. Fines are to take the place of imprisonment, commutation of indenture is to be allowed, schools are to be built, coolie 'lines' are to be pulled down. The activity has been great since the Government of India's Commission came. Though we cannot but regard all these things as palliatives, while indenture is still in force, there will be much that can be utilised for further progress, when indenture is abolished.

Along with legislation, both immediate and prospective, we found that administration had gone forward also. We had a continually increasing experience, as soon as we were able to make a comparison with the past, that justice towards the Indian, both on the estates and in the courts of law, was much more impartially administered than it had been in days gone by. The old scandals of administration had almost disappeared.

The following examples may serve to illustrate some of the general statements which have been made in the preceding paragraphs.

1. We were much struck by the genuine kindly feelings towards those Indians who had taken up domestic service with Europeans. We found by chance an Indian lad in Suva Hospital suffering from consumption. He told us with touching affection how the 'Mem Sahib' had sent him down extra diet of cream every day and how the Sahib had been down to visit him. When we asked the Sahib's name, we found him to be a leading member of His Majesty's Government.

2. We were deeply interested, in the North of the Island, to see the earnest endeavour made by the manager of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to help forward in every way those capable and industrious Indians who wished to settle on the land. He had evidently bestowed great pains and forethought over this matter, and, as figures quoted elsewhere will show, he had met with considerable success.

3. We found an extremely well-conducted Indian Police Force in Suva. These Indians who were Sikhs, were paid a good monthly wage and expressed themselves, on the whole, contented with their position. They had come out under an agreement, but there was nothing about it which was servile. Their passage out was quite different from that of ordinary coolies. One of them told us he had travelled second class. They were treated well by their superior officers, who spoke highly of their men.

But the most striking thing about them was that they did not take bribes. We found out from all classes of Indians, that there was practically no bribery among the Indian Police in Fiji. We asked very

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frequently the question "Do the Police take bribes?" and the answer invariably was "No, Sahib." We felt, at once, that this was a very remarkable fact, and we determined to enquire into it thoroughly. The more we did so, the more clearly we discovered, that it was chiefly a question of self-respect,—that, and a decent living wage. With these Indian Police, self-respect had been preserved. They could live in a respectable manner, and they were treated with respect by their officers. With the Indian labourers under indenture almost every particle of self-respect seemed to have vanished.

One of the Sikh policemen put the same thing very tersely to us, from another point of view,—"Sahib," he said, "these junglis (Fijians) respect us but they do not respect our brothers (the indentured Indians.)"

Some of these policemen had come from Shanghai and Hongkong. They told us that the Fiji Police Service was the best.

In corroboration of this estimate of the Fiji Indian Police, we met an indentured labourer from Fiji, soon after our return to India, whose first complaint to us in India was that the Police in his district took bribes and committed 'zulm,' but they had nothing like that in Fiji.

4. Considerable misunderstanding has arisen in India owing to one-sided reports about the municipal vote in Suva. The vote has certainly been taken away. When we were in the Capital we condemned openly, in no measured terms, the injustice which the municipality has done in practically disfranchising the Indian citizens. But the fact remains, that, up to last year, the franchise was so wide open to all races that the Indians had the predominant vote in the elections, though ninety-five per cent of them could not speak English, and a large proportion of the remainder could not read or write in any language at all, and had to give their thumb-marks in order to register their vote. There can be no question that the election of 1914 became a farce, owing to the illiterate Indian voters registering all their votes for one particular candidate, and returning him at the head of the poll in a most unintelligent manner. What we protested against, therefore, was not the exclusion of illiterate, but the exclusion of literate voters, whose language was Hindustani, not English. That appeared to us quite unfair, and we had many promises from leading European citizens that this wrong should be righted as speedily as possible. At the same time, in spite of what had happened last year, when we went into all the facts, what struck us most was the extremely liberal character of municipal franchise in Fiji before this action took place. We felt certain that a country, which had been so very wide in its franchise once, would be liberal again, and that what had happened was only a temporary set-back, not a permanent disfranchisement. There are always tides of action and reaction in politics. The events of last year represented the furthest reaction.

We would mention in this connexion that we had many talks with the Acting Governor and the Colonial Secretary concerning the appointment of an Indian representative to the Legislative Council, in the same way that a Fijian representative had been appointed. This would already have been done, had it not been for the servile condition of the Indians under indenture and the very little chance which they have of obtaining education and thus qualifying themselves for such a responsible post. If there had been a body of Indians in the Islands from the first, of higher education and position, we feel certain that the Indian community would have been represented long ago. There was practically nothing of what might be called a 'racial' attitude on the part of the Europeans in this matter. Those with whom we talked were very keenly in-its favour.

[One of the greatest differences of all between what we found in South Africa and what we found in Fiji was this :—In South Africa the Indian community had leaders. In Fiji they had none. This has been a serious drawback to Fiji.]

5. We came across very little marked racial prejudice in the Islands. The population is much too cosmopolitan to allow of such a thing. It is usually when only two different races are face to face with one another in large numbers that the strongest race prejudice arises. When there are many races, the prejudice is likely to be less. In Fiji, this 'mingling of all races' is bound to increase very rapidly, as it has done in Honolulu and Samoa, and it is sure to bring with it the

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'cosmopolitan' rather than the 'racial' spirit. Japanese, Chinese and Samoans are coming into Fiji in considerable numbers as traders and market gardeners. There appears very little chance indeed of any very large increase of the Australian population. We were told that Fiji would never become a 'white man's country.'

One of our surprises, in the course of our travels, was to find that the Australian himself had not got any very strong race prejudice. We had misunderstood him. His 'White Australia' policy is almost entirely economic, and even that is breaking down. On board ship we were struck by the 'hail-fellow-well-met' attitude of the Australians generally towards some Indian passengers. There is extraordinarily little class distinction in Australia. A man is valued at what he is worth,—whether he is a duke, or a bricklayer.

There is little danger, therefore, that strong racial feeling will develop in Fiji from the Australian side, and if only the Indian were raised out of his present degradation, there would be no danger at all. It was interesting to see the way in which the young Australian police officers respected the Indian policemen. One of these told us that they themselves were quite ready to propose Indian commissions.

The New Zealander is if anything, still more free from race prejudice than the Australian. Indeed, in all the world, we doubt if there is any country in which race prejudice has been conquered more completely than in New Zealand. The Maories there have every political privilege. They are accepted as volunteers. They send their children to the public schools. They intermarry without any injurious marriage bar.

We found some ordinary Indian labourers at Tamaranui who were getting ten shillings a day for unskilled labour,—the full Trades Union wage. They had votes, and like the Maories, could send their own children to the public schools.

These facts with regard to our travels have been given, because the European population of Fiji comes almost entirely from New Zealand and Australia. There will probably never arise a situation equivalent to that in the Southern States of America, or in South Africa. The Indian will be judged by his character, not by anything else. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that those Indians, who go out to Fiji, should go out under decent conditions for character building. And we could imagine no personal and monetary aid more valuable than that given in spreading education among the neglected Indian population in Fiji.

6. We were able to watch the administration of justice at more than one centre. We found that there was a great amount of ignorance of Indian habits and Indian vernaculars, but we found also a very true independence from outside influence among the Magistrates in giving their decisions. The Chief Justice of the Islands has evidently done his best to increase the efficiency of the courts and to punish mal-practices. Where we felt a real weakness existing was with regard to some barristers who made their money out of Indian law-suits and the drawing up of quasi-legal agreements. Here, unquestionably, greater strictness would be wholly beneficial. The ignorant, illiterate coolie needs protection against practices which the lawyer's profession itself should be the first to discountenance.

To show the desire for justice,—in the case of a coolie at Navua, who had complained of ill-treatment while we were there, the Immigration Department took up the case for the coolie and the Acting Governor sent down the Attorney General to act on his behalf. As far as we were able to judge, every step had been taken in order to ensure justice. The case ended in the coolie's complaint being found true and the offender being punished.

7. We were much struck by the perfect freedom allowed to us by a European gentleman (at whose house we were staying) to bring Indians—often from the ordinary coolie class,—into his house in order to hear their long stories. He would come up himself and join with us in talk, as far as his knowledge of the vernacular allowed. It would have been impossible for Indian coolies to have been treated more courteously and freely; and the trouble caused to him by such a daily stream of visitors, from morning till night was by no means inconsiderable. Yet he put up with it all with the utmost consideration. The Indians, who came, felt his kindness as much as ourselves.

8. We went very carefully into the case of a European overseer who had been found guilty of committing offences with

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the women in the coolie 'lines.' The man was dismissed, and an undertaking given to Government that he should never be allowed to be in charge of coolie 'lines' again. We were told on high authority that this was always done, wherever a case was clearly proved, and that this offence has grown far less frequent in the Colony. We felt, however, that, with the state of morals among the Indian women which clearly existed (through no fault of their own, but because of the indenture system) it was altogether wrong to employ unmarried European overseers and unmarried Indian sardars. The temptation of such a position was too great. We placed before the Immigration Department and before the Acting Governor a strong expression of our opinion on the matter, and we believe that already steps have been taken so that only overseers living with their own wives, and sardars who are married men, shall in future be set over the 'lines.'

9. One excellent law is in force throughout the whole Colony, which prevents any intoxicating liquor being sold to Indians, under any circumstance whatever, without a written doctor's order. There was considerable grumbling among some of the Indians in Suva concerning this law, because it did not apply to Europeans also. But however that may be, there can be no question whatever that the law has had a very beneficial effect. It is not a law on paper. It is strictly enforced. While we were in the Islands, the case occurred of an English publican selling "sly grog" to an Indian, and he was fined seven hundred and fifty rupees, or six months' imprisonment. We never saw a single Indian who was intoxicated during the whole time we were in Fiji. This, again, is strikingly different from what we saw in South Africa. Gambling, however, is terribly prevalent in Fiji and there seems little effort made to prevent it. The street called "The Street of all Nations" in Suva (where Chinese, Japanese, Samoans, Fijians, Indians and half-castes live all mixed up together) is notorious for its gambling and vice. But there were very few signs of drink.

These are examples, which might be multiplied a hundred times over from our own experience. They gave us a strong general impression, that, whatever might have been the case in the past, the Fiji Government was now wide awake to its responsibilities, and would only be too anxious to do anything that was possible to remedy the moral evils which prevailed among the Indian population. And what was equally important, there appeared to be no strongly marked racial prejudice, which would stand in the way of ultimate Indian citizenship. We are confident that the Indians of the Colony will win, in good time, their full civic rights, just as the Fijians are now well on the way to win theirs. What is most needed is a body of responsible and educated Indians, of good position in the Islands, who will be able to represent their community when fuller rights of citizenship are given.

A third consideration, which makes for greater hopefulness, is the changed outlook towards India which has been spreading in recent years over the whole of the South Pacific, and has given rise to kindlier feelings and more intelligent views.

This change began, more than three years ago, when 'Gitanjali' was first published. We were often told in Australia how unique was the appeal which that one small volume made to thoughtful Australian men and women. It went direct to the heart, and won its way by its own inner beauty. Amid the rush and noise of modern life, in a vast and undeveloped country, it brought a message of peace. Wherever we went, we came in contact with those who were looking out upon the world with different eyes, and upon India with newer, kindlier sentiments, since they had read 'Gitanjali.' Its influence has been like a seed growing secretly. For a time it may pass almost unnoticed. But when the seed is full grown, it will bring forth much fruit.

The war had carried forward this change of outlook towards India in quite a different direction. It had touched the imagination of the masses, and had given them a new conception of the bravery of the Indian soldiers. The old attitude of the common people, which prevailed before the war, was one of blank ignorance of India, not unmixed with contempt. The new attitude is one of almost unmixed admiration.

Gallipoli had touched the masses. There could be no doubt about that. Stories of the bravery of the Gurkhas were on everybody's lips. The shops had silver kukris, made up into brooches, and Australian

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girls were wearing them. The man in the street had 'discovered' India. He had found out that India was not a land of down-trodden coolies, but a land of bravery and romance. What was more—India was suddenly found to be the next-door neighbour to Australia itself.

It is quite possible that much of this new attitude of the masses will be a war sensation only, which may die down again when the war is over. But two things appeared to us to be tending towards closeness of a more permanent kind. First the educated classes in Australia have now been deeply moved towards India in intellect and thought and this movement is not likely to die down. Secondly, the geographical closeness of Australia to India has been more clearly understood by all. The modern appliances of steam and electricity are making this nearness a patent and obvious fact. When the trans-continental railway is completed, in a year's time, Melbourne and Sydney will only be twelve days distant from Colombo. As the barriers of land and sea are thus broken down, the barriers of ignorance and prejudice will be overpassed also.

Indeed, so far had things gone from the Australian side, that, when we were travelling through the country, listening to opinions openly expressed on all sides, we seemed to find in the air a new sentiment towards India in the very making. At public meetings in Melbourne and Sydney, when we openly and plainly condemned the 'White Australia Policy', we were heartily cheered. People rose up in their places and declared before the whole audience, that educated Australians, one and all, were opposed to the disrespect shown to educated Indians in their statutes, and that the country would soon be with them in demanding a revision of their ordinance.

With regard to the abolition of the indenture system of Indian labour in Fiji there was a strong desire for this everywhere expressed. Practically all whom we met, in Australia and New Zealand, wished that indenture should be abolished without any further delay. Their great wonder was that India had not taken up the matter long before.

"Some years ago," they said, "we were in the same position with regard to our Kanaka labour in North Queensland. The revelations made by the Royal Commission on that indentured labour shocked the whole of Australia. We found that 'black-birding' (i. e. kidnapping) had become a traffic, and that immorality and suicide were rife. We had no peace, till we had abolished the whole evil."

The figures which we mentioned about Indian suicides in Fiji did not come as a surprise to them. They had had even worse facts than these in North Queensland.

We felt that this new and friendly attitude of Australia towards India was of great importance to the Indians in Fiji. Australian influence is already strong in the Colony, because most of the European settlers come from Australia. Indeed, it is not at all unlikely that the Islands may pass under the direct administration of Australia and New Zealand at the end of the war. This was openly talked of in Australia as one of the probable 'war changes.' However that may be, the growth of respect for India in the South Pacific is bound to leave its mark upon the Indians settled in the Islands. A more kindly feeling and a greater willingness to help them is certain to ensue. It rests with India, the motherland of these her distant children, to give them such good conditions that they may worthily represent her in the Pacific.

A fourth consideration, which gives hope, is the present attitude of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. As the amount of their capital invested in the Islands is over five crores of rupees, their relation to Indian settlers cannot fail to be of very great importance.

One of the most difficult parts of our enquiry was to get at the real soul of this Company,—if a money-making business can ever be said to possess a soul. The composite personality of the Company seemed to be something like the character of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in Robert Louis Stevenson's novel.

On the one side, the Company appeared to be a hard business concern, exacting the last farthing of profit, grinding down the faces of the poor with less than a living wage, refusing to allow compensation for labourers, who had been maimed for life in the performance of their duty, while the shareholders were reaping profits which were so large that they had to be carefully concealed. So much for the harsher side. Then, on the other hand, we

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found the same Company in the character of a benevolent philanthropist, offering huge sums of money for Indian settlement on the land, preparing schemes for colonisation and carrying them out in practice, appearing before the Indian Government authorities with pamphlets to prove that the coolie on the estates was cared for like a favoured child of fortune,—and actually believing its own statements.

Just as in the novel, so with the Company, the extraordinary thing was this, that not one, but both characters were true. When, therefore, we write of the present attitude of the Company as hopeful, we mean that the benevolent gentleman in the concern is, apparently, overcoming for the time being the harsher element. Certainly in the past two years, since the Government of India's Commission, this philanthropic side has been more than usually in evidence. One thing is certain. The help, that the Napoleonic finance and business capacity of the Company may give to the solution of the Indian problem in Fiji, may be very great indeed.

The last and greatest cause of hope lies in the changed attitude of educated Indians themselves towards the whole question of Indian emigration. The people of India will clearly never allow such things to happen again, as have been allowed to pass unnoticed before. If today a regulation were proposed by the Government of India, that forty women should emigrate with every hundred men, it would be at once put out of court as unthinkable. This simple fact, by itself, may serve to mark the change which has taken place.

In the future, every act of the colonies, which employ Indian labour, will be scrutinised with eyes that nothing will escape. We are certain that the public conscience will never rest content, till it has swept away the last of the abuses, which have flourished like rank weeds wherever indentured labour has gone. We have now witnessed with our own eyes in two different parts of the world, what this awakened public conscience can accomplish. We base in this, therefore, more than on any other single cause, our strongest hopes for the future.

We would not wish to end this Report without paying one more tribute of respect to the Indian coolies themselves, whom we have now seen working under indenture, both in South Africa and in Fiji.

Owing to the conditions under which they have been obliged to live, we found them, men and women alike, in a degraded state. We have had to speak quite plainly and openly about that degradation. But we came away with a feeling, not so much of pity, as of respect. Their patience and fortitude and simplicity won our continual regard. Through all the evil and misery of their fate, they had kept the soul of goodness. Every now and then, some beautiful action would come to light, which showed that the sweetness of human relations had not been lost, and that the pure ideal of womanhood still held its ground. The one action which seemed to us most typical of this has already been mentioned. Yet it will bear repeating, because it sums up the whole picture which we would wish to leave impressed on the mind.

It was the scene of that group of Indian coolies, who had come many miles to see us, and brought with them the widow and her little daughter whom they reverenced and loved. With an extravagance, that was out of all proportion to their wealth, they were willing to pay any sum of money asked for, if only the wish of the widow might be granted, and she might not be compelled to leave the piece of ground, where her husband had lived and died.

We left Shantiniketan, Bolpur, on September 15, 1915, in order to go out to Fiji. The memory and inspiration of the Ashram, and of those who dwelt there, was with us through all our long journey. The freedom of its life made us the more sensitive to the misery which we witnessed in the coolie 'lines.' We remembered also constantly the villagers of India whom we had left behind. These memories gave colour to our thoughts and their influence will be felt in all that we have written. Now, when we return to India, after the voyage is ended, and see its fields and its villages once more, the longing rises that the day may not be far distant when the Indian homesteads in the beautiful Islands of the Pacific shall be a true image of the best village life of India itself.

It is impossible for us to return thanks by name to all the many friends, both Indian and European, who have helped us with their counsel and given us their hospitality. We met with a courtesy throughout our visit to Fiji that was

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practically unbroken. We were treated by the Government authorities and by the planters with a generous freedom which left nothing to be desired.

We felt this trust all the more deeply because we came without any credentials or letters of introduction. We had some difficulties at the Sydney headquarters of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in making our position understood, but we received from them a permission to go over their mills in Fiji, which was of great service to us. Their managers, both in the North and South of the main Island, offered us every help that was in their power.

Most of all, we feel gratitude towards the Indian labourers on the estates, both men and women, who gave us their complete confidence and aswered our questions without fear. To them also, we came without credentials and without introduction. We were members of another race, speaking their mother language very imperfectly. They could not be certain whether they would not get into trouble, even for speaking to us at all. At times, the dread of this must have been very heavy upon them. Nevertheless, they accepted us, at once, without any reserve, as their friends. They told us fearlessly everything which was in their mind.

We trust that we have not betrayed in any way the confidence of these coolies by anything which we have written about them. We would add, to avoid misunderstanding, that in every case in this Report where a coolie's name has been specially mentioned, the name of the actual coolie has been changed and a different name given.

Great political and commercial interests are bound up with the question of Indian labour in Fiji. Many secondary reasons may be brought forward to postpone the immediate abolition of indenture. Yet we would urge, with all the strength that is in our power, that the pathetic appeal, which the Indian coolies made to us so unceasingly for help in their distress, should be lifted above the level of these lower interests, and made to depend upon the higher sovereign claims of humanity itself.

(*Concluded*).

"THE WEDDING OF SISTER CLOTHILDE"

I

IN the days when Belgium was a peaceful land and her children an industrious happy people, there lived in Western Flanders, barely nine miles from the little country town of Thielt, a community of nuns in a convent dedicated to "Our Lady of Seven Sorrows." *Notre Dame Des VII Douleurs* was a vast establishment, enclosing within its lofty and hospitable walls many varied classes of society. In addition to a girls' high school of about one hundred boarders, thirty or so being English, there was a lace-makers' school; great wards in which little children from six and seven years of age sat and worked side by side with old women of sixty and seventy. The old people had most probably spent the whole of their lives in the lace-makers' rooms at the convent, and the small children were most likely to grow old in the same way. Then there was an orphanage, an old men's and an old women's asylum, also an infirmary for incurables. Large fruit and vegetable gardens flourished, in which many of the old men of the asylum found pleasant employment by making themselves of some use.

During the long summer vacation, many English girls chose to remain at the convent, and enjoy the golden days living in closer intimacy with the nuns than was possible in term time. What joy to help in the annual summer cleaning and with warm soapy water to wash the statues that had been tenderly carried from the calm religious atmosphere of the chapel, into the sweet dancing sunshine of the warm and fragrant garden ablaze with the colour of flowers and shimmering green grass. It was in these days that *Soeur Angelique* would solemnly mount a step ladder to a stained glass window, some

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coloured paper in one hand, a pot of paste in the other, and a pair of scissors dangling from her waist at the end of a long black cord, prepared to clothe *Le Petit Jesu*, who lay naked and unashamed in his mothers loving arms. Having first washed off the year-old faded covering, *Soeur Angelique* would hastily replace it by a piece of neatly pleated red paper, pasting it over the entire surface of the innocent baby form. This particular bit of stained glass formed a semi-circular light over a door leading from the nuns' refectory to the garden. Similar subjects in the sacred precincts of the chapel escaped this vigilant treatment. It may be that the further *Le Petit Jesu* travelled from the consecrated ground the more human he became and the more convincing in his nudity. Be that as it may, as regularly as the annual cleaning came round did the Divine Infant receive his little coat of red.

Soeur Angelique was known as the English Mother because the English girls of the school were her particular charge, *les pauvres Anglaises*, so far from their homes across the sea. It was her tender compassion that had led to her special duties. No-one could say when nor how she had become *La Mere Anglaise*, but such she certainly was in all seriousness, and not an English girl ever took her difficulties, joys or sorrows to the nun she claimed as her own, without response from the warm mother heart that beat beneath the rigid folds of black.

At the time our story opens, a delicate English novice was seated in the convent orchard, making the most of the fresh air and sunshine during the intervals between her conventual duties. Sister Clothilde had been educated at Notre Dame and had returned to her old convent to dedicate her life to the church and to become the spouse of Christ. Yet her mind was not at peace. She felt that she had not a real vocation, that her motive in entering the sisterhood was a cowardly one. For was it not cowardice to fly from life's temptations? The temptation in her case was marriage with one she loved, but what right had such as she to marry? She knew that the germ of consumption was in her. Her mother had died from the scourge and a younger sister had also succumbed after an appallingly short decline. It was clearly wrong for her to marry. Her lover was radiantly healthy and man one than all else longed to give her the care and protection of which she stood so sadly in need. For a time however she gave herself to the joys of youth and love until one day an incident in a London bus put an end to her young dreams.

Here in the convent orchard all was calm and peace, how far removed from those troublous days of anguish. Her hands lay listlessly on the needlework in her lap, and once again she lived through the moment that had decided her course in life. She saw a woman seated in a London bus, and she saw a little slum child scramble in with a bundle in her arms. The bundle turned out to be a baby, a miserable speck of humanity, with an old old face, and eyes heavy as with care and suffering. Cheeks that should have been as rose leaves hung loosely on the tiny cheek bones, the mouth was drawn and the little chin was sharp. The woman who sat in the bus was stirred with pity. The old eyes of the baby caught hers, and a dim shadow of a smile leapt in them for a moment. The woman wore a long chain of bright coloured shells which she dangled to recall the smile. A grey wizened hand and arm emerged from the ragged shawl and listlessly held the chain.

"What is the matter with the baby?" the woman asked.

"Nothin' miss," the slum child replied in a hoarse whisper.

"Oh but there is, it is very ill."

"Na miss, it's born o' consumptive parents—that's all." The slum child smiled in friendly fashion, but the woman's heart froze, and the bus rolled on to the city.

Clothilde as she saw again the blighted baby, was convinced that she had acted rightly. It would have been braver perhaps to have stayed in the world and to have fought it out, but she had not dared trust herself. She longed for care, for love—for a child. She dared not stay. The tears which now gushed to her eyes were not in self-pity but for the lover she had deserted. From the day that she had seen the dreadful baby her resolve was made, and from that day she had never seen her lover again. She had been adamant in her refusal to see him and had implored him not even to write to her. News of one another they received from mutual friends. In the three years that had passed since their separation, Time had

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been exerting his merciful healing powers, but the wounds were deep.

While Clothilde was indulging in her wistful thoughts *Soeur Angelique* was seated in her little office sorting out the English letters. It was her duty to break the seal of the envelopes and to glance at their contents before delivering them to their rightful owners. As she opened one, a newspaper cutting fell out. She picked it up and read "Train Smash in The Midlands." Hastily she glanced at the letter that had accompanied it and with a cry she rose and made for the door.

"Poor child, poor child," she cried. Then lifting her crucifix she kissed its sacred image and with closed eyes her lips moved in earnest prayer. Having made the sign of the cross she opened her eyes and with a calm look of strength she turned the handle of the door and firmly walked up the long corridor to the refectory. She sent a nun off to the kitchen for a glass of hot milk to be sent out to the orchard, and letting herself out into the garden by the door over which the infant Jesus lay, she made her way to the side gate and crossed the little lane which divided the garden from the orchard.

Sister Clothilde did not see *Soeur Angelique* until she was actually standing over her.

"Mother dear, I did not hear you." Rising she drew her down on to the seat beside her. I am so glad you have come out. I want you to tell me something. Is that letter for me ?"

"Presently my child, presently." It was *Soeur Angelique*'s custom to tease the girls and keep them waiting for their letters. "What do you want to know ?"

"Mother, I am not happy about my coming profession.* You know all my troubles and what led me to enter the convent, but I do not think that you know how often I dream of—of all that I have left behind. I am not satisfied with myself."

"My child, do you want to leave us ? Do you regret your decision ?"

"No, no, Mother. I never, never want to leave you. I give myself entirely ; but—but—"

"Well, my child, do not fear to speak."

"I fear that I have not the true vocation. Other nuns give their entire life and all that they feel to the church, but I only give what is left over from something else."

"My little one, it may be that the others have given less than you. You have sacrificed something of which they perhaps do not realise even the existence. No, my dear one, set your mind at rest. The good God knows and He understands."

"Then Mother, what can I do to keep my thoughts from wandering so often to—"

"Courage my darling, courage. He awaits the ressurection. May his soul rest in peace."

II

It was a piping hot day in July, and Sister Clothilde was lying under a tree in the orchard. Her consumptive tendencies had asserted themselves and she was unable to take any active part in the convent curriculum, nor was she able to attend the many and tedious devotions of the community. She spent most of her time out of doors. In fine weather a mattress covered with rugs, was laid down in readiness for her under her favourite tree in the orchard. From this resting place she could see the narrow lane which separated the orchard from the garden, and it amused her to watch the passers by. Occasional village folk clattered past in their sabots* on errands to the convent, and old men and women from the asylums pottered about. In these days, since the school girls had gone home for the holidays, the nuns spent their after-dinner recreation in the orchard, and Sister Clothilde liked to hear their merry chatter and to watch them at play.

* *Profession*—the ceremony at which a nun makes her final and life-long vows and takes the black veil. There are three stages of initiation. First a woman wishing to enter a nunnery becomes a postulant. At this stage she is being instructed in the duties of a nun and it is not necessary for her to become a novice if she discovers that she has made a mistake in choosing to enter a convent. The ceremony which makes her a novice is called the Reception. On this occasion she is received into the community. This is a very imposing ceremony. The postulant to be received appears dressed as a bride in white silk wearing a bridal veil and a wreath of orange blossom. During the ceremony she is led out of the chapel by the Mother of Novices, her hair is then cut off and she returns to the chapel in a nun habit, wearing the novice's white veil of linen and carrying a lighted candle. While a novice the nun may at any time leave the convent, but after taking the final vows at her profession it is not possible.

* *Sabots*—wooden clog-shoes.

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On this particular afternoon a dreamy mood fell upon her. She languidly revelled in the summer sights and sounds. Dazzling white clouds drifted in solemn procession across the horizon, a faint summer breeze stirred the leaves on the apple trees, bees were buzzing busily among a thick patch of clover close at hand, fowls in the distance were lazily cackling, and an occasional muffled sound of grunting gave evidence of a pig-sty at a somewhat remote distance.

One of the convent pussies and her two kittens had followed Clothilde to her resting place. The mother cat, Ninette, had curled up on a bit of the rug in the full sunshine. Clothilde extended her arm on the warm grass, and allowed the kittens to gambol with her fingers.

As she was drinking in the beauty of the afternoon, the distant sound of nun's voices was heard. It came nearer and presently the garden door opened, when a procession in twos led by the postulants followed by novices and the community, drifted across the little lane into the orchard and circled in and out of the trees. *Soeur Angelique* was leading the rosary. * Monotonously she raised her voice:— "*Je vous salue Marie pleine de grace—*"† her thoughts wandering to many practical details of her busy life, her fingers automatically passing from one bead to another. The naming of the mysteries at each decade, and the short appropriate prayers to them formed a soothing accompaniment to her more vital thoughts. The response to the Hail Marys:—"*Sainte Marie mere de Dieu priez pour nous pauvres pecheurs maintenant et a l' heure de notre mort. Ainsi soit il*" had a hypnotizing effect on Sister Clothilde as she listened. The last few words of the response were invariably drowned with exact precision by *Soeur Angelique*'s lead.

Some fifty women divorced from their natural rights, fifty women repeating prayers mechanically, fifty shrivelled hearts, fifty cramped minds, fifty shrines to gawdy saints and impossible intentions, fifty women who might have been mothers! Thus the wistful yearning of unfulfilled youth in the mind of Clothilde had its fling, oblivious of the fact that great good may be accomplished by a community that could not have been brought about by individual effort. As the procession filed slowly past the dreamy gaze of Sister Clothilde, she scrutinised them one by one, searching for traces of ill health, or limitation that justified their retirement from the hurly burly. Many of the faces were commonplace and dull, many of the figures ungainly and stunted. Some faces were stamped with smouldering and others with dead passions. In some the natural yearnings had been transformed into spiritual ecstasy, and among them were bodies erect and lithe, with queenly pose of head, unhidden by heavy folds of lugubrious black cloth, yards of white bandage and much deformity of starch.

The lips of Sister Clothilde unconsciously framed the word "wasted." The kittens, whose thirst the hot day had no doubt intensified, were tugging somewhat roughly but contentedly at the mother cat's teats. "*Je vous salue Marie pleine de grace*" in monotonous tones approached, followed by the inevitable chorus of diverse voices in a growing crescendo. "*.....maintenant et a l'heure de notre—je vous salue Marie pleine de—*" and the crescendo became fortissimo, and passed within a couple of yards or so of Sister Clothilde and her companions. A sturdy novice, a lay sister, catching sight of the cat and kittens forgot to "Hail Mary Mother of God." Instead her full red lips parted disclosing a fine row of gleaming teeth, which caused Sister Clothilde to look with yearning at the now retreating figure of the lay sister. Then feeling her utter helplessness tears gushed to her eyes and turning her head in the opposite direction to the sound of the Hail Marys she kept them closed abandoning herself to the caresses of sun and air till calm stole over her soul.

Soon the fifty women crossed themselves, and in a flash the orderly procession broke into little groups, and took possession of the orchard. Sister Hilary, the sturdy lay novice straight way addressed a group of novices and postulants:

* *Rosary*—A garland of prayer beads, divided into five decades which are separated by a single bead.

† *Je vous salue Marie* etc. This is a prayer known as Ave Maria or Hail Mary. It is repeated at every bead in each decade. When the rosary is said aloud, one voice leads the prayer, saying:—"Hail Mary full of grace. The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus." To this the other voices respond,—"Holy Mary Mother of God, pray for us poor sinners now and at the hour of our death."

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"*La petite Ninette!*" she cried excitedly, "*vous l'avez vu? Venons, venons!*" (Little Ninette! Did you see her? Come, come!) and she ran towards the tree where Sister Clothilde was resting, unconscious of the severe look of the Mother of Novices, that followed her, as her white veil flew up revealing numerous tape fastenings at the back of her neck. When within a little distance of Sister Clothilde she pulled up short, spreading out her arms to stop the other novices and postulants whom she had infected with her high spirits.

"Ssh—*elle dort.*" She whispered. "*La petite Ninette! Voyez qu'elles sent heureuses, ces trois! Venons.*" (Hush, she is sleeping. Little Ninette! How happy they are, these three! Come.) And she led them off again talking excitedly, leading the fun and laughter. Clothilde enjoyed the sound and with closed eyes waited eagerly for it to return. They were pacing to and fro and every now and then came within ear-shot of her talking of their coming profession, which was fixed for the middle of August. As they passed Clothilde they dropped their voices, for she was to have been professed also. She understood the meaning of their lowered tones and overheard Sister Hilary's clear voice whispering, "*On dit qu'elle ne vivra pas longtemps!*" (They say she has not long to live.)

When the litttle band of novices and postulants reached the other end of the orchard, they were drawn into a game of Twos and Threes. Soon the air was filled with sounds of merriment, and the older nuns sat about in groups talking and sewing. *Soeur Angelique* made her way to Sister Clothilde, and finding her in a sound sleep sat beside her on the grass and darned some stockings. The kittens refreshed played with the wool on her needle, and the mother cat slept peacefully in the sun.

Sister Clothilde was wandering in a land of phantasms. She was sitting in a bus and a little withered baby was in her arms. She was struggling with her blouse intending to suckle the infant at her own breasts, when she suddenly realised that she had passed her destination. Clutching the baby to her she struggled up and scrambled out. She found herself on a crowded pavement scanning faces eagerly. Every face seemed haggard and anxious, all gazed beyond her —she looked in vain for one. Then above the sea of faces a long way off, she saw a man quickly coming towards her. He was very near now. His face was tanned with the sun, and seeing her with the baby pressed close, his lips parted and his white teeth gleamed. In a moment they would meet. In her eagerness to reach him she stumbled and fell, striking her head against the pavement. She felt her arms relax their hold on something; she stretched her fingers and felt the grass. Ripples of laughter and the songs of birds filled the air. A group of girls dressed in the finest muslin came towards her. They carried flowers which they were making into wreaths for their hair. As they came near they spoke softly.

"They say she may not live until her wedding day." Clothilde started up with a cry of anguish. "It's not true! It's not true!"

"Little one, Little one." Spoke *Soeur Angelique* soothingly, laying a hand on her and bending over tenderly. Clothilde with troubled eyes looked into hers, then catching sight of the flying veils, the swish of skirts and hearing the jingle of rosaries, was relieved.

"I was only dreaming." With a reassuring smile, she settled down again and closed her eyes.

III

In a little white-washed cell, Sister Clothilde was taking her final vows and receiving the black veil.

She had been unable to leave her room for a fortnight. In light-headed moments she had longed for the ceremony that was to take place in the middle of August. The dark sunburnt face with gleaming white teeth that she had missed after all in the crowd, seemed waiting too for the middle of August. The doctor knew that she could not live till then, and consented to the request of *Soeur Angelique* that Clothilde should be professed as soon as possible. So one bright summer's day when the sun was streaming through an open window and falling across the foot of the narrow bed and spotless deal floor, there was a stir in the little cell.

Clothilde was sleeping lightly as *Soeur Angelique* and the Mother of Novices crept in and out making preparations. A little altar had been contrived on a wooden table covered with immaculate linen. A crucifix, candles and flowers had been placed upon it. *Soeur Angelique*

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came in with a lighted taper with which to light the candles on the altar, and by their side she placed a roll of parchment—the final vows that always accompany dead nuns to their graves. The Mother of Novices followed with the black veil, which she hung over the back of a chair at the foot of the bed. It hung limp and flat and her eyes filled with tears at the thought that it might not be used until the laying out in state.

Far down the long corridor sounded the faint tinkling of bells, giving warning of the approach of the Blessed Sacrament. *Soeur Angelique* went over to Clothilde to gently awaken her and prop her up on pillows.

The tinkling of the little bells grew louder. There was a hectic flush on the cheeks of Sister Clothilde and her eyes shone with unusual brilliance. She looked up into the face of *Soeur Angelique* with a piteous puzzled look. *Soeur Angelique* smiled reassuringly, and bending over her whispered into her ear that she was now to be professed and receive the silver ring.

Two nuns then entered holding lighted candles, followed by a very old priest, his vestments a-blaze with costliness and splendour. His left hand held the chalice in which was the Host, and his right rested on the paten which was covered with a square of rich silk. His head was bowed and his steps were feeble and tottery. He went to the little altar, deposited the Sacrament and knelt with his hands on the table and his head bent low in adoration. An acolyte, a small boy with an olive skin and roguish eyes, swung a censor; he knelt to the right of the priest. The little nun with the tinkling bells knelt to the left.

Sister Clothilde received the Sacrament.

Ever since the priest had come, in her eyes had had a far away unseeing look. Her vows had been read to her, the pen was then placed in her wasted hand. She feebly scratched her name on the parchment which was then rolled up and put into her right hand. On her left hand on the third finger was placed a plain silver ring. Still her eyes looked far away in an unseeing manner. The black veil was sprinkled with holy water and the priest mumbled latin prayers over it. The Mother of Novices was about to bring it to the bed side to place it over her head, but *Soeur Angelique* looking closely at Clothilde put up her hand and shook her head.

The Mother of Novices placed the veil on the chair where it hung limp and flat. *Soeur Angelique* then went to the door and beckoned the postulants and novices who had been waiting in the corridor. They came in one by one to kiss Sister Clothilde on the forehead.

As Sister Clothilde caught sight of Sister Hilary's brown face, the far away look vanished, and with ever such a shadow of life in her eyes she tried to lift her hand to display her ring, but it fell lifeless on the bed. A radiant smile lit up her face, her eyes opened wide.

"Mes soeurs, mes soeurs, ce n'est pas la mort." "Sisters, sisters, this is not death.) The old priest knelt, followed by all who were in the room, except *Soeur Angelique* who bent over Sister Clothilde and tenderly closed her sightless eyes.

NORAH RICHARDS.

A JAPANESE ON SOME ENGLISH POETS

MY friend took me, soon after my arrival in London in December of 1914, to see John Masefield at Keats' Hampstead, Masefield's residence. There I was pleased to take as a proof of his being an idealist but with this difference, if his idealism differs at all from the idealism of Keats' day, that he has more of the consciousness of life brutal, often mystical, of modern literature, therefore an idealist of little confidence, even longing for escape but resisting the temptation. None the less is he, I dare say, an idealist as much as Keats was. (By the way, I am told by one of my friends that Masefield regards the "Eve of St. Agnes" as the finest of English poems.) Masefield, looking younger than I expected, with a beautiful clear glow in face denoting great sensitiveness or morbid refinement, came out to receive

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me in the entrance hall; his soft voice with the manner matching to it, gave me an impression that he was a dreamer of beauty and that when he sang the ugliness of street gutters he wrote as an outsider, a prince incognito stretching out his nose, from his whim perhaps, into the brutal smell. I agree with someone who said that Masefield expressed in the "Everlasting Mercy" his art of being brutal; he could never deny his artistic sincerity born out of the moral quality of puritanism. His personality, judging from my first impression, was extremely delicate and even tender; when he is brutal in his writing, it is as when a weak woman sometimes awakens into a sudden action which strangely confuses strength and brutality. And if he takes life too seriously, it is, I think, from his conception more than from his own nature. I think that, I have rarely seen such a personality as Masefield, at least on first impression, so pleasing, so gentle, with his small head sometimes wistfully inclining a little as if a nightingale at a moment ready to burst into song; when I recall "John Masefield" in Max Beerbohm's "Fifty Caricatures," lengthening his slender body, tall like a dream, over the roof to peep down to the fighting gutter-bloods below, I cannot help exclaiming again at Max's genius. And Max hit the mark in a few lines attached to the picture:

> "A swear word in a rustic slum
> A simple swear-word is to some,
> To Masefield something more."

Thus my mind was delightfully confused with the interesting subject of Masefield: I was sorry I could not respond enthusiastically to Mrs. Masefield when she talked about Bridges' Christmas Song in the page of the *Times*. It was the literary talk then. Even when she complimented me on something of mine that appeared in the *Nation*, I could not thank her properly, because I was perfectly lost in sweet bewilderment of Masefield. I came gradually to ask Masefield how far he was advanced on the Japanese Forty-Seven Ronin story about which I had been told by Barker; as I remember he said that he was using T. V. Dickins' translation of the story as a text or suggestion. In fact, I was wondering what Masefield, though his masterly art is unquestioned, could make out of this melodramatic story of revenge and suicide; although the forty-seven *samurais* are connected with the play, he was going to bring out only a few people on the stage, because he was going to make his Japanese play mainly develop around the great struggle in the heart of Oboshi, the hero of the story. I thought it would be most interesting to watch as a Japanese how this Ronin story will gain a spiritual exaltation through a western baptism. (But now reading "The Faithful," his free adaptation of our Ronin story, I am wondering if he does not take too much liberty in Westernizing Kurano (Oboshi) when he makes him sing finally:

> "That long dead heroes
> Manning the ramparts of God
> May hear us coming,
> Baring our hearts to the sword
> Of him we loved so.")

One evening I dined with Yeats, and spent many pleasing hours at his dimly lighted studio of Upper Woburn Place; the talk of that evening was beautifully animated, since the other guests who joined us later were Ezra Pound and Gaudier Brzoska the young sculptor. (This interesting Frenchman was killed, alas, at the trench of Neuville-st-Vaast.) Yeats, who looked, as his Maire Bruin declared, weary of four tongues, a tongue that was too crafty and too wise, a tongue that was too godly and grave, a tongue that was more bitter than the tide, and a kind tongue too full of drowsy love, sat on the host's chair in an attitude fitting for him to murmur, rather than sing, "And love is less kind than the gray twilight." His personal appearance was all that I expected, with long hair covering a part of his brow, and with his nobly quiet face as if looking into a green shadowy passway or into a great dream in a twilight wood; I left his studio with a delicious sense of sorrow for leaving, when the night was quite advanced.

My responsiveness to the modern Irish Literature, chiefly through Yeats and two or three others, the singers of the Unseen and Passionate Dreams, is from the sudden awakening of Celtic temperament in my Japanese mind. The comparative study of the Japanese poetical characteristics with those of the Irish people would be interesting, because it will make clear how the spontaneity of the real Japanese hearts and imaginations—indeed quite Celtic—has been crooked and even ruined by the Chinese literature of the Toang and Sung Dynasties sadly hardened by the

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moral finiteness, and also by Buddhism whose despotic counsel often discouraged imagination, till we see today only the fragmentary remains, for instance, in the folk-songs which flow like a streaming flame upon the air. I know that all the Japanese poets, ancient and modern, went to a Celtic invocation when they were alone with the sad melody of Nature and felt the intimacy of human destiny. It was the Chinese classic and Buddhist that weakened our Japanese poetry in most cases; it is not difficult to see what we shall lose fundamentally from coming, as we have come to-day, face to face with the Western literature. When I admire the Irish literature as I do, it is in its independent aloofness from the others, sad but pleasing, ever pointing to life that glistens with the pain of destiny; in its telling of visions and numberless dreams I see the passionate flame burning to eternity and deathlessness; its wit and humour (ah! that famous Irish characteristic!) make me think that laughter or smile is certainly older—at least wiser—than tears. How often I wonder at its insular energy tacitly objecting to the literary encroachment of a different element. Oh! what a pure, proud, lonely, defiant spirit.

The thought of Yeats brings to me the thought of Arthur Symons who declared once to me that Yeats was the only one poet now living in England. Symons looked poetical with his excitable flexibility of manner, and gave an impression that he was more French than English; the question of his madness might be the same old question which people were glad to connect with Blake. The place where I met and talked with him was a nursery home in Park Lane where lived Sarojini Naidu, the poetess of Hyderabad, whose poems, to use Symon's phrase, "sway like a flower in the wind of song, skim like a bird on the foam of a stream, and float like a laugh from the lips of a dream." As she was still ill she was lying in a bed but delightfully talked with us, I and Symons, whenever we met together there in her little room where were many vases filled with luxurious flowers to make her perhaps think of an Oriental voluptuousness of Nature; her small body dressed in clinging clothes of Indian silk, her long black hair hanging straight down her back, made me think how young she was, and again how old. How brilliantly large her eyes grow when she is enthusiastic and even excited with the subject of poetry. What a delicacy in her personality. Symons was right when he remarked: "It was the desire of beauty that made her a poet, her nerves of delight were always quivering at the contact with beauty."

What I and Symons talked of together was mainly books and their writers; one thing that is strongly imprinted on my mind was his enthusiasm on Joseph Conrad who, Symons declared, was the greatest writer of the English language of the present day. Symons said: "Conrad is a realist, but at the same time he is a great visionary. He invents, but never creates. It is he who has brought into the English language a mighty song of soliloquy."

He inscribed on the fly-leaf of the "Knave of Hearts," a book of his poems, the following lines from Catullus:

> "I hate and I love; if you ask me how one can do it?
> I know not: I know that it hurts: I am going through it."

Gordon Bottomley, the poet, who was my friend of many years through correspondence, sometimes sent, from his love of my "murmurs of hushed poetry that wait on stillness to express what sound must lose," a beautiful poetical message; once he said, after writing on the Japanese ladies in a mist and a clear pure mountain or a firm inverted lily in Fujiyama:

> "This poem of earth and change I send to you
> In your far land dear and desirable
> (Land of such haunting hands and eyes and hair,
> Blossoms and pines and foam of invisible sea),
> Where now perchance you are withdrawn to meet
> A night song half a gleam and half a sigh."

How glad I was to know that Bottomley was only an hour and a quarter distant from London, at Robert Calverley Trevelyan's place near Dorking; and I was pleased to receive an invitation from this quiet retired poet (almost as retired as Gray or Omar's Fitzgerald) of North England, supported by Trevelyan and his wife, to spend over a night with talk of poetry and art. As he said he had soon to begin thinking of returning to Wordsworth's Lake District, I sent him one Monday as my choice of the day to accept Trevelyan's hospitality. Duly I left Victoria Station: when the train reached Box Hill,

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I was again struck by a renewed sense of regret in failing to see Meredith, that sternest soul of poetry for Life's tragic circumstances and travail, ten years ago; how encouraged I was, as encouragement I most needed then, by his short letter speaking on the "energy, mysteriousness, and poetical feeling" of my poems. Alas, that letter of Meredith's is now lost, as I lent it to an American friend some years ago. Through the window, while the train was gliding on, I saw here and there to my greatest delight many young English ladies under the dark-gray fogs briskly playing hockey doubtless braced up by a bitter but hopeful touch of January wherein, as Bridges sang,

"The trees their mournful branches lift aloft:
The oak with knotty twigs is full of trust,
With bud-thronged bough the cherry in the croft;
The chestnut holds her gluey knobs upthrust."

Although the clouds had broken awhile back for the beautiful sunlight, now when the train stopped at Oakley where I had to get off, the rain (such silken rain Hiroshige might be glad to paint) was falling fast: I got in the trap which Mrs. Trevelyan's kindness sent to meet me. Being warmly wrapped by a thick rug I was carried through a typical Surrey landscape whose beauty was softened, even mystified, by the tender soft rain; list, what voice was that I heard? Why, it was the silver song of a certain bird. Bird in the depth of winter? I thought that this was certainly England blessed by Nature's luxurious love and care. I was quite wet through by the time I reached Trevelyan's house commanding a grand view through the break of a forest leafless but looking almost blossoming in purple in the blue of the mists and soon I found myself sitting before the highly entertaining fire, by Bottomley and Trevelyan and their sympathetic wives. There were many things I wished to ask Bottomley; but still more subjects Bottomley had to ask me about. Since Trevelyan was a recent visitor in India and China, our talk was naturally enlivened on the matter of the East. When Bottomley grew excited, he could not hold his invalid body straight (he has been suffering quite many years now from a malady of the lungs) and was obliged to lay himself on a long couch, by which his patient wife silently sat; it was such a pathetic sight to see them.

The house was strengthened by all modern appointments, and better still, humanized by the rich Dutch comfort. By the way, I was told that Mrs. Trevelyan was of Dutch descent. The walls were beautified by some sort of pictures, two or three colour prints once belonging to Edmond de Goncourt included among them; with the large sitting room the beautiful home feeling evolved in perfect order. Bottomley being an invalid, as I said before, will be seen slowly journeying between this sitting room and his own sleeping chamber upstairs where he presently withdrew with Toyokuni's colour prints which I gave him as my gift. His weak voice welcomed me when I knocked at the door of his room after a little while; I saw him, as I had expected, lying comfortably on the bed, and setting his eyes on the prints with "faint delicious ladies with wistaria drooping down their silken backs" as in the poem he once addressed to me. He was in a happy mood of dream and fancy as when he began his poem "To Yone Noguchi," written on a fly-leaf of "Midsummer Eve" as follows:

"I have seen bending ladies in a mist
Gathering dewy butterflies with fans
Before the dawn takes off their burden of moondrops
Which makes them added petals ripe to fall."

While talking with him, I thought and asked where was another happy invalid like this Bottomley.

One more poet whom I cannot forget is Flecker, who died somewhere in the near East since I left London in the summer of 1914. It was by accident that I met him in the street near Bloomsbury, whither I had moved from a hotel in Pall Mall. About this Bloomsbury I had heard so much from the mouth of Charley Stoddard, author of many books admired by Stevenson; it was in one of the houses surrounding the Square where, to use my dear friend Joaquin Miller's beloved phrase, he pitched his temporary tent, and was glad to moralize and sentimentalize on everything in his London days as he was then well fed, well clad, and possibly half in love besides. And the room Stoddard occupied might have been next to that of Miller—Miller with such a wealth of silken locks easily tangling in the breezes, in his Spanish mantle and sombrero, and his top boots. I can imagine Stoddard in his room now with Joaquin, then with Mark Twain, wheeling up before the fire of a late night,

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with pipes or cups of cocktails. I was walking up and down one evening by this Bloomsbury Square wondering which house was the one where my friends revelled and feasted in their youthfulness a long time ago, when a man covered by a heavy overcoat tapped my back and exclaimed: "I cannot tell you where your American friends lived. But I will point out where Disraeli used to live." Then we stole into a little restaurant near by, and sat before the coffee cups for a long hour; he was Flecker who made a rather wild queen sing in his poem:

"Thus would I slay—
Ah, desperate device
The vital day
That trembles in thine eyes,
And let the red lips close
Which sang so well,
And drive away the rose
To leave a shell."

YONE NOGUCHI.

THE ANCIENT HINDU'S KNOWLEDGE OF MATHEMATICS

BY PROF. NALINBIHARI MITRA, M.A.

III. Geometry (continued).

THE principal geometrical theorems given by Brahmagupta are the following:—

1. If ABC be a right angled triangle with AC as hypotenuse, then

(a) $AC^2 = AB^2 + BC^2$

(b) The sides AB, BC, CA may be represented rationally by a,

$$\tfrac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} - n\right) \text{ and } \tfrac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} + n\right)$$

(c) If D be a point in AB such that AD+AC=DB+BC, then

$$AD = \frac{BC}{m+2} \text{ where } m = \frac{BC}{BD}$$

2. If a, b, c be the sides of a triangle, s its semi-perimeter, h the height, R the circum-radius and Δ, the area, then, (b being the base)

(a) (1) $\Delta = \frac{a+c}{2} \cdot \frac{b}{2}$, roughly, or

(2) $\sqrt{s(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)}$ accurately.

(b) $R = \frac{ac}{2h}$

(c) The segments of the base made by the perpendicular from the vertex are $\tfrac{1}{2}\left\{b \pm \left(\frac{a^2 - c^2}{b}\right)\right\}$

(d) The sides and the base of the triangle may be rationally represented by $\tfrac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{h^2}{n} + n\right\}$, $\tfrac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{h^2}{m} + m\right\}$ and $\tfrac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{h^2}{n} - n\right\} + \tfrac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{h^2}{m} - m\right\}$, m & n being any two rational numbers.

(e) Each of the equal sides, the height and the base of an isosceles triangle may be rationally represented by x^2+y^2, $2xy$, $2(x^2-y^2)$ respectively.

3. The area of a cyclic quadrilateral is $\sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ accurately or $\frac{a+c}{2} \cdot \frac{b+d}{2}$, roughly.

4. In an isosceles trapezium, if a, b be the parallel sides, h the distance between them, c either of the lateral sides, d a diagonal and R the circum-radius, then,

(a) $d = \sqrt{(ab+c^2)}$

(b) $h = \sqrt{\left\{d^2 - \left(\frac{a+b}{2}\right)^2\right\}}$

(c) $R = \frac{cd}{2h}$

(d) The base, top and each of the equal sides of an isosceles trapezium may be rationally represented by

$\tfrac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} - n\right) + b$, $\tfrac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} - n\right) - b$ and d, where a, b and d are the side, base and diagonal of any rectangle.

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(e) If three sides of a trapezium be equal, then each of these sides may be represented by a^2+b^2 and the fourth side by $3a^2-b^2$, a & b being any two quantities.

5. In a cyclic quadrilateral with rectangular diagonals, if a, b, c, d be the sides in order, x, y the diagonals and R the circumradius, then,

(a) $R=\frac{1}{2}\sqrt{(a^2+c^2)}=\frac{1}{2}\sqrt{(b^2+d^2)}$

(b) $x=\sqrt{\left\{\frac{ab+cd}{ad+bc}(ac+bd)\right\}}$, and

$y=\sqrt{\left\{\frac{ad+bc}{ab+cd}(ac+bd)\right\}}$.

(c) Pairs of opposite sides of such a quadrilateral may be represented by ln', mn'; $l'n$, $m'n$, where l, m, n and l′, m′, n′ are the sides and hypotenuses of two right angled triangles respectively

6. $\pi=3$ roughly, or $\sqrt{10}$, closely.

7. If c be the chord and h the height of a segment of a circle of diameter d, then,

(a) $c=\sqrt{4(d-h)h}$

(b) $d=h+\frac{c^2}{4h}$

(c) $h=\frac{d-\sqrt{(d^2-c^2)}}{2}$

8. If two circles of diameters d_1 & d_2 intresect and if t be the thickness of the common area and x_1 & x_2 the heights of the segments comprising the common area of the two circles, then

$$x_1=\frac{t(d_2-t)}{d_2-t+d_2-t},\ x_2=\frac{t(d_1-t)}{d_1-t+d_2-t}$$

9. The volume of a cavity of uniform bore (which may be thus either prismatic or cylindrical) is equal to the area of the top into the depth.

10. The volume of a conical (or pyramidic) cavity is one-third the volume of the cavity of uniform bore (having the same top).

11. In a cavity of uniform bore, if the depth be not the same throughout the whole length of the top, then first find the mean depth by multiplying each depth by the corresponding portion of the length and dividing the sum of these products by the whole length: then, the volume is equal to the mean depth multiplied by the area of the top.

12. The length of the shadow of a vertically placed rod cast on the horizontal ground by a luminous point (the height of the point being of course greater than the length of the rod) is equal to the length of the rod into the distance of the rod from the luminous point (measured horizontally) divided by the difference of the length of the rod and the height of the luminous point. If the rod be placed in two different positions in the same plane with the luminous point, then the distance of the extremity of either shadow measured horizontally from the luminous point is equal to the length of the corresponding shadow into the distance between the ends of the shadows divided by the difference of the lengths of the shadows; also this distance into the length of the rod divided by the length of the corresponding shadow is the height of the luminous point.

We add some notes on these theorems.

Theorem 1 (a). This so-called Pythagorean theorem was known in India long before the time of Pythagoras. (See the Modern Review for August 1915, Vol., XVIII., No. 2, p. 154). Heath, who is not quite friendly to Indian claims to originality, is obliged to admit that "Indian Geometry had reached the stage at which we find it in Apastamba quite independently of Greek influence." Bhaskaracharya gave two proofs of this theorem, one of which is conjectured by Bretschneider to be substantially the same as the Pythagorean, while the other was unknown in Europe till Wallis rediscovered it" (Cajory). What the Pythagorean proof was is unknown. Competent authorities doubt whether Pythagoras was able to prove the general theorem; they believe that Pythagoras' proof applied only to the particular case of the sides of the triangle being in the ratio of 3, 4 & 5.

In this connection we may mention that this property of right-angled triangles was known to the Egyptians at least in the case when the sides were as 3,4 & 5. "It is noticeable that all the specimens of Egyptian Geometry which we possess deal only with particular numerical problems and not with general theorems; and even if a result be stated as universally true, it

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was probably proved to be so only by a wide induction." On the other hand in the Sulvasutras we find this property stated most generally. It is *possible* that both Baudhayana as well as Pythagoras learned this theorem from the Egyptians. But with Pythagoras, this was not merely possible but highly *probable as well*, while with Baudhayana this though probable was *highly improbable*. Pythagoras who was a great traveller, spent many years in Egypt and Asia Minor and probably in India also. On the other hand, there is not the remotest evidence of Baudhayana's connection with Egyptian Geometry. The fact that Greek culture is not primitive and that Greece owes a debt to older countries in Mathematics as well as in Mythology and Art, should not, however, lessen our admiration for the Greek mind. Though Egyptian ideas gave Greek thought a basis to work upon, whatever the Greeks received they, as observed by Plato, improved and perfected. Though elementary Geometry was trasplanted from Egypt to Greece, Greeks raised the study of Geometry to the dignity of a science.

Theorem 1 (b). About this solution of the right-angled triangle in rational numbers, we read in J.A.S.B., Vol III, N.S. pp. 496-7. "The next proposition by which Brahmagupta gains credit is a rule he gives for the construction of right-angled triangles with rational sides. This rule he gives twice over without knowing it; first in paragraph 35, section iv., chapter xii., and again in paragraph 33 of chapter xviii. (Colebrooke's edition). In the first case he gives directions for the construction of half a rectangle and in the second for an isosceles triangle (a double right-angled triangle). The two rules are mathematically identical but worded differently. The only possible explanation of their occurence appears to be that Brahmagupta took them from two different works which he used for his compilation." The first of these rules referred to is

इष्टस्य भुजस्य कृतिर्भक्तोनेष्टेन तद्दलं कोटिः ।
आयतचतुरस्रस्यर्त्वेष्टाधिका कर्णः ॥

and means that the square of a side of a rectangle being divided by any desired number and the quotient diminished by that number, half the remainder is the other side of the rectangle and this other side plus the desired number is the diagonal. In algebraic notation this amounts to saying that if a is one side of a rectangle its other side b is $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} - n\right)$ and its diagonal is $b+n$: in other words the sides and diagonal of a rectangle may be rationally represented by a, $\frac{a^2-n^2}{2n}$ and $\frac{a^2+n^2}{2n}$ where a & n are rational quantities. The second rule referred to is

करणी लम्बस्तत्कृतिरिष्टहृतेष्टोनसंयुता भूः ।
अधिको द्विहृतो बाहुः.....॥

and means that if we take the height of an isosceles triangle to be a surd and square it and divide the square by any desired number and add to or subtract from the quotient that number, the smaller result will represent the base and half of the greater either of the equal sides. In algebraic notation this rule amounts to this :—If the height of an isosceles triangle be $\sqrt{a}$, then its base is $\frac{a}{n} - n$ and its side $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a}{n} + n\right)$, where n is any rational quantity. These two rules may at first sight appear to be "mathematically the same", but any one who poses to write with pretensions to authority on subjects mathematical ought to notice the following point of difference in them : the first rule gives directions for constructing a right-angled triangle with rational sides; the second gives similar directions for constructing an isosceles triangle with rational sides, but in this latter case one of the sides (the common one) of each of the two right-angled triangles into which the isosceles triangle may be divided may be irrational. In fact to us it appears that the purport of the 2nd rule is to show how to construct an isosceles triangle with rational sides *even* when its height is irrational. Indeed in the 2nd rule one side of the two right-angled triangles is expressly directed to be taken as equal to a surd, while in the 1st rule all the sides of the right-angled triangle are intended to be rational. One should not blame our critic as much as he might at first sight seem to deserve, for it must be borne in mind that obtuseness of intellect and a power of perceiving nice points of difference are things which are not always compatible.

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We read further, "The rule in question is a generalisation of the two rules that Proclus attributes to Pythagoras and to Plato; and had always been a proposition particularly interesting to the Greeks. That Brahmagupta was the original generaliser is altogether improbable; no one familar with his mathematics could possibly conceive it unless, like Chasles, they had been misled by Colebrook and others. As a matter of fact the formula was given by Alkharki the translator of Diophantus." Such an argument is not, in itself, worth repeating. It is on such, however, that the theory that there never was a school of Hindu mathematicians is based. It is not surprising that we are seriously asked to believe in such arguments, when we remember that there is not the least evidence which would lead one to draw that most absurd conclusion that Brahmagupta was not a mathematician at all. We would challenge any one who does not rely on our critic for enlightenment as to the mathematical abilities of Brahmagupta, but on the works of Brahmagupta themselves, to show even the remotest possibility of the generalisation in question being above the abilities of Brahmagupta. Alkharki flourished over 400 years after Brahmagupta and his statement of the generalisation in question is another link in the chain of evidence showing that the mathematics of the Arabs was not solely drawn from Hellenic sources but that part of it, at least, was derived directly from Indian Mathematics.

But even granting that one is not likely to be able to realise the nice point of distinction pointed out above, i.e. even supposing that the two rules are exactly identical, we would point out that Brahmagupta errs in this respect in good company. Diophantus' 11th Problem in Book IV of the Arithmetica is "to find two cubes such that their difference is equal to the difference of their sides" and the 12th is "to find two numbers such that the cube of the greater plus the less is equal to the cube of the less plus the greater." These two problems and their solution* are not only absolutely identical but they are given consecutively! The problems 1 to 5 of Book II are practically mere repetitions of problems 31 to 34 of Book I. Theon of Smyrna in his Expositio repeats the same facts many times. Heron gives in one place, area of pentagon $= \frac{12}{7}$ (side)^2 in another place $\frac{5}{3}$ (side)^2. Similar alternatives are given for the hexagon and the eneagon. Yet Heron was a mathematician while Brahamgupta was a mere compiler! He even "does not understand all the rules he gives"!! (J.R.A.S. for 1910, p. 755).

Problem 2 (*d*). Here m, n, h may be any rational quantities whatever, but in order that the base may be positive h^2 must be greater than mn. With this limitation, the expressions given by Brahmagupta are the most general ones for the sides of a triangle *whose area is rational.*

About theorem 3, namely, that in a chaturasra, the area

$$= \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)},$$

it has been asserted that this formula is wrong, for Brahmagupta does not specify the limitation under which it is applicable. But it has been shown that with Brahmagupta chaturasra always meant a cyclic quadrilateral. (Modern Review, Vol. XVIII., No. 5, Nov. 1915, p. 497). Sridhar, Mahavir, Aryabhatta the younger, also used chaturasra in the sense of a cyclic quadrilateral. But even if we suppose that chaturasra meant a mere quadrilateral with Brahmagupta, failure to specify the limitation does not warrant the conclusion that he was not a mathematician. Even Euclid failed similarly, in one instance at least. His enunciation of XI. 24 is "If a solid is contained by parallel planes, the opposite planes in it are equal and parallelogramnic." This proposition is true only if the solid is contained by *six* planes and not more and the planes are parallel *two and two.*

We wish to mention here a collateral point. We find that in the extant texts of the works of an ancient mathematician, Greek or Indian, are often included some passages which are statements of altogether wrong theorems. In the case of Indian mathematicians such passages are invariably taken by our critics as indicating the want of accurate knowledge of the

* A noteworthy fact in connection with Diophantus' solutions of these problems is that he does not make any use of the formula $(x^3-y^3) \div (x-y) = x^2+xy+y^2$. Was he aware at all of this identity?

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writers. Thus Aryabhata's rules about the volumes of a pyramid and a sphere have earned for him the reputation of a mere unintelligent compiler among our critics. On the other hand in the case of a Greek mathematician such passages are always considered as interpolations, or as corruptions of the original text. Euclid's extant Catoptrica which contains 31 propositions is full of errors and inconsistencies, the most curious of which is that proposition 5 proves the contrary of proposition 6. It has been suggested, *therefore*, (*e.g.* by Heiberg) that the extant Catoptrica is the work of a later compiler.

Theorem 6, viz., $\pi = 3$ grossly or $\sqrt{10}$ more accurately. It would seem strange that Brahmagupta who came after Aryabhata and Lalla should use a less accurate value of π than the one used by these latter. But the following statement of Bhaskara is to the point. In his Vasana bhashya on verse 52

(प्रोक्तो योजनसंख्यया कुपरिधिः सप्ताङ्गनन्दाब्धय
स्तद्व्यासः कुभुजङ्गसायक भुवः सिद्धांशकेनाधिकाः ।
पृष्ठक्षेत्रफलं तथा युगगुण त्रिंशच्छराष्टाद्रयो
भूमेः कन्दुकजालवत् कुपरिधिव्यासाहतेः प्रस्फुटम् ॥)

of the Bhubanakosha chapter of the Gola section of the Siddhanta-siromani, Bhaskara says,

"अतो ऽयुतद्वयव्यासे द्विकाग्राष्टयमर्तुमितः परिधिरार्यभटा
द्यैरङ्गीकृतः । यत्पुनः श्रीधराचार्यब्रह्मगुप्तादिभिर्व्यासवर्गाद्दश
गुणात् पदं परिधिः स्थूलोऽप्यङ्गीकृतः स स्वार्थम् । नहि ते
न जानन्तीति ॥'

i.e. Aryabhata and others took circumference $= 62832$ when the diameter was 20000. But that Sridhara, Brahmagupta and others took circumference, though gross, $= \sqrt{10d^2}$, was only for convenience of calculation. It is not that they did not know (the more accurate value). Ranganath, in his commentary, Gudhartha-prakasaka, on the Suryasiddhanta, also says that this gross ratio ($\sqrt{10}$) is used for lessening the labour of calculations (गणित लाघवायाङ्गीकृतम् ।). In the verse quoted above, Bhaskara says, circumference of earth is 4967 yojanas, its diameter 1581 yojanas and its surface 7853034 square yojanas. Yet he is accused of using $\pi = 3$ in practical applications. (J.A.S.B., Vol. IV, N.S., 1908, p. 122, foot-note and Vol. III., N.S., 1907, p. 500. foot-note). For other examples where Bhaskara practically uses the value of π, see Modern Review, Vol. XVIII, Agust 1915, p. 161. Below are given, chronologically, the values of π used by Hindu mathematicians from Lata, the author of Suryasiddhanta, to Bhaskara, the bhaskar of the Indian mathematical firmament. (Only those have been cited to whose works the present writer has personal access.)

Author.	Date.	Value of π.	Reference.
Lata		$\sqrt{10} = 3.1623$	Ch. I. (Madhyagati) verse 59. [1]
Aryabhata	b. 476 A.D.	$\frac{62832}{20000} = 3.1416$	Ganita, verse 10. [2]
Lalla	b. 499 A.D.	$\frac{3927}{1250} = 3.1416$	Sishyadhibriddhida Tantra, Chandragrahan Sec., verse 3. [3]
Barahamihir	b. 505 A.D.	$\sqrt{10}$	Panchasidhantica, Ch. IV., verse 1. [4]
Brahmagupta	b. 598 A.D.	3, roughly ; also $\sqrt{10}$	Brahmasphuta Siddhanta, Ganitadhyaya, verse 40. [5]
Sridharacharya	c. 853 A.D.	$\sqrt{10}$	Trisatica, Sutra 44. [6]
Mahavira	c. middle of 9th cent.	$\sqrt{10}$; also 3, roughly	Ganitasarasangraha, Ch. VII., verses 19 and 60. [7]

(1) तद्वर्गं तोदशगुणात् पदं भूपरिधिर्भवेत् ।

(2) चतुरधिकं शतमष्टगुणं द्वाषष्टिस्तथा सहस्राणां ।
अयुतद्वयविष्कम्भस्यासन्नो वृत्तपरिणाहः ॥

(3) शरयमाङ्गहता भनवाग्निहृद् ग्रहवृतिश्रवणः
फलमुच्यते ।

(4) परिधेर्वर्गदशांशात्पदं सविष्कम्भः ।

(5) व्यासव्यासार्द्धकृती परिधिफले व्यावहारिके त्रिगुणे ।
तद्वर्गाभ्यां दशभिः सङ्गुणिताभ्यां पदे सूक्ष्मे ॥

(6) वृत्तव्यासस्यकृतेर्मूलं परिधिर्भवति दशगुणात्मः ।

(7) (*a*) त्रिगुणीकृतविष्कम्भः परिधिः ।
(*b*) वृत्तमेवव्यासोदशपदगुणितो भवेत् परिक्षेपः ।

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Aryabhatta the Younger	c. latter half of 10th cent.	$\sqrt{10}$; $\frac{22}{7}$; $\frac{21600}{68780} = 3.14136$	Mahasiddhanta, Ch. XV., verses 88 and 92 and Ch. XVI., verse 37.[8]
Utpala	c. 966 A.D.	3	Commentary on Barahamihir's Brihat Sanhita, Ch. LII., verse 73.[9]
Bhaskara	b. 1114 A.D.	$\frac{22}{7}$; $\frac{3927}{1250} = 3.1416$	Lilavati, verse 201.[10]

A noteworthy fact in connection with the above table—a fact which has an important bearing on the assumption gratuitously made by our critics about the wholesale indebtedness of Indian Geometry to Greek—is that the so-called Archimedean value $\frac{22}{7}$ was not used in India before the latter half of the 10th Century A.D. (Archimedes himself never took $\pi = \frac{22}{7}$. In Prop. III of his Measurement of a Circle he showed that $\pi < 3\frac{1}{7}$ but $> 3\frac{10}{71}$). Below we give a very brief history of the value of π as used in the West up to the 12th century A.D.

Euclid does not state the value of π explicitly. Archimedes (287–212 B.C.) proved that π is less than $3\frac{1}{7}$ and greater than $3\frac{10}{71}$. Apollonius (c. 260–200 B.C.) discussed the subject, but his writings on it are not extant. Hero of Alexandria (c. 100 B.C.) gave the value 3. He also quoted the result $\frac{22}{7}$. Ptolemy (d. 168 A.D.) asserted that $\pi = 3° 8' 30''$. This gives $\pi = 3\frac{17}{120}$. The Roman surveyors used 3 and sometimes 4. For closer value they used $3\frac{1}{8}$ instead of $3\frac{1}{7}$. Gerbert (d. 1003 A.D.) recommended the use of $\frac{23}{7}$. In the 13th Century Leonardo of Pisa gave the value $1,440/458\frac{1}{3}$.

We may also mention that from the Rhind Papyrus as deciphered by Eisenlohr, it is evident that the ancient Egyptians took 256/81 as the value of π. The Babylonians, however, used 3. That the Jews also employed 3 as the value of π is evident from I Kings, VII. 23 and II Chronicles IV. 2. In the Chinese works the values 3,22/7 and 157/50 are said to occur. Alkarismi gave the values 22/7, $\sqrt{10}$ and 62,832/20,000 and "no doubt (these), were derived from Indian sources" (Ball).

We intend to give in another article a fuller history of the value of π both in the West and in the East.

7 (b). This formula is given by Mohammad Ibn Musa and was evidently taken from Brahmagupta. In connection with this rule we read in J.A.S.B., Vol. IV., N.S., 1908, p. 103, "Obviously the source of information is the same in all three cases, and obviously M.ibn Musa did not get his rules through the Hindus, who nowhere, before his time, dealt with the area of segments of circles." The two rules referred to here are (1) that for finding the diameter of a circle when the height and the chord of a segment of it are given and (2) that for finding the area of a segment of a circle. In the absence of any evidence forthcoming about this so-called source, we ackowledge we are unable to appreciate the "obvious" fact. There is also a slight confusion here. For, in the paragraph just preceding the one quoted, four persons are mentioned, viz., Aryabhata, Brahmagupta, Musa and Bhaskara: it is not clear therefore who are referred to by the word "three." Of the four persons, Aryabhata does not give either of the rules. Brahmagupta's statement of the first rule is the earliest and there is no evidence that the rule in this form was known to the earlier Greeks. Musa (c. 830 A.D.) flourished over 200 years after Brahmagupta (598-660) and there is positive evidence that Indian mathematics was carried into Arabia in the 8th century A.D. Bhaskara also gives the rule, as do quite a number of Hindu mathematicians of the period between Brahmagupta and Bhaskara. There is no doubt that the rule in question had become traditional among Indian mathematicians before the time of Bhaskara. The argument suggested to be followed, therefore, amounts to this. P is found in possession of two articles A & B of which A is exactly similar to one previously in possession of Q who never had anything like B.

(8) (a) वृत्तव्यासस्यकृतेर्दशगुणितायाः पदं परिधिः।

(b) व्यासकृतिघातोऽष्टे विहृतः सूक्ष्मोभवेत् परिधिः।

(c) खगुणागजघ्ना व्यासस्तत्र भलिप्ताः स्फुटः परिधिः।

(9) व्यासं त्रिगुणितं कृत्वा विष्कम्भं तत् समादिशेत्।
व्यासार्द्धवर्गस्त्रिगुणः फलं स्यात परिवर्त्तुले॥

(10) व्यासे भनन्दाग्निहते विभक्ते खबाणसूर्यैः परिधिः स सूक्ष्मः।
द्वाविंशतिघ्ने विहृतेऽथ शैलैः स्थूलोऽथवा स्याद्व्यवहारयोग्यः॥

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Since P could not have stolen B from Q, it is "obvious" that A also could not have been stolen by P from Q! Why? Because it is inconceivable that P who is a non-Indian could have taken anything from Q who is an Indian! If it is true that Musa did not get his rule *through* the Hindus, it is equally true that he got the first of the two rules *from* the Hindus. Further, we do not know on what sauthority such a categorical statement that the Hindus nowhere before the time of Md. Ibn Musa dealt with the area of segments, is made. As was observed by Sir Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya in his annual (1907) address as president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "our knowledge of early Indian mathematics is somewhat limited and fragmentary. There is no exhaustive collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on astronomy and arithmetic, and the works which have been published or rendered into English form a very small proportion of what is known to have existed at one time." As a matter of fact, Sridhar, who was practically Musa's contemporary, gives the rule for finding the area of a segment of a circle. Mahavira also deals with areas of segments of circles.

Formula 10, about the volume of a cone or a pyramid. Here Brahmagupta expressly states * that this volume is one-third the volume of the cylinder or the prism respectively. Yet our critic asserts with his usual regard for truth that "Brahmagupta and Bhaskara both give the same inaccurate formula for the volume of a cone" (J. A. S. B. VoIIV. N. S. 1908, p. 120).

Theorem 12. In disparagement of Indian Geometry, it has been asserted that it is characterised by a lack of treatment of the theory of proportion. But in this theorem we find an application of the properties of similar triangles. Here we have a geometrical application not only of the theorem that if a:b::c:d, then a = bc/d, but also of the theorem that if a:b::c:d, then each of these ratios is equal to $\frac{a-c}{b-d}$. Aryabhata also dealt with similar triangles and applied the theory of proportion geometrically in shadow problems.

* चेत्रफलं वेधगुणं समखातफलं हृतं त्रिभिः सूच्याः।

Sec. खातव्यवहार, verse 1. of ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त।

GEMS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

Chalukyan Temples in the Mysore State

By Dr. E. Watts, M.B., B.S., London

A nation's greatness is manifested in many directions, but there are no more instructive evidences of that greatness than can be found in the civil and religious buildings where the mind of each succeeding age finds visible expression. There are few countries which can compare with India so far as her architecture is concerned, and it is a matter for the greatest regret that the skill which characterised her workers in the past is fast dying out, in spite of several serious attempts to encourage it. Immense wealth, skilful workmanship, infinite pains and patience, much devotion and enthusiasm, have been expended on these monuments of human skill in all parts of India. Look where we will, we shall be unable to find any greater examples of skill and patience than can be seen on the walls of the temples in the Mysore State belonging to what is wrongly called the Chalukyan style. Most of the work was done in the time of the Hoysalas, and there still remain several fine examples kept in a good state of preservation. Had the Hindus shown a greater interest in these monuments of a past history, many temples of surpassing

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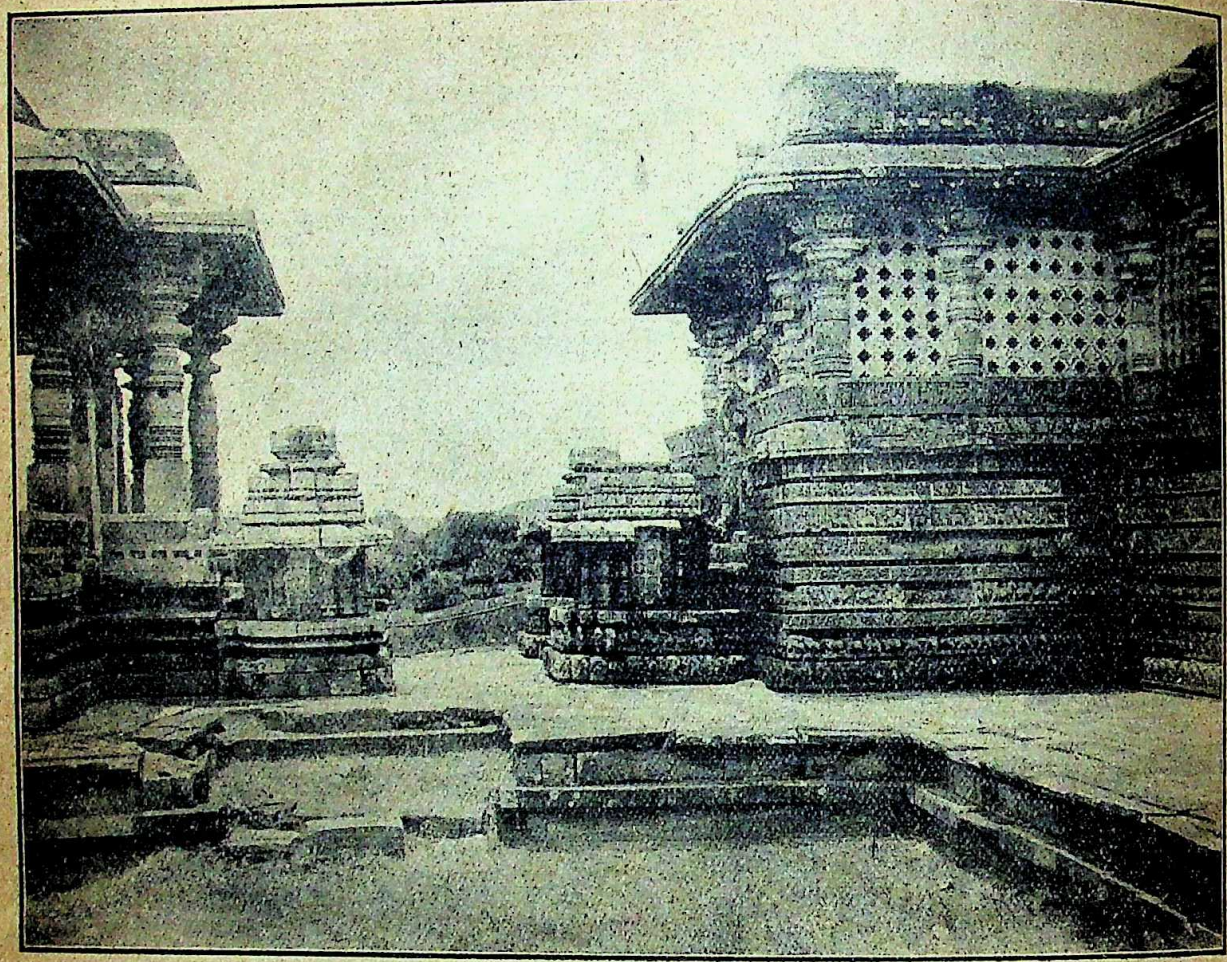

A Picturesque Corner, Halebid.

beauty which now lie in ruins would still have been a source of pride and interest, not only to Hindus, but to all who love those manifestations of man's genius wherever they may be found. The temples at Halebid and Belur are two examples which cannot be excelled, and it is to the credit of the Mysore Government, that, though slow to appreciate the need of measures for preserving these buildings, they have during the past few years shown a very commendable zeal in the matter.

Before describing the temples at Halebid and Belur it will be convenient to point out a few characteristics of this particular form of architecture. The temple is polygonal or star-shaped, having four principal faces, longer than the others; three of these have niches and the fourth an entrance; a roof which ascends in steps; a simple porch in columns equidistant, and usually a wide seat. It was usual for the architect to lavish much skill and labour on the entrance where the carving has all the marks of extreme care and workmanship. A unique feature of these temples is the method of lighting by means of pierced stone slabs which act as windows. The pillars, while not overladen with carving, are made in such a way as to have the appearance of having been turned in a lathe; they are designed in pairs, and throughout the temple there is a good deal of variety. The temple stands on a platform from 10 to 15 feet wide.

In the former of the two villages where these buildings are to be seen, that of Halebid, there are two temples; the Hoysaleswara, the older of the two, was commenced by Vinayaditya (1047-1100) but never finished, and the Kedareswara, erected by Vira Ballala and his queen Abhinava Ketali Devi about 1219. The first named was interrupted after 86 years of building probably owing to the overthrow of the dynasty and the attendant troubles. The sculptors were Devoji Masana, Mayana, and others. It is not unlikely, according to

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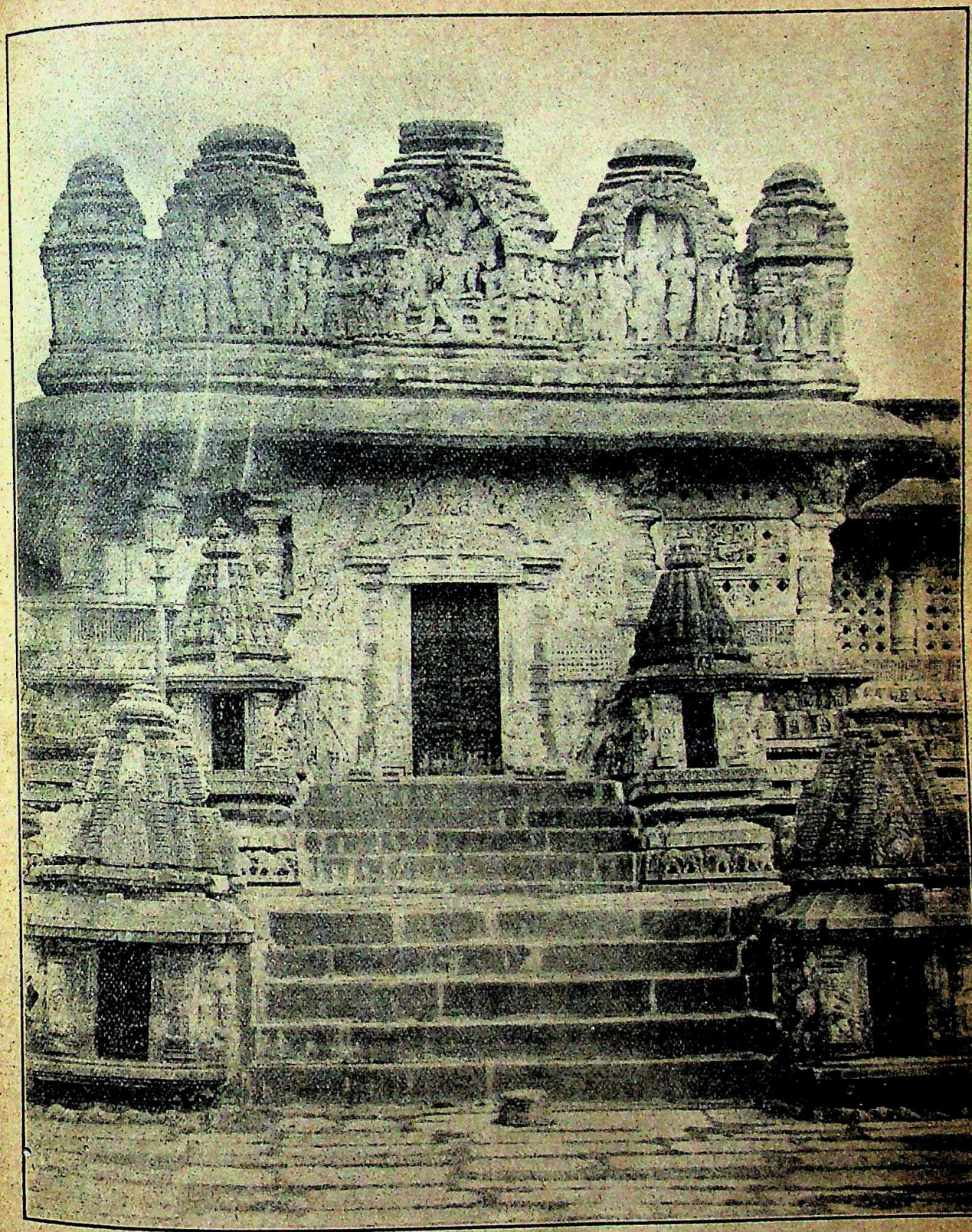

A Wonderful Doorway.

Fergusson, that the original idea was to build two pyramidal towers over the two inner shrines and others over the central pavilion, as this is the form in which the only complete example, that at Somnatpur, is to be seen. The builders obtained their stone from the neighbourhood, and after placing it in position executed their carv-

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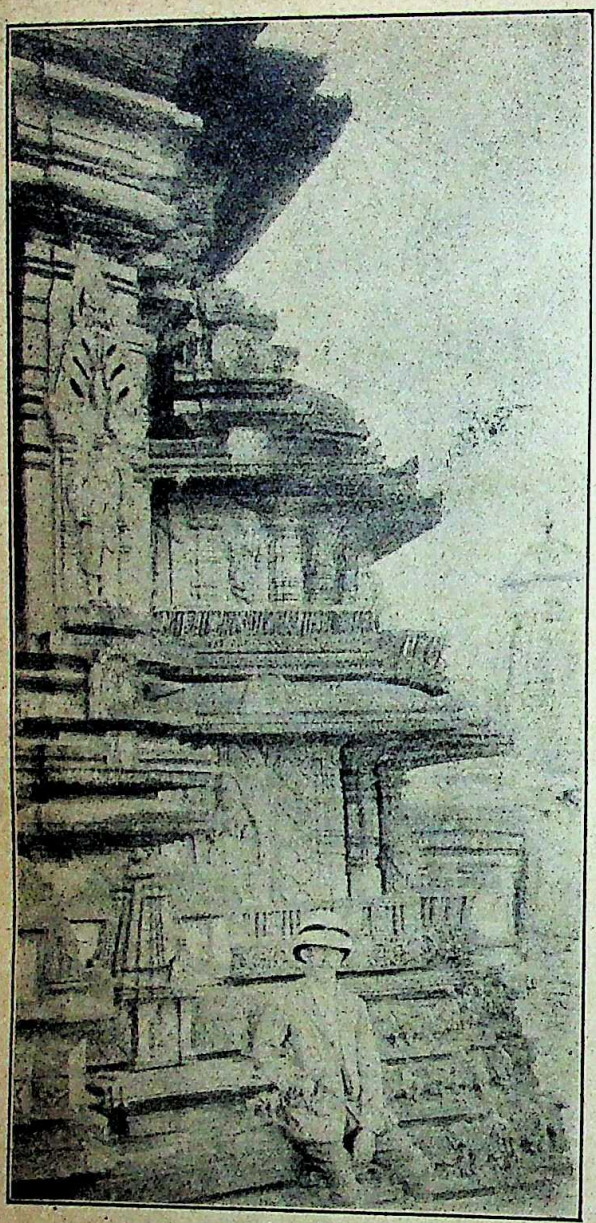
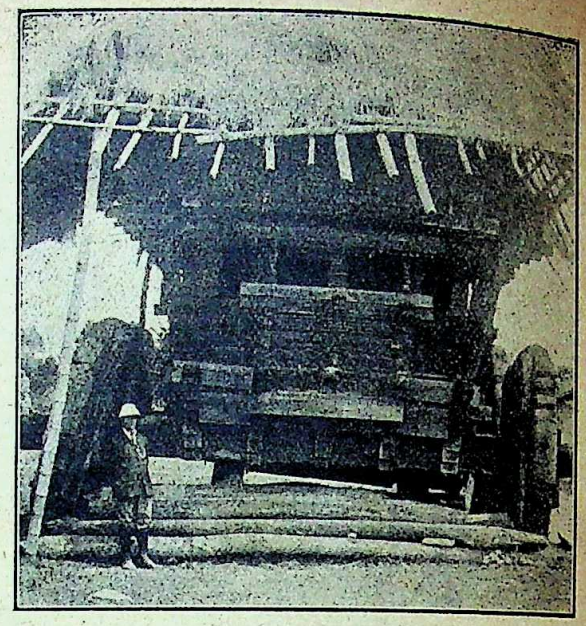


A Corner of Belur Tempe.

ings. Though the stone is soft on taking it from the ground, it soon becomes hard on exposure, as it is evident from the fact that these structures are in good condition after nearly a thousand years. The temple is a double one, consisting of two almost equal parts, each of which would have served as a temple. On the east face are fine pillared porches containing huge shrines of the bull Nandi. An examination of the carving shows how wonderfully the sculptors have carried out their work. Right round the temple there is a frieze which may be considered the most marvellous exhibition of human labour to be found even in the patient East. The order follow-



The Festival Car

ed will be seen on the accompanying photograph. First a frieze of elephants, then one of Sharadas or conventional tigers, a roll of great beauty and design, a frieze of horsemen, a second scroll, then an interesting bas-relief giving scenes from the Ramayana, celestial birds, and last, a cornice with a rail divided into panels. Where no window is to be found in the upper part there is another frieze showing dancing girls and other objects of Hindu mythology, all carved with great elaboration. There are two quotations on the general architecture of the building which are worthy of notice. The mode in which the eastern face is broken up by large masses so as to give light and shade is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects attempted by their transepts and projections. On the western face "where the variety of outline and the arrangement and subordination of the various facets in which it is disposed must be considered as a master-piece of its class. If the frieze of the gods were spread along a plain surface it would lose half its effect, while the vertical angles without interfering with the continuity of the frieze give height and breadth to the whole composition. Here again the artistic combination of horizontal and vertical lines, the play of outline and light and shade, far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what mediaeval architects are often aiming at but which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebid."

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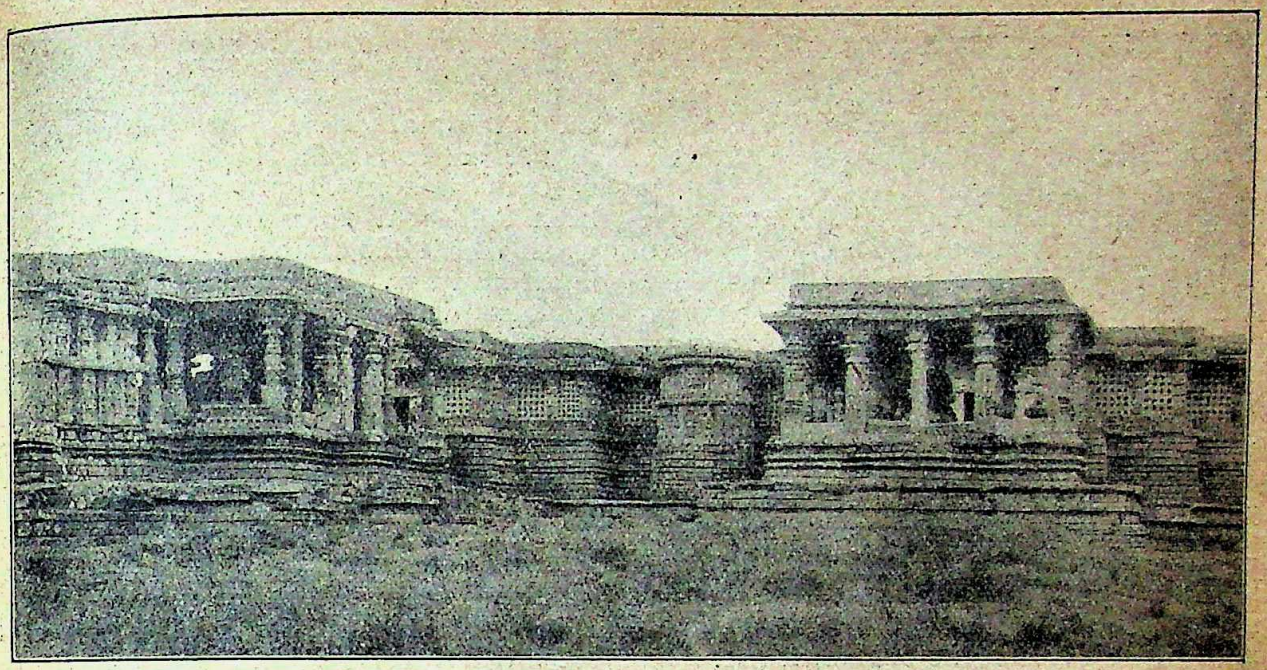
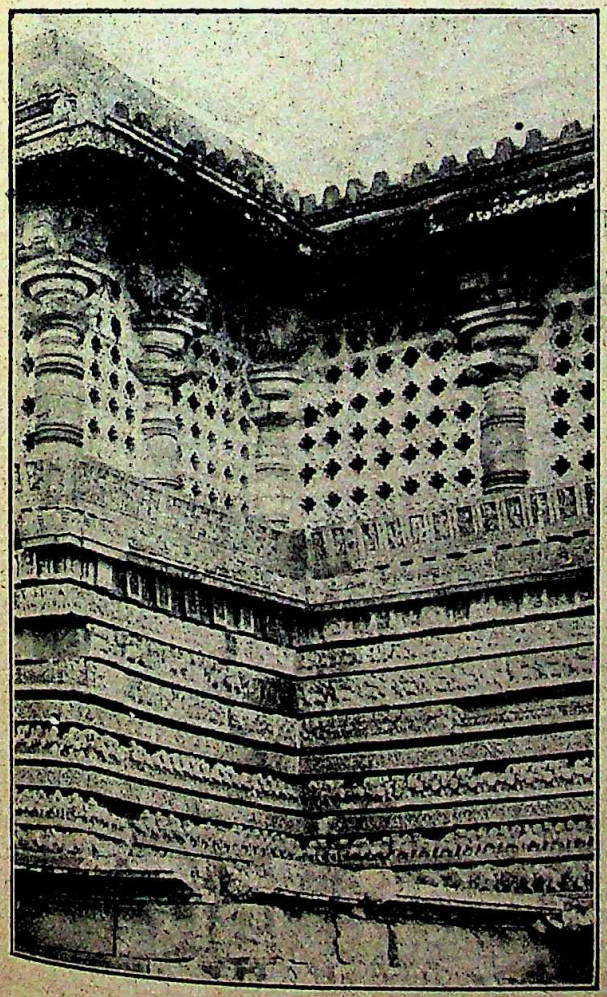
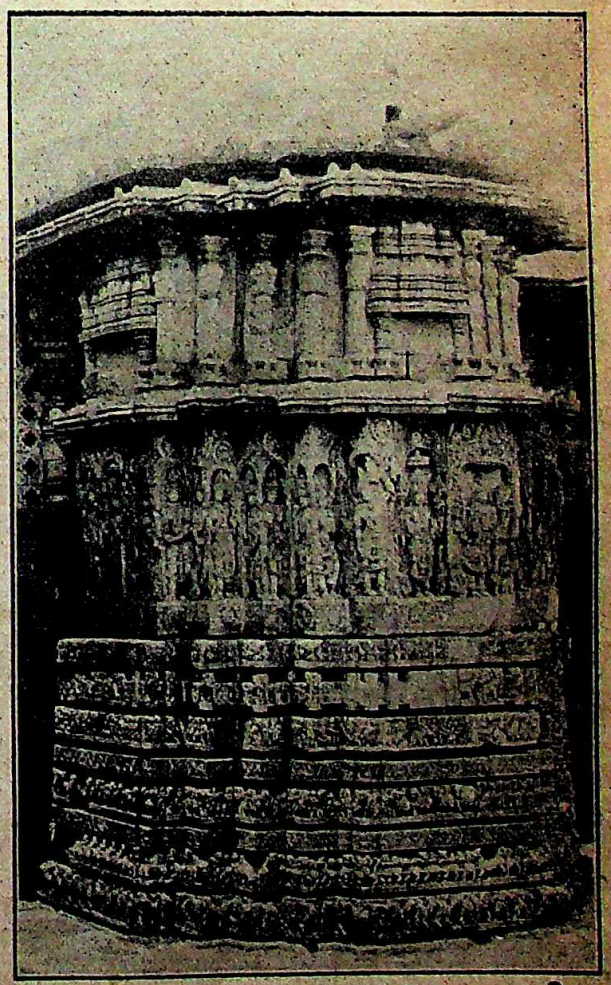


General View of Hoysaleswara Temple.



Halebid Temple.



Showing Elaborate Carving, Halebid.

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A few words must suffice for the smaller temple. Fergusson said of this: "If it were possible to illustrate this little temple in anything like completeness, there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing." Still for many years it was utterly neglected and a tree was even permitted to take root and to overthrow the vimana. Directions were given, as the result of Lord Curzon's interest in the matter, that an attempt should be made to rebuild it, but this has not been a success, though much has been done to prevent further deterioration. This temple was also star-shaped, having sixteen points, a carved conical roof and carvings of great beauty, these being so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outline of the building while they impart to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Indian art.

Belur is a Vaishnavite structure, and consists of a principal temple surrounded by four or five others. The whole is enclosed in a huge court, with two fine gateways on the east front. The temple stands on a terrace, three feet high, and has an octagonal dome. The building being in use suffers from the common want in taste in modern Hindu temples, for it has been subjected to many coats of white-wash which has almost covered the carving from view. There are 28 windows of various designs, interspersed with mythological figures. There is a cornice and porch of great beauty. Of the latter Fergusson says, "The amount of labour, indeed, which each facet of this porch displays, is such as, I believe, never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world." There is an increasing interest being shown in many classes in the architecture of this country. If the contemplation of the works of the past will inspire some to emulate their work it will bring in an era of architecture of which we may be proud.

THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS

THE object of the following article is to give a short account of the chief results at which scholars have arrived concerning the date, composition and historical value of the Gospels. There are many such accounts, some of them popular in character, for English readers, but none so far as I am aware for Indian readers. The Indian can seldom be so familiar with the gospels as the Englishman who has read them over and over again from his childhood, but on the other hand, he is much freer from prejudice. For him then, a somewhat different treatment is desirable. If a suitable account had been written by an expert it would have been much better, but as it has not been and is not likely to be, I have done my best. I have taken pains to be accurate, but I cannot hope altogether to have escaped the mistakes into which a man is liable to fall, when he writes on subjects outside the range of his own special studies.

The task is easier now than it would have been forty years ago for there is a much greater convergence of opinions now than then. At that time I remember reading a book called "Supernatural Religion" and Dr. Lightfoot's answer to it. The author of "Supernatural Religion" following the Tubingen school maintained that the gospels were written in the latter part of the second century, while Dr. Lightfoot upheld the traditional views of their date and authorship. Neither opinion is now considered tenable. On the one hand it is recognised that none of the gospels can have been written much after the beginning of the second century, and on the other hand that the ascription of them to the authors whose names they bear is wrong in the case of Matthew and John and doubtful in the case of Mark and Luke. The discussion is not so controversial as it used to be. It is no longer a contest between opponents and defenders of Christianity. Emancipated writers such as Wellhausen and Loisy agree on most

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points with the contributors to "Oxford Studies of the Synoptic Problem" who are all Christians or at least clergymen of the Church of England. It is generally admitted that "Mark" is the oldest of the gospels and was written between A.D. 70 and A.D. 80; "Matthew" and "Luke" were written between A.D. 80 and A.D. 100. "John" which has always been considered the latest of the gospels was written at the beginning of the second century.

The present agreement has been arrived at, not by the discovery of any fresh external evidence, but by the careful examination of the gospels themselves. As long ago as 1835 and 1838 three German scholars had shewn that both Mt and Lk use Mk.* But even among scholars this result only slowly found acceptance and it did not become a matter of common popular knowledge till towards the close of the 19th century. Now that it has been established the priority of Mk seems so obvious that we feel inclined to wonder that it was not recognised centuries ago. In the first place the three gospels cannot be independent. Let us compare three passage:

Mt.* And behold, there came to him a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he stretched forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway his leprosy was cleansed. And Jesus saith unto him, See thou tell no man; but go thy way and offer the gift that Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.

Mk.* And there cometh to him a leper, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, If thou wilt thou canst make me clean. And being moved with compassion, he stretched forth his hand and touched him and saith unto him, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him and he was made clean. And he strictly charged him, and straightway sent him out, and saith unto him, See thou say nothing to any man: but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest and offer for thy cleansing the things that Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.

Lk.* Behold a man full of leprosy, and when he saw Jesus he fell on his face and besought him, saying, Lord if thou wilt thou canst make me clean. And he stretched forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him. He charged him to tell no man but go thy way and shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

The verbal agreement is far too close for it to be possible to suppose that these are three independent accounts of the same incident. Two of the writers must have copied from the third or else all three must have used the some source. Now when the whole contents of the gospels are considered the discrepancies between Mk and Lk are so wide that one of the authors can hardly have been acquainted with the other. The choice is between Mk and some older work. At one time the hypothesis of a primitive Mk was widely accepted but it has now been generally abandoned. It would only be necessary, if the points on which Mt and Lk agree with one another and differ from Mk were numerous and important. But this is not the case. Many of the alterations might have occurred to two writers independently. In the passage above quoted Mt and Lk omit the words "and being moved with compassion" and in fact they are unnecessary since the compassion is shewn by the subsequent actions. Mk often uses more words than are required. The sentence "And straightway the leprosy departed from him and he was made clean" contains two clauses either of which would be sufficient. It is shortened by Mt and Lk in different ways. Many of the changes made by Mt and Lk are merely improvements of style, as, for instance, the substitution of 'saying' for the more Semitic 'and he says.' Dr Sanday* thinks that the agreements of Mt and Lk may best be explained by the supposition that they used not an *older* form of the gospel of Mk, but a *later* form of text.

If we eliminate all that is borrowed from Mk there still remain many passages in which Mt and Lk agree. Take the following:

Mt XII, 27, 28. And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore shall they be your judges. But if I by the spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.

Lk XI, 19, 20. And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore shall they be your judges. But if I by the finger of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.

There are two trifling differences in the original which do not appear in the translation, but the agreement is very close, indeed a so close that it seems that Mt and Lk must have used the same written Greek source.

The following appears in indentical words in the two writers:

* We use Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn as symbols for the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, not making any assumption as to their authorship.

* Oxford Sudies, I.

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He that is not with me is against me ; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.

But in other passages while there is similarity of thought the words differ a good deal. Thus :

Mt X 29. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing ? And not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father.

Lk XII, 6. Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings ? And not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God.

Here it seems more probable that the two writers were repeating from memory what they had heard rather than using the same written document. Both Mt and Lk give the story of the healing of a centurion's servant and while there is substantial agreement of matter, the *verbal* agreement is not very close in the narrative portion but becomes very close in the words of the centurion and Jesus, if his concluding words, which are given elsewhere by Lk, be omitted from Mt's account. Some writers have thought that in places Mt and Lk were translating from a common *Aramaic* original. This is a matter for experts, and unfortunately the comparatively few Aramaic scholars do not agree.

The parts common to Mt and Lk which are not in Mk are generally denoted by the symbol Q, but it would be rash to assume that Q ever existed as a single book. In the first place Mt and Lk may have used more than one document besides Mk, so that Q may contain portions due to different writers. In the second, either Mt or Lk may have taken passages from his source which the other writer omitted. This is what they have done in the case of Mk, and in fact it is unlikely that any two men should independently make exactly the same extracts from a book. The chief document used by Mt and by Lk may then sometimes not contain passages which are in Q, and sometimes contain passages which are not in Q. If we take Q as we find it in Mt and Lk, it consists almost entirely of sayings attributed to Jesus. Prefixed to these is an account of the preaching of John the Baptist, of the baptism of Jesus by John and of the temptation of Jesus. Two miracles also are related, the healing of a centurion's servant and the healing of a man possessed with a blind and dumb devil. But the trial and crucifixion of Jesus are omitted. It is difficult to believe in the existence of a book with such contents. The account of John the Baptist would be in place in a biography of Jesus but out of place in a mere collection of his sayings. There is no obvious reason for the selection of these two particular miracles. Then too no account of the life of Jesus could altogether have omitted his trial and crucifixion. It seems then unlikely that Q could even have existed as a single document. *

Mk and Q both have accounts of John the Baptist, the baptism of Jesus, the temptation of Jesus, and some incidents. The agreement between them is too close to suppose that they are independent of one another, but there is much difference of opinion as to their relative priority. The narratives of Q are the fuller and more interesting. Thus Mk merely says that Jesus was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan, but Q relates what the temptations were. Now in general it may be supposed that the detailed narrative is the later. Thus all the Quran relates of the night-journey of the Prophet is "Glory be to Him who carried his servant by night from the sacred temple to the temple that is more remote" but the traditions give a long account of visits to the seven heavens and interviews with the prophets. It is easy to suppose that we have in Q a later legendary development of the narrative in Mk, but it is difficult to believe that if Mk had known the interesting story of Satan offering Jesus all the kingdoms of the world, he would have deliberately omitted it. So too, the most striking of the sayings of Jesus found in Q are not given by Mk. To explain this it has sometimes been said that Mk supposes his readers to be acquainted with Q and sometimes that Mk is not concerned to report the sayings of Jesus, but with depicting him as the Pauline Christ, the redeemer of mankind. One or other of these explanations might be satisfactory if Mk omitted *all* the sayings of Jesus found in Q, but he does give some, and his selection is such as no Christian from his day to ours would be likely to make. Then too the sayings that Mk gives are generally more forcibly expressed in Q and in closer connection with the context. It is not obvious why Mk should take some sentences, by no means always

* The question is very fully discussed by Mr. Streeter, Mr. Allen and Dr. Bartlet in "Studies in the Synoptic Problem" They arrive at different conclu-

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the best, from Q, detach them from their context and sometimes spoil them in expression.

These questions, interesting though they are as problems of literary analysis, have no historical importance. For Q consists almost entirely of sayings and adds nothing of historical value to the incidents related by Mk. The few incidents peculiar to Mt are also obviously unhistorical. Lk appears to have preserved some genuine traditions. Thus we are told that Jesus said of his way to Jerusalem "Shall not God avenge his elect which cry to him day and night, and he is long suffering over them? I say unto you that he will avenge them speedily"; and the thoroughly Jewish tone of the saying seems to shew that it was really uttered. Again Lk alone mentions that Jesus told his followers to buy swords and if they had no money to sell their cloaks for that purpose. The next verse "And they said, Lord, behold here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough" also seems to be genuine, but it must refer to a different occasion. The accusation "We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king" also seems genuine. But if we except these and a few other traditions it may be said that *whatever can be known about Jesus is contained in Mk.* The converse proposition that whatever is contained in Mk is historical, is very far from true. All the gospels, Mk included, were written at least a generation after the events they relate. With the gospels as with the traditions of the Prophet, there is a gap between the supposed fact and the record. A new generation has grown up with different beliefs and hopes. Much has been forgotten and what has been remembered is seen in a new light. Events which profoundly affect the whole community have occurred during the intervening period; in Islam, the rapid conquest of Syria and Persia and the conversion of thousands of non-Arabs; in Christianity, the belief in the resurrection of Jesus and the Pauline doctrine that he is the redeemer of the whole human race. Wellhausen says concisely "Jesus was not a Christian but a Jew." But the writers of the gospels were not Jews but Christians. The Christian community has separated itself from the Jews and regards them with increasing hostility. On the other hand the attitude toward the Roman is friendly, and the gospel writers seek to shew that Jesus was not really disloyal to the Roman government and that it was only unwillingly that the Roman governor condemned him to death. According to ecclesiastical tradition the second gospel contains the recollections of Saint Peter written down after his death by his follower Mark. Some of the stories may perhaps be derived ultimately from Saint Peter but an examination of the gospel shews that it cannot have been obtained directly from him or from any eyewitness. It is not a connected narrative but a series of anecdotes. The indications of time and place are altogether vague. Take them by themselves in their order as they occur in the Galilaean period.

"Passing along by the sea of Galilee." "They go into Capernaum." "In the morning he rose up and departed into a desert place." "He entered again into Capernaum after some days." "He went forth again by the sea-side." "He was going on the Sabbath day through the corn fields." "He entered again into the synagogue." "Jesus withdrew to the sea." "He goeth up into the mountains." "He cometh into a house." "Again he began to teach by the sea side." "On that day when even was come, he saith unto them, Let us go over unto the other side." "And they came to the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gerasenes." "When Jesus had crossed over again in the boat unto the other side." "He went out from the thence; and he cometh into his own country." "He went round about the villages teaching." "They went away in the boat to a desert place apart." "He constrained his disciples to enter into the boat and to go before him unto the other side to Bethsaida". "When they had crossed over, they came to the land unto Gennesaret." "From thence he arose and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon." "Again he went out from the borders of Tyre and came through Sidon unto the sea of Galilee." "He entered into the boat with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha." "And they come unto Bethsaida." "Jesus went forth, and his disciples, into the villages of Caesarea Philippi." "After six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John, and bringeth them up into a high mountain." "And they went forth from thence and passed through Galilee." "And they came to Capernaum." "And he arose from thence and cometh into the border of Judaea and beyond Jordan."

That is all: and it requires no elaborate scholarship to see that this cannot be the account of a companion. Anyone who is old enough can try the experiment of recalling a year of his life, thirty or thirty-five years ago. He will have forgotten much but to the incidents he does remember, he will be able to assign, at least approximately, their times and places. The only definite interval given "after six days" occurs between two incidents one of which

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is fictitious. Without leaving the New Testament, we can from the account of the travels of Saint Paul see how different genuine recollections are.

Besides chronological indications, many other things are omitted which must have been well known to a companion. We are told that Simon (Peter) and Andrew his brother were fishing and when Jesus called them they left their nets and followed him. This is the first mention of the brothers. The adhesion of Peter cannot really have been so dramatic. He must have met or heard of Jesus before. Yet nothing is said about the previous preparation. The disciples are represented as doing on the sabbath what the Pharisees considered unlawful. It is natural to suppose that Jesus had taught them liberal views about the sabbath, especially as he defends their conduct. But no account is given of any such teaching; this is the first dispute about the sabbath. The claims of Jesus to be the Messiah are at first a secret among a few disciples. Later on they are a matter of public knowledge. This is quite probable, it was the same with the claims of Mahammad to be a prophet. But when and how the claims to Messiahship became public is not related. These and many other questions which a collector of traditions would naturally ask a companion are left unanswered. The only inference is that when the gospels were written there were no surviving companions, and the gospel writers could only give anecdotes which had already passed through several mouths. It seems strange that the second generation of Christians should have known so little about the life of Jesus, but exactly the same thing happened in the case of Islam. Even the oldest traditionists are scarcely able to relate anything authentic about the Makka period. Allusions in the Quran, whose meaning must have been perfectly familiar to Abu Bakr and other companions, are explained in different ways by Mahammadan writers. The chronological order of the Surahs, the total length of the Makkan period are unknown. The original companions did not care to talk much about their experiences and their reticence was probably in part deliberate. Doubtless many incidents occurred in those early days which would not have been edifying to the piety of later believers.

A careful examination of Mk shews that it is the work of more than one writer. The connection of the narratives is sometimes broken by the interpolation of later extraneous matter. Several times the same legend is repeated in slightly varying forms. In what appears to be the oldest stratum Jesus is represented as a worker of wonderful cures. He heals a woman who "had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered but rather grew worse." It is exactly like the advertisement of a quack medicine. This quack medical atmosphere pervades the oldest narratives, and there can be little doubt that the historical Jesus was a faith-healer and exorcist. In a later stratum, much more astonishing miracles are found. Jesus walks upon the sea; even the wind and the sea obey him; he feeds thousands with a few loaves and fishes. Lastly the gospel has been edited by a Pauline Christian for whom Jesus is the redeemer who comes to give his life a ransom for many. But the profound significance of his life and death which Saint Paul had perceived is hidden from the Jesus and even from his disciples. They perceive not, neither understand, and their hearts are hardened.

Apart from the miracles, there is much that is worthy of credit in the gospel. John the Baptist is said to have been beheaded at the request of the daughter of Herodias. The dancing of the damsel pleased the king Herod so much, that he gave her, though unwillingly, the lead of John on a plate. In reality, John the Baptist was put to death because he was a dangerous and mischievous fanatic. Three times Jesus tells his disciples that he must be killed and after three days rise again, and on each occasion this is told as though it were for the first time. The words used are plain enough, yet it is said the disciples "understood not the saying" and in fact they did not anticipate his death. Obviously these predictions of death and resurrection cannot be historical. They are the insertions of a Pauline editor who wishes to show that Jesus of his own will died for the salvation of mankind. Later on we are told that Jesus was arrested in the middle of the night and taken before the high priest, the chief priests, the elders and the scribes who are supposed to have met together to form a court. The witnesses have also been summoned at this inconvenient hour. In the trial Jesus avows him-

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self to be the Messiah and is condemned for blasphemy although in the claim to be the Messiah there was nothing blasphemous according to Jewish notions. For the rest, this trial has not the slightest influence on the events which follows. Jesus, in the morning is taken before the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, and accused not of blasphemy but of treason. The proceedings before Pilate are most unusual in a court of justice and as M. Loisy says, resemble rather some melodramatic, theatrical effect than a scene of real life. Pilate wishes to acquit Jesus, but the multitude, at the instigation of the chief priests cry out "Crucify him, crucify him." It is as if in a High Court during a trial for murder the audience were allowed to call out "Hang him, hang him." Pontius Pilate with a weakness inconsistent with everything else known about him condemns Jesus against his own wishes to please the people. When a book contains so many absurdities we may well doubt whether any reliance can be placed on its statements. Even an incident not improbable in itself, requires some satisfactory attestations. In fact, while several of the stories in Mk *may be* true, there are very few of them of which we can say with any confidence that they *are* true. So completely had the historical tradition been lost when *Mk* wrote, that it is doubtful whether he even gives the day of the trial and death of Jesus correctly. According to Mk the last meal which Jesus ate with his disciples was the Passover and he was arrested on the same evening and crucified the following day.* In this account, Mk is followed by Mt and Lk, but according to Jn it was on the previous day that Jesus was crucified, that is to say, it was on the day on which after sunset the Passover meal was eaten. The authority of the fourth gospel is not worth much, but in this case Jn's date is confirmed by a good deal of other evidence. It is accepted, if I am not mistaken, by the majority of scholars, including Loisy and Wellhausen and many Christian writers, although it seems strange that orthodox Christians should be willing to adopt a view which so completely destroys the credit of the first three gospels. Mk relates with graphic details that Jesus sent two of his disciples to make ready the Passover. Lk follows him and adds the words (put in the mouth of Jesus) "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." If they are not to be trusted in this point, it is difficult to see in what else they can be believed. The events we are least likely to forget in the life of a dear friend are those which happened in the last hours we spent with him before his death. Yet according to most scholars Mt, Mk, Lk have not even given correctly the day on which Jesus died. It is as though a Musulman should forget whether a beloved teacher, with whom he remained till the last, died on the Idu'l Fitr or on the day before the Id.

In endeavouring to extract the scanty fragments of historical truth contained in the gospels, it is well to start with what is indisputable. Jesus was condemned by Pontius Pilate for claiming to be the king of the Jews. Ever since his death Christians have tried to make out that he did not really mean any harm by this and was not disloyal to the Roman Government. They think themselves able to reverse Pilate's verdict and to declare that Jesus was innocent. Now verdicts are sometimes mistaken, but before a higher court reverses the verdict of the lower court it calls for a record of the proceedings. Let us see then the record such as it is of the proceedings before Pontius Pilate.

Mk. 2-5. "And Pilate asked him, Art thou the king of the Jews ? And he answering saith unto him, thou sayest. And the chief priests accused him of many things. And Pilate again asked him, saying, Answerest thou nothing ? behold how many things they accuse thee of. But Jesus no more answered any thing ; insomuch that Pilate marvelled."

That is all about the trial. The story which follows of the release of a prisoner named Barabbas is improbable and has in any case nothing to do with the trial properly so called. Mt simply follow Mk. Lk adds the accusation of forbidding to give tribute to Caesar. The account given by Jn is inconsistent with the other gospels and is not worth quoting. It is obvious that no court would act with such levity as to decide an appeal with no better record of the evidence before them than this. Dr. Sanday and his colleagues are very learned scholars, but they have not heard the many things of which the chief priests

* According to Jewish usage, a new period of 24 hours begins after sunset, so that the day of the crucifixion, would according to Mk have begun about six o'clock of what we should call Thursday evening and lasted till six o'clock of Friday evening.

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accused Jesus, and Pilate had. Yet they think themselves entitled to say that Pilate was mistaken.

Now, it is true, the gospels assert that Pilate did not believe in the guilt of Jesus. According to Mk he wished to content the multitude. Mt and Lk add that Pilate before condemning Jesus as guilty declared in open court that he thought him innocent. This would be strange conduct on the part of any judge. It would not only be grossly wicked, but almost incredibly weak and foolish. Without the strongest evidence, it cannot be believed that such a thing really occurred. But it is first mentioned in a book written thirty or forty years after the event. The writer does not state his authority, but it is supposed he derived his information from a friend and adherent of the condemned man. Such a witness cannot be considered impartial and his evidence would be of doubtful value in any case. However, on further inquiry we find that this adherent was not present at the trial and does not say how he came to know what took place.* The evidence is worthless and no Muslim scholar would accept a tradition so badly supported.

The only fact which is certain is that Jesus was crucified by the orders of the Roman governor, and in the absence of proof to the contrary, it must be supposed that he was one of those Galilæan fanatics who through time to time attempted to overthrow Roman rule in Palestine. This presumption is rendered a certianty by various statements which are found in the gospels like the admission of a hostile witness. He called himself the Messiah. He came near to Jerusalem in the midst of a triumphal procession of people who cried "Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David." He committed a violent and unprovoked assault on peaceable citizens. He claimed to be king of the Jews. According to Mr. Williams it is generally admitted that Jesus never attempted to be a Theudas or a Barkocheba.† Perhaps this is generally admitted, but it is only admitted because most men are under the influence of traditional prejudices. Even those who have given up Christian superstitions find it difficult not to believe that the Jew who has for so many centuries been worshipped in Europe as God, must have been a very remarkable man. But the example of Ghaji Miyan shews that a man need not have extraordinary gifts in order to become a God. His success depends not on any merits of his own, but on what happens after his death. There is no reason to suppose that Jesus was markedly different from Judas of Galilee or Theudas or Barkocheba, and anyone of these men might equally well have been made into a god.

The essays of Dr. Sanday and his fellow-contributors with all their minute learning leave the impression that the writers have never been out of Europe. They know everything about Mk's historic presents and the doublets met with in Mt and Lk. but they overlook the fundamental fact that Jesus and his followers were not Oxford parsons or English peasants. They were Jews and therefore like all Jews always ready to fight about their superstitions. When two pious Englishmen disagree about religion they content themselves with saying ill-natured things of one another; when two pious Orientals disagree they come to blows. In Europe a religious teacher is merely a bore; in the East he is a public danger.* But it is only as an Oriental religious teacher that we can understand Jesus. In a former article in this review I have compared him with Birsa Munda. It seems to me now that a still closer analogy is furnished by the career of Guru Govindgar. This Guru pretended "that he was possessed of superhuman powers and supernatural gifts, that he could drive away disease and pestilence and could exorcise evil spirits and ghosts." "For a time he worked in the guise of a religious and social reformer among the Bhils, (*Jews*) and underneath his preaching lay a far-reaching political propaganda." "Guru Govindgar cherished the idea of re-establishing the Bhil sovereignty" (*kingdom of David*). He contrived "to attract the sympathy and attention of many Bhils by representing to them that the millenium was coming and that he was the incarnation referred to in the Shastras.

* "On the whole set of scenes up to the crucifixion, which took place in public, we are met by the question, Who is the reporter of these transactions, of the early Sanhedrim, of the trial before Pilate, of the scene in the barracks?" Menzies, The Earliest Gospel, p. 211

† "Studies in the Synoptic Problem" p. 410. Judas of Galilee and Theudas were fanatics who raised insurrections against the Romans. Barkocheba was a Messiah in the time of Hadrian.

* We do not think these statements can be accepted as generally true. Editor, *M.R.*

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He played upon the ignorance and credulity of the Bhils in a remarkably successful manner and inspired them with the belief that the Diwali (*Passover*) would mark the dawn of the Bhil era of ascending. He took care to keep aloof from persons of high caste (*chief priests*) and admitted into his fold Bhils, Nayakdas and others of low intelligence that he might escape exposure. He stigmatised persons of higher castes as dacoits" (*whited sepulchres, serpents, offsprings of vipers*). It will be seen that the resemblance extends even to details. *

We may take it then, as fairly certain, that Jesus was a Jewish fanatic, neither much better nor much worse than any of the numerous other Jewish fanatics who arose about that time and persisted in conflict with the Roman government. Adopting this point of view, we may try to summarize what may be regarded as historical in the gospels. Of course there is always room for doubt as to particular incidents.

Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel of God, and saying The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand : repent ye and believe in the gospel.† Before long he was joined by four adherents, among whom was Simon Peter, his chief follower. They went together to Capernaum and there he healed many that were sick with divers diseases and cast out many devils. Probably one of the "miracles" he performed was healing Peter's mother-in-law who lay sick of a fever. He did not stay in Capernaum long, but taking his disciples with him, went into the Jewish synagogues throughout all Galilee preaching and casting out devils. His family thought him mad. After a time his activity attracted the attention of the tetrarch Herod Antipas, who sought to arrest him.‡ But Jesus received a friendly warning and escaped to the territory ruled by Philip. In the neighbourhood of the town, Cæsarea Philippi, he was acknowledged as Messiah by a few adherents on the initiative of Peter. He instructed his followers strictly to keep the dangerous secret to themselves.* Some time afterwards Jesus and his disciples passed secretly through Galilee on the way to Jerusalem. When he came to Judæa multitudes came together unto him again ; and as he was wont, he taught them again. Probably he now made public his Messianic pretensions and those who had joined him were naturally alarmed at the prospect of strife with the Roman Government. "And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem ; and Jesus was going before them : and they were amazed ; and they that followed were afraid." Jesus encouraged them by telling them that God would speedily avenge his elect which cry to him day and night, on their heathen rulers. After the death of Jesus, the Christians tried to make out that when Jesus called himself the Messiah he did not mean by the word what everybody else meant by it, but attributed to it a perfectly new and peculiar meaning of his own. This, of course, is a later invention, and there can be no doubt that Jesus, like evey other Jew, meant by Messiah, the king of the Jews who was to sit on the throne of David.

It was near the time of the Passover, the chief festival of the year, and a multitude of pilgrims accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem. When they drew near the city he sent two of his followers into a village to bring him a colt and when they brought it, Jesus rode on it. He wished to show himself before the people as fulfilling the prophecy of Zachariah "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion ; shout O daughter of Jerusalem : behold thy king cometh unto thee : he is just and having salvation ; lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass." The intention was at once

* This account is taken from the Statesman of Feb. 12, 1914. Govindgar was sentenced to transporation for life.

† The kingdom of God means the restored kingdom of David. The Romans were to be expelled from Palestine.

‡ Luke 9, 9; 13, 37. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Marci, pp. 48, 49.

* This Mr. Williams calls in amusingly parsonic language "Concealing the mystery of His Person from the people and gradually revealing it to the inner circle." We do not doubt that Barkocheba and Govindgar also at first concealed the mystery of their Persons from all but the inner circle.

† Loisy and Wellhausen doubt this story of the colt, but as Dr. Menzies remarks (The Earliest Gospel, p. 205) if we leave out the words "on which no man had ever sat" we have a very simple and likely narrative. A story need not be wholly untrue because mythical features occur in it, for the account in Matthew shews that mythical features may be added later. There was no need of pre-arrangement. A Messiah at the head of numerous followers cannot be denied what he wants, and Jesus promised to send back the colt when he had done with it.

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understood and Jusus was acclaimed by the crowd as king. On the same day* according to Mt and Lk, Jesus entered the temple, and cast out all of them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold the doves. The motives for this act of violence are not explained, but he may have been partly influenced by the words of Zechariah "In that day there shall be no more a Canaanite in the house of the Lord of hosts." He spent the night in a place outside Jerusalem.

The next day (Thursday) Jesus again went to the temple and preached. He had a great popular success but excited the hostility of the religious leaders. It was exactly the same with Govindgar and another Messiah, Sabbatai Sebi. He seems at this time to have said something which gave great offence about destroying the temple and building it again in three days. It must have been about this time too that he told his followers to arm themselves. In the evening, he went to the house of a certain Simon the leper, in Bethany. A select body of adherents was assembled, and he was anointed, King of the Jews, the Messiah. Some of those present objected, not to the anointing, but to the too expensive quality of oil used. Probably it was at this meeting he took a vow not to eat or drink again until he had established the Messianic kingdom.* After the meeting, he went with his bodyguard, some of whom were armed, to the Mount of Olives, where he intended to conceal himself for the night. It is most likely, that the blow was to have been struck on the following morning. But his place of concealment had been betrayed, and men had been sent by the high priest to arrest him. After a struggle, during which one of those men was nearly killed, Jesus was seized. In the morning he was taken before the Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate, to be tried. The evidence against him was overwhelming and he seems to have made no defence. He was condemned to death and the sentence was immediately executed.

These are all, or nearly all, the facts that can be known about Jesus.

* According to Mk, Jesus entered Jerusalem on Sunday and was crucified on Friday, but two days of this interval are a blank in Mk's account. Then Mt and Lk further reduce the time by making the day of entry the same as the day of turning out the buyers and sellers in the temple. It may be conjectured that Jesus entered Jerusalem on Wednesday and was arrested on Thursday. No responsible Roman governor could fail to have a man who called himself king of the Jews, arrested as soon as possible.

* This is partly conjectural. Owing to limits of space I can only give results. For discussion, I must refer to Loisy and Wellhausen whom I have generally followed. The words used above are obtained by combining the accounts of Mk and Lk. A vow of this kind has often been made.

HOMERSHAM COX.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN INDIAN AND CHINESE RELIGIONS

The Hypothesis.

PROF. Dickinson, one of the latest English travellers in India, has declared in his *Appearances* that the Hindus are the most religious people in the world. And Prof. Giles commences his Hibbert Lectures published just a few months ago under the title, *Confucianism and its Rivals*, with the statement popularised by more sinologues than one that the Chinese are not and have never been a religious people. According to one observer the genius of the Hindu race is essentially metaphysical and non-secular; according to the other the Chinese are a highly practical nation without any otherworldly leanings. The people of India are said to cultivate exclusively the thoughts and feelings based on the conceptions of the Eternal, the Infinite and the Hereafter; whereas with the people of China "the value of morality has completely overshadowed any claims of belief; duty towards one's neighbour has mostly taken precedence of duty towards God."

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And yet the whole literature of Europe relating to foreign countries from Pliny to Tavernier, nay, from Megasthenes to Clive, bears unmistakable evidence of the secular achievements and material progress, and of the delight in the finite things of this world which the western travellers noticed among the people of Hindusthan. From their historic reports one knows really very little of the so-called transcendental and pessimistic beliefs which modern tourists seem to find in India. And as for the relgious indifferentism of the Chinese and their tabooing of the unseen, the ideal and the supernatural, Giles' eight Lectures would bias the reader to a thoroughly contrary view ; for it seems to me, a novice in things Chinese, that the whole work of the veteran Professor is intended to be a refutation of the paragraph with which he begins his interesting survey. Leaving aside for the moment the Taoistic, Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic strands of religious belief in China, one cannot but be impressed, if one were to follow Giles, with the vast amount of influence that the Super-natural and the Unknown have exerted on ancient Chinese life as manifested in pre-Confucian and Confucian literature.

In his third lecture Giles is his own critic and establishes the falsity of the universally recognised opinion when he remarks :

"Confucianism has often been stigmatised as a mere philosophy, inadequate to the spiritual needs of man : the last words, however, of the above quotation go far to show that the cultivation of rectitude is according to Confucian teachings, broad based upon the will of God."

The quotation is from Mencius :

"He who brings all his intellect to bear on the subject will come to understand his own nature ; he who understands his own nature will understand God. To preserve one's intellect, and to nourish one's nature —that is how to serve God. To waste no thoughts upon length of life, but to cultivate rectitude—that is to do the will of God."

This evidence from the Confucian camp about Chinese godlore is, however, not at all extraordinary. Giles himself has furnished numerous instances which go to prove that the agnostic or positivistic apotheosis of the actual, the practical and the worldly is not the exclusive feature of religious life and thought in China, but only one of the aspects or expressions of Chinese mentality, of which too much has been made by scholars. Rather, as one beginning the A. B. C. of a new subject, I am tempted to add to the stock of superficial analogies and parallelisms obtaining in the world of letters, with the hypothesis—

(1) That the trend of religious evolution in India, the so-called land of mystics, and China, known to be the land of non-religious human beings, has been since prehistoric times more or less along the same lines ;

(2) That the importation of Buddhism (A.D. 67) into the land of Confucius from the country of 'western barbarians' did not create the cultural and socio-religious affinity between the two peoples for the first time, but simply helped forward and accelerated the already existing notions and practices along channels and through institutions which have since then borne Indian names ;

and (3) That post-Buddhistic life and thought in both countries have been almost identical, so far as religious ideas are concerned,—and this in spite of differences in name, e.g., Vaishnavism, Shaivaism, Shaktaism, etc., in India, and neo-Confucianism, neo-Buddhism, neo-Taoism, etc., in China. And as the civilisation of Japan since the days of such pioneers as Shotoku Taishi and Kobo Daishi (7th-8th cent. A.D.) has been mainly an expansion of Indo-Chinese culture at Nara, Horiyuji, Kamakura and Kyoto centres, the religious beliefs, practices and customs are fundamentally the same in *Sangoku* (or the three worlds, viz., India, China and Japan). What pass for Buddhism today in the lands of Confucius and Shinto cult are but varieties of the same faith that is known as Tantric and Pauranic Hinduism in modern *Tienchu* (Heaven) or *Tenjiku* the land of Sakya the *Buddha*.

Every case of analogy or parallelism and identity or uniformity during this comparatively recent period need not however, be traced to the cultural, commercial or political intercourse between the three peoples during the Tang-Sung era of the Middle Kingdom (7th-13th cent. A.D.), the Augustan age of Chinese culture. This was synchronous with the epoch of Imperialism and benevolent 'Cæsaro-Papism' under such monarchs as Harshavardhana of upper India, Dharmapala of Bengal and Rajendrachola of the Deccan. The unity in notions and conventions may as well be due to the sameness of mental outfit and psychical organism and the consequent uniformity of responses to the stimuli

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presented by the facts and phenomena of the objective world.

This is specially to be borne in mind while noticing the identities in earlier epochs. Take, for example, the idea of the hare in the moon in the poem called "God-questions" by Chu Ping who lived between 332 and 295 B.C :

> "What does the hare expect to get
> By sitting gazing in the body of the moon ?"

Now in Sanskrit language some of the terms by which the moon is known imply the 'orb with the hare.' The Hindu idea is also very old ; but probably, as Dr. Hirth suggests, the same notion has existed in the two countries prior to any intercourse between them. The researches of Sinologues and Indologists have not yet brought forth any positive proofs relating to Indo-Chinese relations before 3rd and 2nd century B.C. So that identities or similarities in the cultural traits of the two peoples up till a century or two after Confucius and Sakya have to be explained by other circumstances than facts of history, *e. g.*, the common psychological basis endowing the races with the same outlook on the universe.

Mr. Ragozin in his *Vedic India* remarks about the impossibility of studying the ancient Hindus without reference to their western neighbours, the Iranians of Persia:

> "These two Asiatic branches of the Aryan race being so closely connected in their beginnings, the sap coursing through both being so evidently the same life-blood, that a study of the one necessarily involves a parrallel study of the other."

This cannot certainly be said with regard to the relations between ancient China and Hindusthan. And yet Indo-Iranian race-consciousness and Chinese race-consciousness seem to have been cast in the same mould.

The Cult of World-Forces in pre-Confucian China and Pre-Sakyan India (—B.C. 700)

(*a*) Yajna (Sacrifice)

Says Prof. Hirth,

> "Sacrificial service, we may conclude from all we read in the *Shu-King* and other accounts relating to the Shang Dynasty, was the leading feature in the spiritual life of the Chinese, whether devoted to Shangti or God, or to what we may call the minor deities as being subordinate to the Supreme Ruler or to the spirits of their ancestors. That minuteness of detail which up to the present day governs the entire religious and social life of the Chinese gentleman, the more so the higher he is in the social, and most of all in the case of the emperor himself, had clearly commenced to affect public and private life long before the ascendency of the Chou Dynasty (12th cent. B.C.), under which rule it reached its highest development to serve as a pattern to future generations. The vessels preserved as living witnesses of that quasi-religious relation between man and the unseen powers supposed to influence his life are full of symbolic ornament."

Religious ceremonies are not described in detail in the Chinese Classics, but we can have an adequate idea from the incidental references in the *Book of History* (Shu-King) and She-King or *Book of Poetry*. Dr. Legge gives the following description which is "as much that of a feast as of a sacrifice."

> The "ceremonies at the sacrifices" "were preceded by fasting and various purifications on the part of the king and the parties who were to assist in the performance of them. There was a great concourse of feudal princes..... Libations of fragrant spirits were made to attract the spirits, and their presence was invoked by a functionary who took his place inside the principal gate. The principal victim, a red bull, was killed by the king himself..... Other victims were numerous, and II. vi. v describes all engaged in the service as greatly exhausted with what they had to do, flaying the carcases, boiling the flesh, roasting it, broiling it, arranging it on trays and stands, and setting it forth. Ladies from the harem are present, presiding and assisting, music peals: the cup goes round."

Pictures of such family-reunions where the dead and living met, eating and drinking together, where the living worshipped the dead, and the dead blessed the living, are constantly to be met with throughout Vedic literature. For sacrifice or *Yajna* is the pivotal factor in Vedic Religion. This is noticed by Mr. Ragozin also, who remarks on "the immense extent of the subject, and its immense import not merely in the actual life, outer and inner, but in the evolution of the religious and philosophical thought of one of the world's greatest races." "The regular recurrence of the benificent phenomena of nature—rain and light, the alternation of night aud day, the coming of the dawn and the sun, of the moon and the stars"—all these came through the efficacy of sacrifice and prayer.

Mr. Giles refers to the custom of human sacrifice obtaining among the Chinese and also the conditions under which it fell into desuetude. The *Satapatha Brahmana* of the Vedists furnishes evidence from the Indian side:

> "The gods at first took man as victim. Then the sacrificial virtue (*medha*) left him and went into the horse. They took the horse, but the *medha* went out of him also and into the steer. Soon it

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went from the steer into the sheep, from the sheep into the goat, from the goat into the earth. Then they dug the earth up, seeking for the *medha* and found it in rice and barley. Therefore as much virtue as there was in all those five animals, so much there now is in this sacrificial cake (*havis* made of rice and barley) i.e., for him who knows this. The ground grains answer to the hair, the water with which the meal is mixed to the skin, the mixing and stirring to the flesh, the hardened cake in the baking to the bones, the *ghee* with which it is anointed to the marrow. So the five component parts of the animal are contained in the *havis*."

(*b*) Pitris (Ancestors)

In the Prolegomena to Dr. Legge's translation of *She-King* or the Book of Poetry we read:

"A belief in the continued existence of the dead in a spirit-state and in the duty of their descendants to maintain by religious worship a connection with them, have been characteristics of the Chinese people from their first appearance in history. The first and third Books of the last part of the *She* profess to consist of sacrificial odes used in the temple-services of the kings of Chow and Sang. Some of them are songs of praise and thanksgiving, some are songs of supplication; and others relate to the circumstances of the service, describing the occasion of it, or the parties present and engaging in it. The ancestors worshipped are invited to come and accept the homage and offerings presented."

The *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, the earliest records of Japanese literature (7th-8th centuries A.D.) are the principal storehouses of information regarding the primitive *Kami*-myths. These contain Ancestor-cult supposed to be the original faith of the people in the Land of the Rising Sun.

Now if ancestor-worship be the characteristic feature of the 'sons of Han' and the people of the Yamato race, the Vedic Indians and even the present day Hindus are akin to the Chinese as well as the Japanese.

In Vedic parlance the *pitris* or ancestors are not only the deified heroes, Rishis or 'inspired prophets' and eponymous culture-pioneers as we have in Homeric epics, Celtic legends and Scandinavian sagas, but often have the same rank as the elemental forces of the universe and the gods themselves. Ancestor-cult of the ancient and modern Hindus is essentially a branch of their god-lore, in fact, an aspect of their all-inclusive Nature-cult.

(*c*) Sanatanism (Eternal Order)

Taoism is defined by Prof. De Groot in his *Religion in China* as the system whose "starting point is the *Tao* which means the Road or Way, that is to say, the Road or way in which the Universe moves, its methods and its processes, its conduct and operation, the complex of phenomena regularly occurring in it, in short, the order of the World, Nature or Natural Order. It actually is in the main the annual rotation of the seasons producing the process of growth or renovation and decay; it may accordingly be called Time, the creator and destroyer."

The idea underlying this system of Tao is exactly what the Hindus are familiar with in the conception of *Sanatana Dharma*, which, by the bye, is the term by which the people of India designate their own religion, the term *Hinduism* being an expression given by outsiders. *Sanatana* means Eternal, Immutable, Changeless, and hence Universal. And the *Dharma*, *i.e.*, law, order or religion that is described by this expression points out the permanent realities or eternal verities of the universe, the truths which "having been must ever be," the ever-abiding laws that govern the world and its movements. *Sanatanism* is thus the Indian cult of the *Tao*.

In the *Rig Veda* these immutable laws are in the custody of the god Varuna, and constitute the *Rita*—"originally the Cosmic Order." *Rita*, to quote Ragozin's *Vedic India*, "regulates the motions of the sun and moon and stars, the alternations of day and night, of the seasons, the gathering of the waters in clouds and their downpour in rain; in short, the order that evolves harmony out of chaos."

This conception of the *Rita* or Eternal Law carries with it a moral and spiritual significance too.

"*Rita* is holy, is one, is the right path, the Right itself, the Absolute Good.....There is a moral *Rita* as there is a material one, or rather the same *Rita* rules both worlds. What Law is in the physical, that Truth, Right is in the spiritual order, and both are *Rita*."

The Chinese follower of *Rita* or *Sanatana* Tao thinks exactly like his Hindu fellowman.

"Should his act disagree with that almighty Tao, a conflict must necessarily ensue, in which he as the immensely weaker party must inevitably succumb. Such meditations have led him into the path of philosophy—to the study and discovery of the characteristics of the Tao, of the means of acquiring these for himself and of framing his conduct upon them."

According to the Chinese system there is an attempt "to attract Nature's beneficial influences to the people and the government and to avert its detrimental influ-

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ences." Likewise, the Vedic Hindu, when oppressed with the consciousness of wrong doing, and of sin, cried out for pardon and mercy to Varuna the Superintendent of the Tao.

(*d*) *Ekam* (THE ONE SUPREME BEING)

According to Hirth, "from records of *Shu-King* we are bound to admit that the ancient Chinese were decided monotheists. *Shangti*, the Supreme Ruler, received as much veneration at the hands of his people as did God, under any name, from any contemporaneous nation." And we have the following from Dr. Legge's Prolegomena to his translation of *Shu-King* :

"The name by which God was designated was the 'Ruler,' the 'Supreme Ruler,' denoting emphatically his personality, supremacy and unity. By God kings were supposed to reign, and princes were required to decree justice..... Obedience is sure to receive His blessing; disobedience to be visited with His curse. .....When they are doing wrong, God admonishes them by judgments, storms, famine and other calamities."

The conception of the Chinese Shang-ti as Supreme Ruler is found in the following song of the Vedic Rishi (*Rig Veda* V. 85:)

"Sing a hymn, pleasing to Varuna the King—to him who spread out the earth as a butcher lays out a steer's hide in the sun. He sent cool breezes through the woods, put mettle in the steed (the Sun), milk in the kine (clouds), wisdom in the heart, fire in the waters (lightning in the clouds), placed the sun in the heavens, the Soma in the mountains. He upset the cloud-barrels and let its waters flow on Heaven, Air and Earth, wetting the ground and the crops. He wets both Earth and Heaven, and soon as he wishes for these kine's milk, the mountains are wrapt in thunder-clouds and the strongest walkers are tired.

The following passage from Macnicol's *Indian Theism* describes the attributes of the Vedic *Shang-ti*:

"He sitteth on his throne in the highest heaven and beholds the children of men; his thousand spies go forth to the world's end and bring report of men's doings. For with all those other tokens of pre-eminence he is specially a moral sovereign, and in his presence more than in that of any other Vedic god a sense of guilt awakens in his servants' hearts. His eyes behold and see the righteous and the wicked. The great guardian among the god sees as if from anear. If two sit together and scheme, King Varuna is there as the third and knows it..... Whoso should flee beyond the heavens far away would not be free from King Varuna."

The student of Chinese Classics would find in this extract reminiscences from the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*.

(*e*) PLURALISM IN GOD-LORE

The Chinese believed in the One Supreme Being, but they believed in His colleagues and assistants as well. Their universe of Gods and Higher Intelligences was a pluralistic one.

The following extract is quoted from *North-China Daily News* by Mr. Werner for his *Chinese Sociology* compiled upon the plan organised by Herbert Spencer:

"The Chinese have the most profound belief in the existence of fairies. In their imagination, the hills and the mountains which are supposed to be the favourite resorts of these mysterious beings are all peopled with them, and from these they descend into the plains and.....carry out their benevolent purpose in aiding the distressed and the forlorn."

According to Giles in *Historic China* "the first objects of religious veneration among the ancient Chinese were undoubtedly Heaven and Earth; they are the two greatest of the three great powers of Nature, and the progenitors of the third, which is Man."

We read the following in Legge's Prolegomena to his *She-King:*

"While the ancient Chinese thus believed in God, and thus conceived of Him, they believed in other spirits under Him, some presiding over hills and rivers, and others dwelling in the heavenly bodies. In fact, there was no object to which a tutelary spirit might not at times be ascribed and no place where the approaches of spiritual beings might not be expected and ought not to be provided for by the careful keeping of the heart and ordering of the conduct..... King Woo is celebrated as having attracted and given repose to all Spiritual Beings, even to the spirit of the Ho and the highest mountains. Complaints are made against the host of heaven—the Milky Way, etc.,—as responsible for the sufferings caused by misgovernment and oppression. Mention is made.....of the demon of drought; and we find sacrifices offered to the spirits of the ground and of the four quarters of the sky, the Father of husbandry, the Father of war, and the Spirit of the path."

The worship of Agni, the Fire-god, has also been very old in China. We get the following in Lacouperie's *Western Origin* (P. 161):

"Fire was looked upon since early times among the Chinese as a great purifier, and large state fires were kindled at the beginning of each season, to ward off the evil influences of the incoming period. Special wood-fuel was selected with that object. The management of these fires was in the hands of a Director of Fire. The first appointment of this kind dates from the reign of Ti Kuh Kao Sin (2160-2085 B.C.).

The worship of stars also was not unknown. And

"Each district even had its protecting Spirit, and the Spirit of the ground was invoked at the solemnity which opened and terminated the agricultural labours of the year."

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Says Prof. Giles :

"Natural phenomena.....have at all times entered very largely into the religious beliefs of the Chinese, and may be said to do so even at the present day when gongs and cymbals are still beaten to prevent a great dog from swallowing the Sun or Moon at eclipse time."

This Chinese mentality as expressed in the pluralistic worship manifested itself equally if not more powerfully in the thousand and one "Nature-myths" of Vedic Literature.

(*f*) Folk-Religion

The pluralistic universe of the Chinese gods includes not only the *Shangti*, Heaven, Earth, "the six honoured ones," the stars, ancestors, spirits, hills and rivers, etc., but is wide enough to embrace almost anything. Thus animals, reptiles, birds, fishes, insects and plants were regarded as abodes of spirits and were worshipped. Mr. Werner gives the following bibliography:

"On Zo-anthropy generally see De Groot iv. 156-63, and on the different classes of animals (were-tigers, wolves, dogs, foxes, bears, stags, monkeys, rats, horses, donkeys, cows, bucks, swine, etc.) pp. 163-212. On were-reptiles ("tortoise worship may be said to have a somewhat extensive literature of its own, and dates back as far as 2900 B. C."—Balfour, *Leaves from my Chinese Scrap-book* 151-2), birds, fishes and insects, De Groot iv. 212-43, on plant-spirits pp. 272-324, on Dendrology and Sorcery vol. v., and on the war against spectres vol. vi."

Miss Simcox remarks that the "Chinese rendered quasi-divine honours to cats and tigers because they devoured the rats, mice and boars of the fields," and they "offered also to the ancient inventors of dykes and water-channels ; (all these were) provisions for husbandry."

The demonocracy, witchcraft, incantations, charms, amulets, sorcery, divination by tortoise-shell or stalks of the plant, shamanism, fetichism, totemism, exorcism, and sentiments regarding eclipses, droughts, famines, floods, locusts, diseases, earthquakes, etc., mentioned by every observer of ancient Chinese socio-religious life have their parallels or duplicates in Vedic texts as well. The desire to enjoy the good things of this earth and ward off the hydra-headed evil inspired the people of India as well as of China to have recourse to the same rites and practices. One has only to go through the table of contents and index of such a work as the Englished *Atharva Veda* (in Harvard Series) to be convinced of the common mentality and attitude towards Nature, Man and God, that characterised the two races in spite of their divergence in physiognomy and language, and the absence of intercourse during the period under review. As far as I am aware, students of Comparative Philology and Somatology or Physical Anthropology have not yet been able to trace any connexion between these two peoples. Nor have Archaeologists been successful in proving beyond doubt the existence of intercourse between them prior to 2nd or 3rd century B.C. But I venture to think that the data of Psycho-Social or Cultural Anthropology are copious and varied enough to attract sinologues to the study of Indology as a subsidiary branch of their special subject.

In this connexion may be quoted the following remarks of Dr. Wilhelm in his paper '*On the Sources of Chinese Taoism*'—in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV :

"The suggestion lies near that Taoism and pre-Buddhist Brahmanism may have something in common. It seems that many Brahmanic gods have found their way into Taoism even more easily than into Buddhism. Even the central notions of Taoism, *Tao* and *Te*, have an analogue in Brahma and Atman. So we venture the suggestion that the affinity of Buddhism and Taoism may have for its reason certain Brahmanic influences on Taoism."

"Taoism was not founded by Lao-Tzu, neither was Confucianism founded by Confucius. Both of them have their footing on Chinese antiquity. From that antiquity the foundations of the religious life of China have come down.....The religious teachings common to early Taoism and Confucianism can be traced in the scriptures of the *literati* as well as in the Taoist works ;"

—as well as, it may be added, in the earliest Hindu texts.

The Chinese conception of the Dragon, the serpent which typifies immortality and the Infinite and has its abode in the sky or cloudland is also very old in India. Thus Indra the Vedic thunder-god is celebrated as the fighter of the *Ahi* the cloud-serpent. Hirth quotes an article by Prof. Chavannes in the *Journal Asiatique* (1896, P. 533) in which we read : "The dragon itself could well be related to the Nagas of India."

(*g*) Idealism as a phase of Spirituality

The forefathers of the Chinese and the Hindus were not without their intellectuals who tried to probe the mysteries of the universe. The results of their metaphysical investigation, though not quite systematised on a regular plan, we have in such works

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as the Heraclitean *Yi-King* (Book of Changes), the Taoist lengends and *Upanishadic* lore. Neither the Chinese classics nor the Vedic texts are complete without these speculative discourses. To look upon these as separate from the classics is to misunderstand the earliest encyclopædias of the two peoples.

The *Book of Changes*, the most difficult of Chinese classics, is probably also the oldest work. As for Taoist doctrines, though they get methodised in a presentable shape about the 6th cent. B. C., or later, there is no doubt that they have been coeval with Chinese civilisation as floating literature. And the *Upanishads* which embody Hindu Taoism have existed ever since the *Riks* have been recited and *Samas* chanted at the sacrificial ceremonies. They are integral parts of the Vedas according to Indian tradition. Thus *pari passu* with the development of the ancestor-cult, *Shangti*-cult, demonology, etc., we notice the dualistic conception of the *Yang* and *Yin*, *Purusha* and *Prakiti*, heaven and earth, male and female, as well as the monistic pantheism and mysticism of the unconditioned, absolute and transcendent Reality. The parallelism between Chinese and Hindu religious consciousnesses up till about 8th—7th century B.C., is as great in ritualism and naturalism as in idealism and supernaturalism.

We notice this parallelism pervading every side of the spiritual life of the two peoples. Thus even before there was any intercourse between them we get pictures of asceticism, *Yoga*, retirement from life etc., in both China and India. De Groot begins his chapter on 'Holiness by means of asceticism and retirement' thus:

"A study of the text, which I have quoted in the two preceding chapters from the ancient classics and the writings of the early patriarchs of Taoism, necessarily leads us to the conclusion that there has prevailed, in the long pre-Christian period which produced those books, a strong leaning towards stoicism and asceticism. Perfection, holiness, or divinity were indeed exclusively obtainable by 'dispassion,' apathy, will-lessness, unconcernedness about the pleasures and pains of life, quietism or *wu-wei*."

Again,

"Chwangtsze boldly refers Taoist asceticism to China's most ancient times. He represents the mythical Empereor Hwangti as having retired for three months, in order to prepare himself for receiving the Tao from one Kwang Shentsze, an ascetic who practised quietism, freedom from mental agitation, deafness and blindness to the outer world, and so on. Retirement from the busy world is frequently mentioned in the Classics and other ancient writings by such terms as *tun*, *t'un*, *Yih* and *Yin*."

This phase of religious activity manifested itself in India also. Mr. Mancnicol speaks about the 6th century B.C.:

"The passionate quest of all awakened spirits, whether they were mendicants or kings, was for immortality, for deliverance from that bondage which was life itself. The orthodox.....pursued it along the 'road of works,' the way of rite and oblation.....The intellectuals.....sought the same goal along the 'road of knowledge,' reaching it at last by the iutuition that perceives the spirit within to be one with the spirit that is ultimate and alone. The devout worshipped in loving faith the god of their devotion, believing that his grace would save them in the midst of a world of a *samsara*. But the most earnest among all these.....would take the stuff of the mendicant and go forth as seekers, *Sramanas*, *Yogis*, *Munis*, *Yatis*—labouring to reach by self-torture or by mental exercises the goal of deliverance so passionately desired."

It would thus appear that the passion for *Mukti* (Salvation) is as old in China as in India.

(*h*) "THROUGH NATURE UP TO NATURE'S GOD"

The Japanese scholar Suzuki in his historical treatment of the Chinese intellect during the period we have been considering lays special stress on a fact which, according to him, "must be borne in mind when we investigate the history of Chinese philosophy." The remark which has been made by almost every sinologue is thus worded:

"The philosophy of the Chinese has always been practical and most intimately associated with human affairs. No ontological speculation, no cosmogonical hypothesis, no abstract ethical theory seemed worthy of their serious contemplation, unless it had a direct bearing upon practical morality. They did, indeed, speculate in order to reach the ultimate ground of existence; but as they conceived it, it did not cover so wide a realm as we commonly understand it, for to them it meant not the universe generally, with all its innumerable relations, but only a particular portion of it—that is, human affairs—and these only so far as they were concerned with this present mundane life, political and social. Thus, we do not have in China so much of pure philosophy as of moral sayings."

Sinologues must certainly be accused of 'crying for the moon' when they are disappointed in not finding among the Celestials a Spencerian *Synthetic Philosophy* or a Hegellian *Dialectic* and a Bergsonian *Creative Evolution*. They seem to forget that the Chinese of the Chou, Shang and previous Dynasties were contemporaries if not of the builders of the Pyramids, at least of the precursors of the bards of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and of the *Rishis*

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who were just contemplating the founding of a superb civilisation on 'the banks of the seven rivers.' To understand Chinese intellect in its proper perspective we have to take a cross-section of world-culture, say, about 8th-7th century B. C., the period which prepared the advent of a Confucius, a Sakyasimha, a Zarathustra and a Pythagoras. The ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, the Ægeans of Crete who formed the connecting link between the land of the Nile and the Isles of Greece, the Achæans and Ionians of the Homeric and Hesiodic eras, and the Hindus of the Vedic age would all be found to be equally wanting in the capacity for philosophical speculation or methodical intellectual work, if one were to judge of their achievements by the standard of to-day. The Hindus and Hellens are often mentioned as pre-eminently speculative races, and the Chinese placed in a miserable light by their side; but what specimens of Indo-Aryan intellectuality do we come across during the period synchronous with the first half of the Chou Dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), not to speak of the previous two milleniums during which the Chinese people have lived in history? Indeed, all the great races of men who have pioneered human civilisation have in their initial stages been mainly concerned with the problems of bread and butter, and subsidiarily or incidentally with the 'problems of the sphinx,' 'pure philosophy,' 'speculative system,' methodology, and all those topics with which we are familiar in modern times.

There is another pitfall into which we moderns are apt to be led by our temptation to read into old world life the facts and ideas of the present day. Scholars have their own theories about the ideally best form of religion, as they have also their own ideas of the ideally best form of government. Sinologues as well as Indologists are, therefore, ever anxious to know what was the formula or catchword by which the ancient Chinese as well as Vedic Hindus tried to express their religious notions. Was it polytheistic, monotheistic, pantheistic, henotheistic, anthropomorphic, naturalistic, animistic or what? Probably those pioneers of world's culture did not care for any formula at all.

It is a matter of common experience that there is no one word which can explain all the multifarious thoughts and activities of even a small group of human beings whom we can watch everyday. In this world of ours there is no purely republican or purely despotic state just as there is no purely monotheistic or purely polytheistic people. In every field we meet with cases of 'mixed systems,' toleration of diversities, reconciliation of opposites, and choice of the 'lesser evil.' So that in matters of religion as of politics people are compelled for all practical purposes to accept for their guidance the dictum of Alexander Pope :

> "For forms of government let fools contest,
> Whatever is best administer'd is best."

The Celestials like their contemporaries of Vedic India were essentially the worshippers of Nature. What they cared for most was Life, and what they feared most was the enemy of Life, both physical and human. The chief inspiration in all their activities was the desire to equip themselves for the 'struggle for existence.' They made use of anything that was likely to promote and advance the interests of life; and therefore, all the World-Forces, taken collectively in their totality, as well as individually and singly, attracted their attention. They wanted to harness the energies of Nature as best as they could to the production of the necessaries, comforts and luxuries of life. These natural benefactors of the human race were personified in their imagination, and they became the deities, the spirits, the fairies and *Shangti* or *Ekam*. Furthermore, the example of predecessors is a great help to subsequent generations especially when they are bent on an arduous task. So the ancestor-cult has had a prominent place in the comprehensive cult of world-forces ever since the dawn of Chinese and Indian history, the heroified fathers being as great beneficent agencies as the planets, the earth, fire and wind.

Nature or Universe, considered materially, gave to these pioneers of civilisation the primitive sciences and primitive arts. Nature or Universe, considered animistically, gave them the higher personalities or transcendent Beings who, like Prometheus, were the discoverers and custodians of all these instruments of human culture. They began that "quest of the Holy Grail," both intellectual and spiritual, which mankind is pursuing still and will continue to pursue for ever under the guidance of myriads of Sir Galahads.

We have read Charles Lamb's famous

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"Dissertation on Roast Pig" in his *Essays of Elia*. The humorous account of the Chinese invention of the art of cooking through cumbrous processes that we have in this most delightful of mock-anthropological essays is, after all, a serious chapter in the origins of civilisation. This was the kind of things the Celestials and Vedic Hindus were doing—discovering the rudiments of every desirable knowledge. And in the process of discovery they 'postulated' or took for granted the spiritual Being and Beings—who are above the ordinary mortals and who are capable of helping them in their need. They were thus looking "through Nature up to Nature's God." Their religion was fundamentally the handmaid of Life and hence coincided fully with what we call *Kultur*.

There are, however, certain contrasts which must not be overlooked by the student of Comparative Religion :

1. The form in which Vedic Literature has come down to us is quite different from that in which we have the Chinese Classics.

2. Vedic religion is more martial than that embodied in *Shu-King* and *She-King*. The earliest Hindu Rishis seem to have been burning with the passion for extirpating the enemies.

3. The tone of the Vedic texts is more naturalistic than that of the Chinese classics ; but the actual socio-economic life as described in the *Liki* would indicate that planetary and natural phenomena had equal if not more influence among the Celestials.

4. Neither the Celestials nor the Vedists know of any icons or images, unless the personifications and metaphors necessarily involved in the use of language as a medium of expression be regarded as images, as, strictly speaking, they should.

But while we read of temples in ancient China, we have only open-air altars in the 'land of seven rivers.'

5. The sacrificial service was the monopoly and prerogative of the King, the "son of Heaven" in the Middle Kingdom, but it was the function of the people or at any rate their sacerdotal delegates in Hindusthan.

If we neglect these and other minor differences we may state that the socio-religious world into which Sakya was born was identical with that in which Confucius was to work. The two great Sages found in their respective compatriots the same mental biases and spiritual attitudes.

Peking, BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

ORIGIN OF THE VAJRAYANA DEVATAS

BY ARTHUR AVALON.

GURU Padma-Sambhava, the so-called founder of "Lamaism," had five women disciples who compiled several accounts of the teachings of their Master and hid them in various places for the benefit of future believers. One of these disciples Khandro Yeshe Tsogyal was a Tibetan lady who is said to have possessed such a wonderful power of memory that if she was told a thing only once she remembered it for ever. She gathered what she had heard from her Guru into a book called the Padma Thangyig Serteng or Golden Rosary of the history of her Guru who was entitled the Lotus-born (Padma-Sambhava). The book was hidden away and was subsequently under inspiration revealed some five hundred years ago by Terton.

The first Chapter of the Work deals with Sukhavati the realm of Buddha Amitabha. In the second the Buddha emanates a ray which is incarnated for the welfare of the Universe. In Chapter III it is said that there have been a Buddha and a Guru working together in various worlds and at various times, the former preaching the Sutras and the latter the Tantras. The fourth Chapter speaks of the Mantras and the five Dhyani Buddhas and in the fifth we find the subject of the present article, an account of the origin of

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the Vajrayana Devatas. The present article is based on a translation which I asked Kazi Dausamdup to prepare for me of portions of the Thangyig Serteng. I have further had and here acknowledge the assistance of the very learned Lama Ugyen Tanzin in the elucidation of the inner meaning of the legend. I cannot go fully into this but give certain indications which will enable the competent to work out much of the rest for themselves from the terrible symbolism in which evil for evil's sake is here expressed.

The story is that of the rise and fall of the Self. The disciple "Transcendent faith" who became the Bodhisattva Vajrapani illustrates the former; the case of "Black Salvation" who incarnated as a Demonic Rutra displays the latter. He was no ordinary man, for at the time of his initiation he had already attained eight out of the thirteen stages (Bhumi) on the way to perfect Buddhahood. His powers were correspondingly great. But the higher the rise the greater the fall if it comes. Through misunderstanding and misapplying, as so many others have done the Tantrik doctrine, he "fell back" as an apostate consciousness from the faith into Hell. Extraordinary men who were teachers of recondite doctrines such as those of Thubka who was himself "hard to overcome" seem not to have failed to warn lesser brethren against their dangers. It is commonly said in Thibet of the so-called "heroic" modes of extremist Yoga that they waft the disciple with the utmost speed either to the heights of Nirvana or to the depths of Hell. For the aspirant is compared to a snake which is made to go up a hollow Bamboo. It must either ascend and escape at the top at the peril of falling down. Notwithstanding these warnings many of the vulgar, the vicious, the misunderstanding, and the fools who play with fire on the physical path, have gone to Hells far more terrible than those which await human frailties in pursuance of the common life of men whose progress if slow is sure. "Black Salvation" though an advanced disciple misinterpreted his teacher's doctrine and consciously identifying himself with the world-evil fell into Hell. In time he rose therefrom and incarnating at first in gross material forms he at length manifested as a great Rutra, the embodiment of all wickedness. The Tibetan Rutra here spoken of and the Indian Rudra seem to be etymologically the same but their meaning is different. Both are fierce and terrible Spirits; but a Rutra as here depicted is essentially evil and neither the Lord of any sensual celestial paradise nor the Cosmic Shakti which loosens forms. A Rutra is rather what in some secret circles is called (though in ungrammatical Sanskrit) an Adhatma or a soul upon the lower and destructive path. It may be and in fact is the case that the general destructive energy (Sanghara Shakti) uses for its purpose the disintegrating propensities of these forms. The evil which appears as Rutra is the expression of various kinds of Egoism. Thus Matam Rutra is Egoism as attached to the gross physical body. Again all sentient worldly being gives expression to its feelings saying "I am happy, unhappy and so forth." All this is here embodied in the speech of the Rutra and is called Akar Rutra. Khatram Rutra is Egoism of the mind as when it is said of any object "this is mine." "Black Salvation" became a Rutra of such terrific power that to save him and the world the Buddhas intervened. There are four methods by which they and the Bodhisattvas subdue and save sentient being namely the Peaceful, the Grand or Attractive, the Fascinating which renders powerless (Vashikaranam) and the stern method of downright force. All forms of Egoism must be destroyed in order that the pure "That Which Is" or formless Consciousness may be attained. Black Salvation incarnated as the Pride of Egoism in its most terrible form. And in order to subdue him the last two methods had to be employed. He was through the Glorious One redeemed by the suffering which attends all sin and became the "Dark defender of the Faith" which by his egoistic apostasy he had abjured, to be later the Buddha known as the "Lord of Ashes" in that world which is called "the immediately self-produced." How this came about the legend describes.

The fifth Chapter of the Golden Rosary says that Guru Padma Vajradhara was reborn as Bhikku Thubkazhyonnu which means the "youth who is hard to overcome." He was a Tantric who preached an abstruse doctrine which is condensed in the following verse:—

He who has attained the "That Which Is"

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Or uncreated In-itself-ness
Is unaffected even by the "four things"
Just as the cloud which floats in the sky
Adheres not thereto.
This is the way of Supreme Yoga.
Than this in all the three worlds
There is not a higher wisdom.

This Guru had two disciples Kuntri and his servant Pramadeva. To the latter was given on initiation the name "Transcendent Faith" and to the former "Black Salvation." This last name was a prophetic prediction that he would be saved not through peaceful or agreeable means but through the just wrath of the Jinas. The real meaning of the verse as understood and practised by Pramadeva and as declared to be right by the Guru was as follows:—"The pure Consciousness" (Dag-pa-ye-shes) is the foundation (Gshi-hdsin) of the limited consciousness (Rnam-shes) and is in Scripture "That which is." The real uncreated "In-Itself-ness (Ji-bshin-nid-de-ma-bcos-pa"). This being unaffected or unruffled is the path of Tantra. Passions (Klesha) are like clouds wandering in the wide spaces of the sky. (These clouds are distinct from, and do not touch the background of space against which they appear). So passions do not touch but disappear from before the Void (Shunya). Whilst ascending upwards the threefold accomplishments (Activity, non-activity, absolute repose) must be preserved in; and this is the meaning of our Teacher Thubka's doctrine."

The latter, however, was misunderstood by "Black Salvation" (Tharpa Nagpo) who took it to mean that he was to make no effort to save himself by the gaining of merit but that he was to indulge in the four sinful acts of killing, thieving, lying and fornication [or it may be four enjoyments by the eye, nose, tongue and organ of generation]. On this account he fell out with his brother in the faith Pramadeva and later with his Guru both of whom he caused to be persecuted and banished the country. Continuing in a career of reckless and sin-hardened life he died unrepentant after a score of years passed in various diabolical practices. He fell into Hell and continued there for countless ages. At the close of the time of Buddha Dipankara (Marmedzad or "Light giver") he was reborn several times as huge sea monsters. At length just before the time of the last Buddha Sakya Muni he was born as the son of a woman of loose morals in a country called Lankapuri of the Rakshasas. This woman used to consort with three Spirits—a Deva in the morning, a Fire Genius at noon, and a Daitya in the evening. "Black Salvation" was reborn in the eighth month as the offspring of these three Spirits. The child was a terrible monster black of colour with three heads each of which had three eyes, six hands, four feet and two wings. He was horrible to look at and immediately at his birth all the auspicious signs of the country disappeared and the eighteen inauspicious signs were seen. Malignant epidemics attacked the whole region of Lankapuri. Some died, others suffered only, but all were in misery. Lamentation, famine and sorrow beset the land. There was disease, bloodshed, mildew, hailstorms, droughts, floods and all other kinds of calamities. Even dreams were frightful and ominous signs portending a great catastrophe oppressed all. Evil spirits roamed the land. So great were the evils that it seemed as if the good merits of everyone had been exhausted all at once.

The mother who had given birth to this monster died nine days after its birth. The people of the country decreed that this monstrous infant should be bound to the mother's corpse and left in the cemetery. The infant was then tied on his mother's breast. The latter was borne away in a stretcher to the cemetery and the stretcher was left at the foot of a poisonous tree called Nalbyi which had a boar's den at its root; a poisonous snake coiled round the middle of its trunk and a bird of prey sitting in its uppermost branches. (These animals are the emblems of lust, anger and greed respectively which "kindle the fire of individuality".) At this place there was a huge sepulchre built by the Rakshasas where they used to leave their dead at the foot of the tree. Elephants and tigers came there to die: serpents infested it and witch-like spirits called Dakinis and Ghouls brought human bodies there. After the bearers of the corpse had left, the infant sustained his life by sucking the breasts of his mother's corpse. These yielded only a thin yellowish watery fluid for seven days. Next he sucked the blood and lived a week; then he gnawed at the breast and lived the third week; then he ate the entrails and lived for a week. Then he ate the outer flesh and lived for the fifth week. Lastly

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he crunched the bones, sucked the marrow, licked the humours and brains and lived a week. He thus in six weeks developed full physical maturity. Having exhausted his stock of food he moved about; and his motion shook the cemetery building to pieces. He observed the Ghouls and Dakinis feasting on human corpses which he took as his food and human blood as his drink filling the skulls with it. His clothing was dried human skins as also the hides of dead elephants, the flesh of which he also ate. He ate also the flesh of tigers and wrapped his loins in their furs. He used serpents as bracelets anklets armlets and as necklaces and garlands. His lips were thick with frozen fat and his body was covered with ashes from the burning ground. He wore a garland of dead skulls on one string; freshly severed heads on another; and decomposing heads on a third. These were worn crosswise as a triple garland. Each cheek was adorned with a spot of blood. His three great heads ever wrathful of three different colours were fierce and horrible to look at. The middle head was dark blue and those to the right and left were white and red respectively. His body and limbs which were of gigantic size and proportions were ashy grey. His skin was coarse and his hair as stiff as hog's bristles. His mouth wide agape showed fangs. His terrible eyes were fixed in a stare. Half of the dark brown hair on his head stood erect bound with four kinds of snakes. The nails of his fingers and toes were like the talons of a great bird of prey which seized hold of everything within reach whether animals or human corpses which he crushed and swallowed. He bore a trident and other weapons in his right hands and with his left he filled the emptied skulls with blood which he drank with great relish. He was a monster of ugliness who delighted in every kind of impious act. His unnatural food produced a strange lustre on his face which shone with a dull though great and terrible light. His breath was so poisonous that those touched by it were attacked with various diseases. For his nostrils breathed forth illnesses caused by cold. His eyes ears and arms produced 404 different ills. Thus the diseases paralysis, epilepsy, bubonic swellings, urinary ills, skin diseases, aches, rheumatism, gout, colic, cholera, leprosy, cancer, small pox, dropsy and various other sores and boils appeared in this world at that time. (For evil thoughts and acts make the vital spirit sick and thence springs gross disease.)

The name of this great Demon was Matam Rutra. He was the fruit of the Karma of the great wickedness of his former life as Tharpa Nagpo. At that time in each of the 24 Pilgrimages there was a powerful destructive Bhairava Spirit, These Devas, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Asuras and Nagas were proud malignant and mighty Spirits, despotic masters of men with great magical powers of illusion and transformation. These Spirits used to wander over these countries dressed in the eight sepulchral raiments, wearing the six kinds of bone ornaments and armed with various weapons, accompanied by their female consorts and revelled in all kinds of obscene orgies. Their chief occupation consisted in depriving of their lives all sentient beings. After consultation all these spirits elected Matam Rutra as their Chief. Thus all these non-human beings became his slaves. In the midst of his horrible retinue he continued to devour human beings alive until the race became almost destroyed and the cities emptied. He was thus the most terrible scourge that the earth had ever seen. All who died in those days fell into Hell. But as for Matam Rutra himself his pride knew no bounds, he thought there was no one greater than himself and would roar out

"Who is there greater and mightier than I
If there be any Lord who would excell me
Him too will I subjugate."

As there was no one to gainsay him the world was oppressed by heavy gloom. At that time however Kali proclaimed

"In the country of Lanka the land of
Rakshasas
In a portion of the city called
Kokathangmaling.
On the peak of Malaya the abode of
Thunder
There dwells the Lord of Lanka
King of Rakshasas
He is a disciple of the light-giving
Buddha
His fame far excells thine
He is unconquerable in fight by any foe
He sleeps secure and doth awake in
peace."

Hearing this, the pride and ambition of the Demon was roused into fire.

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His body emitted flames great enough to have consumed all worlds at the great Kalpa dissolution. His voice resounded in a deep thundering roar like that of a thousand claps of thunder heard together. With sparks of fire flying from his mouth he summoned a huge force. He filled the very heavens with them and moving with the speed of a meteor he invaded the Rakshasas' capital of Koka-Thangmaling. Encamping Matam-Rutra proclaimed his name proudly, at which the entire country of Lanka trembled and was shaken terribly as though by an earthquake. The Rakshasas, both male and female, became terrified. The King of the Rakshasas sent spies to find out the cause of these happenings. They went and saw the terrible force and being terrified at the sight reported the fearful news to their king. He sat in Samadhi for a while, and divined the following :—According to the Sutra of king Gunadhara it was said "One who has vexed his Guru's heart, and broken his friend and brother's heart : the haughty son of Srulpo Nyadak, being released from the three Hells, will take rebirth here, and he will surely conquer the Lord of Lanka. In the end, he will be conquered by many Sugatas (the blissful ones or Buddhas). And this event will give birth to the Anuttara Vajrayana Faith." The Buddha Marmedzad having revealed the event, he wished to see whether this was the Matam Rutra Demon referred to in the prophesy. So he collected a force of Rakshasas and went forth to fight a battle with the Demon force. Matam Rutra was very angry and said

"I am the Great Invincible One, who is without a peer,
I am the Ishvara, Mahadeva.
The four great Kings of the four quarters are my vassals,
The eight different tribes of Spirits are my slaves,
I am the Lord of the whole World.
Who is going to withstand and confront me?
Rutra Matra Marutra."

With this battle cry he overcame the forces of the Rakshasas. Then the King of the Rakshasas and all his forces submitted to the King of the Demons, saying "I repent me of my attempt to withstand you, in the hope of upholding the Faith of the Buddhas, and to spread it far and wide. I now submit to you and become your loyal subject. I will not rebel against you." When he had thus overcome the Rakshasas, he assumed the title of Matamka the Chief of all the Rakshasas. His pride increased, and he proclaimed "Who is there greater than I?"

Then Kali again, cleverly excited his ambition and pride, by saying "The Chief of the armies of the Asuras (Lhamin that is "not Devas") named Mahakaru, is mightier than you." Thereupon he invaded the realms of the Asuras, with his demon force, and all the Asuras becoming inflicted with various terrible maladies were powerless to resist him. The Rutra caught hold of the Asura King by the leg and whirling him thrice round his head flung him into the Jambudvipa, where he fell into a place called the Ge-ne-gyad, meaning the place of eight merits. Then those of the Asuras who had not been killed, the eight planets (Grahas) and the twenty-eight constellations (Nakshatras) and their hosts sought refuge in every direction, but failing to obtain safety anywhere, they returned and surrendered themselves to the Demon Matam Rutra. Then the Asuras guided the Rutra and his forces to a Palace named Bamril-Thod-pamkhar (meaning the Globular Palace like a skull) where they established their Capital. In the centre of this Palace, the Rutra hoisted his banner of Victory. They arranged their dreadful weapons by the side of the Entrance, and the place was surrounded by numerous followers with magical powers. Having thus shewn his own great magical powers, he took up the King of Mountains, Meru, upon the tip of his finger and whirling it round his head, he proclaimed these boastful words, "Rutra-Matra-Marutra, who is there in this universe greater than myself? In all the three Lokas, there is none greater than "I." And if there be any, him, also will I subdue." To these boastful words Kali answered

"In the thirty-third Deva-Loka and in the happy celestial regions of the Tushita Heavens,
"Sitting amidst the golden assembly of disciples,
"Is the Holy Saviour of all beings, Regent of the Gods, (Tampa-Togkar)
"Having been anointed, He is venerated and praised by all the Deva Kings."

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"He summons all the Devas to his assembly by sounding the various instruments of heavenly music
"Accompanied by a celestial Chorus.
"He is greater than yourself."

On Her so saying the Arch-Demon blazed forth into a fury of pride and wrath and set forth to conquer the Tushita heavens. The Bodhisattva (Tampa-Togkar) was sitting enthroned on a throne of precious metals, in the midst of thousands of Devatas, both male and female, and was preaching Dharma to them. The Arch-demon seized Tampa-Togkar from his throne, and threw him down into this world-system. All the Devas and Devis there gathered exclaimed, "Alas, what a fate, O, the sinful wretch!" seven times over. Thereupon the Rutra fiercely said:

"Put on two clothes, and sit down on your seats, every one of you!
"How can I be conquered by you? I am the mighty destroyer and subjugator of all."

(The expression "Put on two clothes" was said by way of opposition to the priestly robes which consist of three pieces, being a wrapper above, and one below and one over both.)

Tampatogkar is the Bodhisattva who is coming as Buddha to teach in the human world. He descends from the Tushita Heavens where he reigns as Regent. When the celestial Regent of the Tushita Heavens, (Tampa-Togkar) was about to pass away from there, he uttered this prophesy to his disciples, who were around him:

"Listen unto me, Ye my disciples:
"This apostate disciple, Tharpa-Nagpo (Black Salvation)
"Who does not believe in the Buddha's Doctrine,
"He is destined to pervert the Devas and Asuras,
"And to bend them to his yoke.
"He hates the perfect Buddha, and he will work much evil in this world-system.
"There are two, who can deprive him of his terrible power;
"They are Thubka-Zhonnu and Dad-Phags (Pramadeva called Transcendent Faith)
"They will be able to make him taste the fruits of his evil deeds in this very life.
"He will not be subdued by peaceful, nor by any generous means.
"He will only be conquered by the methods of Fascination and Sternness.

(The various means of redemption have been previously explained. Thubka and his good disciple "Transcendent Faith" who had then become Buddha Vajra Sattva and Bodhisattva Vajrapani were selected for this purpose. They assumed the forms of the Devatas with the Horse's head (Hayagriva) and the Sow's head or Vajravarahi).

"Who of the Noble Sangha, will doubt this,
That Hayagriva and Vajravarahi will give him their bodies.

(When it is said These "will give him their bodies" this means as hereafter described entering the Rutra's body assuming his shape and destroying his Rutra life and nature. They give him their divine bodies so that they may destroy his demonic body.)

"And who will not trust in the Wisdom of the Jinas, to conquer him by the upward-piercing method
"From this (demon) will come the Precious-nectar, which will be of use in acquiring Virtue.
"From this (demon) will originate the changing of poison into elixir.

(There are various Tantrik methods suited to various natures. "The upward piercing" (Khatar-ya-phig) is that of Vajrayana. This is the method which goes upward and upward that is straight upward without delay and without going to right or left. To change poison into nectar or elixir is a well known principle of these schools.)

"This Demon will have to be ground down and destroyed to the last atom, in one body

(It is said "in one body" because ordinarily several lives are necessary; but in this case and by this method liberation is achieved in a single life time and in one body. Not one atom of the Rutra body is left for Egoism is wholly destroyed.)

"The Divine Horse-headed Deity (Vajra-Haya-griva) is he who will dispel this threatening misfortune
"Dad-phags, (Pramadeva who was given in initiation the name "Transcendent faith") is at present Vajrapani (Bodhisattva).

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"And Thubka-Zhonnu, is at present, the Buddha Vajrasattva.
"The divine prophesies of the Jinas, are to be interpreted thus:—
"They will exterminate their opponents
"For myself I go to take birth in Maya-Devi's womb.
"I will practise Samadhi at the root of the Bodhi-Tree.
"I will not hold those beliefs in doubt
"For it has been said that the Buddha's Faith will triumph over this,
"And will remain long in the Jambu-dwipa.
"By means of the mysterious practice of Emancipating by means of communion.

(The practise here referred to is the method called Jordol (sByor sGrol) which has both exoteric and esoteric meanings such as in the case of the latter the Communion of the Divine Male and Female whose union destroys to its uttermost root egoistic attachment; the communion with Shunyata whose innermost significance is the undual Consciousness (g-Nyismed-yeshes) which dispels ignorance and cuts at the root of all Samsaric life by the destruction of all the Rutra forms. Female here is Shunyata and not a woman. When a learned Lama is asked why the terms of sex are used they say it is to symbolise Thabs and Shes which it is not possible to explain here.)

"The Matam Rutra, which is clinging to the body as "I" will be dispelled
"All forms of worldly happiness and pain the Egoism of Speech (Akar Rutra).
"Will be destroyed.
"The saying "this is mine" of anything
"The mental "I" (or Khatram-Rutra) is freed.
"The true nature and distinguishing attributes of a Rutra
"Which is manifest outwardly, exists inwardly, and lies hidden secretly.
"In short all the fifty-eight Rutras, with their hosts, will be destroyed completely

(I have already dealt with the meaning of the term Rutra. Here the Egoisms of body, feelings, mind are referred to. The Glorious One, will eradicate the physical and all other Rutras the monster of the self in all its forms gross, subtle and causal)

"The world though deprived of happiness will rejoice again.
"The world will be filled with the Precious Dharma of the Tri-Ratna.
"The Righteous Faith has not declined, nor has it passed away.

(Thus did the Regent of the Tushita Heavens prophesy the advent of the Tantric method for the complete destruction and the elimination of the demon of "Egotism" from the nature of the devotees on the path by means of Jor-drol).

After uttering these prophecies he passed away and took re-birth in the womb of Queen Maya Devi. Then the Arch-Demon having subjugated all the Devas of the thirty-third and the Tushita Heavens, appointed the two Demons Mara and Devadatta, his two chief officers, to suppress Indra and Brahma. The Arch-demon himself took up his abode in the Malaya Mountain, in the place called Bamril-mi-thod-khar, (the human skull-like Mansion). He used to feed upon Devas and human beings, both males and females. Drums, bells, cymbals and every kind of stringed and other musical instruments were played to him in a perpetual concert with songs and dances. Every kind of enjoyment which the Devas used to enjoy, he enjoyed perpetually. (8th Chapter ends).

The 9th Chapter deals with defeat and destruction of the Arch-Demon Matam Rutra by the Buddhas of the ten directions:—

Then there assembled together, Dharma-kaya Buddha Samanta-Bhadra (Chosku Kuntu-Zangpo) and his attendants from the Wogmin heavens, from the Tugpo-kod-Heavens, Sambhoga-Kaya Vajra-Dhara with his attendants; from the Changlo-Chan heaven, there came Vajrapani Nirmana-kaya with his attendants. In short from the various heavens of the ten directions, came the different Buddhas and Bodhisatvas. All held a consultation together and came to this resolution:—

"Unless the power of the Buddhas be exerted to subjugate the Rutra, the Faith of the Buddhas will cease to spread and will degenerate. That body which has committed such violent outrages on every other being, must be made to suffer the agonies of being hurt by weapons, wielded by avengers. If he is not made to feel the consequences of his deeds, the Jinas who have proclaimed the Truth will be falsified. He is not to

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be destroyed but to be subdued." Having thus agreed all the Buddhas began to seek with their omniscient eyes, him who was destined to conquer this Rutra. They saw that Thubka-Zhonnu who had attained the state of Buddha Vajra-Sattva and Dadphags who had become Vajra-pani were to subdue him, and that the time was also ripe. So both of them came with their respective retinue and were blessed and endowed with Power by all the Buddhas, who gave these instructions. "Do ye, assume the forms and sexes of Chenrezi and Dolma (Avalokita and Tara) and do ye subdue the Enemy by assuming the shapes of the Deities having the Horse-head and the Sow's head (Haya-griva and Vajra Varahi).

(The latter is commonly known in English translations as the "Diamond Sow." As is usual want of knowledge and a prediliction for facile and gross meanings lead to absurd results of which the "orientalist" (whose lack of knowledge is alone responsible for them) complains. Vajra is the Sanskrit equivalent of the word Dorje in Thibetan. The latter has many meanings; Indra's thunderbolt, the Lamas sceptre, diamond and so forth: and is in fact used of anything of a high and mystical character which is lasting, indestructible, powerful and irresistible. Thus the high priest presiding at Tantrik Rites is called Dorje Lopon. In fact diamond is so called because of the hard character of this gem. In the Indian Tantrik worship Vajra occurs as Vajra-pushpa (Vajra-flower) Vajra bhumi (Vajra ground) and so forth, but these are not "diamond" flowers or earth. An extremely interesting enquiry is here opened which is beyond the scope of this article for the term Vajra, which is again the appellation of this particular school (Vajra-yana), is of great significance in the history of that power-side of religion which is dealt with in the Tantra. Here without further attempt at explanation I keep the term Vajra adding only that Harinisa is not as has been thought Vajra-varahi (Dorje-phagmo) Herself but the Vija Mantras (Ha, ri, ni, sa) of Her four attendant Dakinis.)

Vajra Sattva and Vajrapani, Buddha and Bodhisattva of the Vajrayana faith transformed themselves into the forms of Haya-griva and Vajra-varahi, and assumed the costumes of Herukas. (The Herukas are a class of Vajrayana Devatas of half-terrible features represented as partly nude with an upper garment of human skin and tiger skin round the loins. They have a skull headdress, carry bone rosaries, a staff and Damaru like Shiva. The Herukas are described in the Tibetan books as being beautiful, heroic, awe-inspiring, stern and majestic). Blazing in the nine kinds of physical magnificence and splendour, they proceeded to the Malaya Mountain,—the abode of the Rutra. On the four sides of the Mountain, were four gates. Each gate was guarded by a Demoness, bearing respectively a Mare's, Sow's, Lion's and a Dog's head. These the Glorious One, conquered, and united therewith in a spirit of non-attachment. From their union were born the following female issues: (1) The White Horse-faced, (2) The Black Sow-faced, (3) The Red Lion-faced, (4) and the Green Dog-faced daughters. Proceeding still further He met another cordon of sentries, who, too were females, bearing the heads of (1) Lioness (2) Tigress (3) Fox (4) Wolf (5) Vulture (6) Kanka, (7) Raven and (8) Owl. With these Demonesses too, the Glorious One united in a spirit of non-attachment, and blessed the act. Of this union were born female offspring, each of whom took after the mother in outward shape or Matter, and after the father in Mind. Thus were the eight Phra-men-mas or Demi-godesses born: viz: The Lion-headed, Tiger-headed and so-forth. Being divine in mind, they possess pre-science and wisdom, although from their mother they retained their shape and features, which were those of brutes.

Then again proceeding further inward, He came upon the daughters of the Rutras and of Rakshasas; named respectively, Nyobyed-ma or "She who maddens", Tag-jed-ma "She who frightens", Dri-medma "The unsullied", Kempama "She who dries one up", Phorthogma "She who bears the Cup" and Zhyongthogma the "bowl bearer".

The Glorious One united with these in the same manner, and from them, were born the eight Matrikas of the eight Sthanas, (sacred places) known as Gaurima and so forth. These, too, possessed divine wisdom, from their father and terrific features and shapes from their mothers.

(There are 24 Sthanas which are places of pilgrimage and eight great cemeteries making 32 in all. In each of these cemeteries there is a powerful Phramenma also called Mamo

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that is Matrika. These terrible Goddesses are according to the Zhi-Khro Gaurima, Tsaurima, Chandali, Vetali, Ghasmari, Shonama, Pramo, Puskasi. These are in colour white, yellow, yellowish white, black, dark green, dark blue, red, reddish yellow and are situated in the East, South, N.W., North, S.W., N.E., West, S.E., "nerve-leafs of the conch-shell mansion" (brain) respectively. These are the eight great Matrikas of the eight great cemeteries to whom prayer is made that when forms are changed and entrance is made on the plane of uncertainty (Bardo) they may place the spirit on the clear light path of Sound, Radiance and of Rays (wot-sal).

These various accouplements denote the union of Divine mind with gross matter. In working with matter the Divine mind is always detached. Work is possible even for the liberated consciousness when free from attachment that is desire (Kama) which is bondage. The divine mind unites with terrible forms of gross matter that these may be instruments; in this case instruments whereby the gross Egoism of the Rutra is to be subdued.)

Then going right into the innermost abode, he found that the Rutra had gone out in search of food, which consisted of human flesh and of Devas. Adopting the disguise of the Rutra, the Glorious One, went in to the Consort of the Rutra, the Rakshashi-Queen Krodheshvari (Lady of wrath) in the same spirit, as before, and blessed the act. By Krodhesvari, He had male issue, Bhagavan Vajra-Heruka, with three faces and six hands, terrific to behold. Then the Glorious one, Haya-Griva, and his divine Consort, Vajra-Varahi, each expressed their triumph by neighing and grunting thrice. Upon hearing these sounds the Rutra was struck with mortal fear, and coming to the spot, he said

"What sayest Thou, little son of Haya-Griva and Vajra Varahi.

"All the world of Devas and Asuras
"Proclaim my virtues and sing my praises.
"I cannot be conquered. Rest yourself in peace
"Regard me with humility, and bow down to me.
"Even the Regent of the gods, of the odd garment (priestly dress)
"Failed to conquer me in days of yore."

Saying this he raised his hands, and came to lay them on the young one's head. Thereupon Haya-Griva at once entered the body of the Rutra by the secret path (Guhyam) and piercing him right through from below upwards, He showed His Horse's Head, on the top of the head of the Rutra. The oily fat of the Rutra's body made the Horse's head look green. The mane being dyed with blood became red, and the eye-brows having been splashed with the bile of the Demon became yellow. The forehead being splashed with the brains, became white. Thus the Glorious One, having assumed the shape, and dresses of the Rutra took on a terrible majesty.

At the same time, Vajra Varahi, His Consort, also entered the body of the Rutra's Consort Krodhisvari, in the same manner piercing and impaling her. She forced her own Sow's head right up through the crown of the Demoness' head, until it towered above it. The Sow's head had assumed a black colour, from having been steeped in the fat of the Rakshasi. Then the two Divine Beings embraced each other, and begot as offspring, a Divine Being of the terrific Male Order a Krodhabhairava, (Mewa Tsegpa.) Having done this Haya-griva neighed shrilly six times, and Vajra Varahi grunted deeply five times. Then the hosts of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, assembled there as thickly as birds of prey settling down on a carrion. They filled all space. They were of the peaceful, the wrathful, the half-peaceful and the half-wrathful orders, in inconceiveably large numbers. They began to surround the Rutra-Tharpa-Nagpo, who being able to bear the pain of being stretched asunder cried in agony;—

"Oh, I am defeated! The Horse and the Sow have defeated the Rutra."
"The Buddhas have defeated the Demons."
"Religion has conquered Ir-religion,"
"The Sangha has defeated the Tirthikas,"
"Indra has defeated the Asuras,"
"The Asuras have defeated the Moon"
"The Garuda has defeated the Ocean"
"Fire defeats fuel, Wind scatters the Clouds"
"Diamond (Vajra) pierces metals"
"Oh it was I who said that last night's dream portended evil."
"Oh slay me quick, if you are going to slay me."

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As he said this his bowels were involuntarily loosened and from the excreta which, being thus purified, fell into the Ocean, there at once arose a precious sandal tree, which was a wish-granting tree. This tree struck its root in the nether world of the Serpent-spirits, spread its foliage in the Asura-lokas, and bore its fruits in the Deva-lokas. And the fruits were named Amrita (the essence and elixir of life).

Then the two Chief Actor and Actress Haya-griva and Vajra Varahi acted the joyful plays called the 'Plays of Happy Cause,' 'Happy Path and Happy Result,' in the nine glorious measures. (That is plays in which the actors are happy being the male and female Divinities, in this case Hayagriva and Vajra Varahi. They are the cause, their play being exoterically "Dalliance" (Lila) and their result the dispelling of Egoism which is Illumination.)

Just as a victor in a battle, who has slain his enemy, wins the armour and the accoutrements of his slain opponent, and puts them on as a sign of triumph, so also, the Glorious One having conquered the Rutra, assumed the eight accoutrements of the foe, including the wings, and the other adornments which made him look so bright and magnificent. These the Glorious One blessed and consecrated to the use of the Divine Deities. Having done all this, both Haya-griva and Vajra Varahi returned to the Realm of Truth (Dharmadhatu). Thus it comes about, that those costumes assumed by the Rutra came to be adopted as the attire of the Deities. Their having three heads, the eight sepulchral ornaments, and the eight glorious costumes and wings, had origin in this event.

Then Pal Chag-na-dorje (Sri Vajrapani) multiplied himself into countless Avataras, and these again multiplied themselves into myriads of Avataras all of the terrible and wrathful type. The Rutra too showed supernatural powers for He transformed himself into a nine-headed Monster, having eighteen hands, as huge as the Mount Meru. Should it be doubted, how this sinful being could still possess such supernatural powers, one must know that he was a Bodhisattva of the eighth degree (One who has attained eight Bhumis out of thirteen) who had fallen back. Hence was it, that even the Buddhas found it difficult to subdue him, not to count the world of Devas and men. Then Vajrapani manifested still greater divine powers of every imaginable discription, and all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas fixed their abodes on the greatly enlarged and distended body of the Rutra. The latter being unable to bear the agony of these pressures, roared with pain.

"Come quick to the rescue, O my followers, who inhabit the ten directions"

"To the right and left of the Skull-like mansion"

"And those who live in the gardens and the orchards."

"Yakshas, Rakshas, and Pretas millions in number, advance to the rescue at once"

"O, ye followers and adherents of the Rutra, who dwell in the twenty-four places, and countries"

"Numbering millions and tens of million, who have sworn allegiance to me"

"And promised to serve me faithfully; and ye from the illimitable spaces in every direction"

"Fill the heavens and the earth with your innumerable hosts"

"And all in one body" strike (at the foe) with the weapons in your hands, sounding the battle cry

"Om-rulu-rulu."

Though he uttered these commands, there was none to obey him. Everyone surrendered to Bhagavan Vajra Heruka. Thus all the subordinates of the Rutra, the thirty-two Dakinis, the seven Matrikas, and the four "Sisters," (Sring-bzhi), the eight Furies (Barmas or flaming ones), the eight Genii (Gings; spirits or attendants on the Devatas) and the sixty-four Messengers all came over to the Heruka and became his adherents and followers. Then the Divine offspring (Mewa-Tsegpa) took upon himself the duty of serving the food of the Deities.

(Mewa-Tsegpa is the Deity usually invoked when any purification and religious contrition has to be performed or done. By this it is seen that his undertaking to serve the food of the Deities means purifying and absolving the sins of the Rutra.)

Vajra-pani, producing ten divine beings of the terrific type, (Krodhabhairava) gave a Phurpa (triangular shaped dagger) to each of them, and commanded them to go and destroy the Rutra and his party. Thereupon Haya-griva came again, and neighed three times; upon hearing which sound the entire host of the Rutra were seized with a panic and all were subdued. Then Black Salvation (Tharpa-nagpo) and

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his followers were rendered powerless and helpless : humbled and quite submissive. So they surrendered their own homes, personal ornaments, and the vital principles of their lives and uttered these words of entreaty.

"Obiesance to Thee, O, Thou field of the Buddhas' influence"
"Obiesance to Thee, O, who dost cause Karma to bear fruit."
"I and all of us having sown previous evil Karma"
"Are now reaping the fruits thereof, which all indeed may see"
"Our future depends on what we have done now"
"Karma follows us, as inexorably as the shadow does the body."
"Every one must taste the fruit of what each has himself done"
"Even should one repent, and be sorry for his deeds"
"There is no help for him as Karma cannot be avoided"
"So we who are destined by Karma to drink the bitter cup to the very dregs,
"We do therefore offer up our bodies to serve as the cushion of thy footstool
"Pray accept them as such."

Having so said, they laid themselves prostrate and from this originates the symbolism of every Deity having a Rutra underneath his feet. Then the vassal Chiefs of the Rutra submitted their prayers:—

"We have no claim to sit in the middle,
"Be pleased to place us at the extremities of the Mandalas.
"We have no right to demand of the best of the banquets.
"We pray to be favoured with the leavings, and the dregs of food and drink,
"Henceforth we are your subjects, and will never disobey your commands
"We will obey You in whatever You are pleased to command,
"As a loving mother is attracted towards her son"
"So shall we too, be surely drawn near those who remind us of this oath of allegiance."

Thus did they take the oath of allegiance. Then the Holder of the Mysteries, the Glorious One—Vajrapani, pierced the heart of the prostrate Rutra with the Phurpa dagger and absolved him. All his Karmic sins and his Passions (Klesha) were thus immediately absolved. Then power was conferred on him, and vows were laid on him, and the water of Faith was poured on him. His body, speech and mind were blessed and consecrated towards Divine Service, and the Dorje of Faith was laid on the head, throat and heart. Thenceforward he was empowered to be the Guardian of the Faith, and named Legs-lDan-nagpo (the Good dark One), and his secret name conferred at the Initiation was Mahakala. Thus was he included in the assembly of the Vajrayana Deities. Finally it was revealed to him that he would become a Buddha, by the name of Thalwai-Wangpo (Thalvayi-dbang-po—the Lord of Ashes) in the World called Kod-pa-lhundrup (that is "self produced or built-all-at-once"). Then the Rutra's dead body was thrown on this Jambu-dwipa, where it fell on its back. The head fell on Singhala (Ceylon), the right arm and hand upon the Thogar country and the left hand on Le (Ladak country). The right leg fell on Nepal, and the left on Kashmir. The entrails fell over Zahor. The heart fell on Urgyen (Cabul), and the Linga on Magadha. These form the eight chief Countries. Thus the eight Matrikas of the eight Sthanas, headed by Gaurima and others : the eight natural Stupas headed by Potala ; the eight occult powers, which fascinate ; the eight guardians (female), who enchant ; the eight great trees, the eight great realm-protectors (Shing-kyongs) the eight lakes, the eight great Naga-spirits, the eight clouds, and the eight great Dikpalas (Chogs-kyongs or Protectors of the directions) as well as the eight great cemeteries originated.

With the sixth chapter of the Golden Rosary is concluded the account of the origin of the Vajrayana Devatas who appeared to aid in the conquest of human Egoism which had manifested in terrible form in the person of the great Rutra. As all but the pure have in them Rutra elements, they are enjoined in Vajrayana to follow the methods of expurgation there revealed.

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SONG

Sweet are ye, O ye blossoms, with mouths of dripping honey,
But I have known a breath that filled my hours with richer balm,
And I have known a bolder grace than yours, O slim lianas,
A statelier grace than yours, O sunlit cypress and O palm !
Soft are your caresses, O winds from blowing valley,
But I have known a touch that stirred my blood to subtler pain,
And I have known a voice that called with a diviner cadence
Than lilt of vernal rivers and the song of autumn rain.
Swift art thou, O lightning, to sear the purple midnight,
But I have known a glance that burned with more intrepid flame,
And I have known a prouder heart than yours, O dauntless eagle,
A wilder heart no love could teach, no destiny could tame.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

GLEANINGS

If the Germans Conquered England.

When a small tradesman applies to a tribunal for exemption from military service on the ground that his business would be ruined by his absence, a question that is often put to him is: "What do you think will happen to your business if the Germans win the war?" As a rule the tradesman does not know what to think. He has no means of measuring the effect of world-catastrophes. He has not Dr. Johnson's short way with questions to which there is no answer, like the question of Boswell as to what Johnson would do if he were left alone with a new-born baby in a tower. In the first place, the small tradesman does not believe in the possibility of a German victory. In the second place, he has not the slightest idea what would happen as the result of one. Perhaps, however, he knows as much about the matter as the members of the tribunals. All of us know that a German victory which involved the conquest of England would make life intolerable for Englishmen until the conquest was undone. But as to its effect on small business, that is another matter. It is quite possible that the little grocery, the little tobacco-shop, and the confectioner's would be able to hold up their heads under German rule as under English. The valid argument against a German conquest is not that it would make an end of the small business man; it is that it would make an end of a free England. If it could be proved that a German conquest would add 25 per cent. to the incomes of all Englishmen even that would not make it tolerable. Most men in all nations are ready to sacrifice their lives in order that their country may be free. They are also—though this is apparently much more difficult—ready to sacrifice their fortunes.

Consider, for example, the possibility that England might actually grow richer under German rule. It is very unlikely, because England is already a highly-developed country, but consider the one chance in a hundred million. We know that, so far as material wealth is concerned, Poland has gone forward, not backward, under Prussia. Referring to the work of the Settlement Board in Prussian Poland, Mr. W. H. Dawson writes: 'If the purpose had simply been the economic reawakening of the Polish East there would be much to praise and to admire in the results that have been achieved, for the settled districts have been entirely transformed and raised to a level of prosperity never known before. There are men with a passion for efficiency to whom such a record of material progress appeals as a justification of any kind of tyranny. We had an example of this spirit some time ago in the boasts of some German newspapers that under German rule the industries of Belgium were already reviving, and that Belgian prosperity would soon be on a sounder basis than ever. One may be sure that in the conquered territo-

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ries, even in these days of martial law and high prices, thousands of little businesses in Belgium are astonishingly alive. Lawyers still practise in the law-courts, doctors attend the sick, priests go on preaching, shops are open, factories are working, fields are cultivated. This, of course, is not universally true; and, while the country remains a battlefield, it can only be true of certain parts of it. But it is clear enough that, whatever other evils would follow the permanent conquest of Belgium, the refusal to allow the average Belgian to make a living would not necessarily be one of them. It is not for the right to make a living, it is for the right to live their own national life, that the Belgians are fighting. Like Wordsworth's Englishmen, they "must be free or die." That is not mere uneconomic rhetoric. Freedom is a form of wealth which brave nations prize above gold and silver. Professor Kettle horrified some of the followers of Sir Edward Carson during the Home Rule controversy when he declared that he put freedom before finance. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, we admit, freedom and sound finance, so far from being antitheses are complementary to each other. But, even though they were not, Professor Kettle's attitude would still be the right one. The man who would prefer finance to freedom ought also in order to be consistent, to prefer finance to honour and justice, and all those other abstract excellent things belief in which differentiates good Europeans from wild animals.

Suppose, for the sake of argument that Germany triumphed so overwhelmingly—a supposition contrary to reason, we agree—that she was able to incorporate England in the German Empire, and suppose that she was resolved to purchase the acquiescence of Englishmen in German rule by developing English industries and English arts as they had never been developed before, would the spirit of England yield to the temptation? One can imagine how Germany, with the hope of this in her mind, would set out with all her efficiency to reorganise the railways and the canals, and so give an unwonted elasticity to the industrial life of the country in some of its departments. One can imagine how she would set about the work of town-planning and street-sweeping. One can imagine how she would build technical schools, art schools and musical academies and opera houses. One can imagine how she would build the long-lost Shakespeare Memories Theatre. But even though the English farmer found himself with a freer access to markets and the English manufacturer found himself with a kingdom of chemists and inventors at his disposal, the country would still have something left to complain about. In the first place, it would be constantly irritated by the lofty moral utterances of German statesmen who would assert—quite sincerely, no doubt—that England was free, freer indeed than she had ever been before. Prussian freedom, they would explain, was the only real freedom, and therefore, England was free. They would point to the flourishing railways and farms, and colleges. They would possibly point to the contingent of M.P.'s which was permitted, in spite of its deplorable disorderliness, to sit in a permanent minority in the Reichstag. And not only would the Englishman have to listen to a constant flow of speeches of this sort; he would find a respectable official Press secretly bought by the Government to say the same kind of things over and over every day of the week. He would find too, that his children were coming home from school with new ideas of history. They would be better drilled, more subservient than he himself used to be in his school-days, but he would get angry when he heard what was taught to them as history. They woud ask him if it was really true that until the Germans came England had been an unruly country, constantly engaged in civil war, as in the days of the Wars of the Roses, Cromwell, William III., the Young Pretender and Sir Edward Carson—a country one of whose historians actually glorified a king, who had beheaded his wives, and one of whose kings was afterwards beheaded; a country which sold its own subjects into slavery; a country which was given its Empire by Frederick the Great and then deserted him; a country which gave birth to Shakespeare, but could not appreciate him; a country which had won its way in the world by good luck and treachery, not by honesty and intelligence. One can guess how the blackening process would go on. It would be done for the most part by reasonable-looking insinuation. The object of every school-book would be to make the English child grow up in the notion that the history of his country was a thing to forget, and that the one bright spot in it was the fact that it had been conquered by cultured Germany.

And in every University the same kind of thing would be going on. Behind round spectacles generation after generation of Prussian Professors would lecture on the history of the German Empire (including as one of its less important aspects, the history of England). They would teach young Englishmen that Luther, and Frederick, and Stein, and Goethe, and List, and Bismarck were the founders of civilisation. They would possibly accept the suggestion of Houston Chamberlain that Christ and St. Paul and Dante were part of the German tradition. They would begin to spell Shakespeare with an 'Sch.' They would probably explain that Shakespeare in German was superior to Shakespeare in English. Like Houston Chamberlain, they would believe in "the holy German language" as they believed in God. They would say it was a better language than English because it was inflected. They would set on foot a movement to substitute it for English in the schools and colleges, in order to prevent English children from growing up insular and cut off from the world-civilisation. Gradually it would become an offence to use English as the language of instruction. In another generation it would become an offence to use it at all. If there was a revolt—and, by the dog, as Socrates used to say, there would be!—German statesmen would deliver grave speeches about "disloyalty," "ingratitude," "reckless agitators who would ruin their country's prosperity." Prussian officials would walk up and down every town and every village in the country, the embodiment of this grave concern for the welfare of England. Prussian soldiers would be incamped in every barrack—the English conscript having been sent out of the country either to be trained in Germany or to fight the Chinese—in order to come to the aid of German morality, should English sedition come to blows with it.

Thus, if England could only be got to submit, would she be gradually warped. She would be exhorted to abandon her own genius in order to imitate the genius of her conquerors, to forget her own history for a large history, to give up her own language for a "universal" language—in other words, to destroy her household gods one by one, and to put in their place allien gods. Such an England would be an England without a soul, without even a mind. She would be a nation of slaves, even though every

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slave in the country had a chicken in his pot and a golden dish to serve it on. No amount of prosperity could make up for the degradation of living perpetually under the heel of the Prussian policeman and under the eye of the Prussian professor. Even the man who kept a small sweet shop would feel queer stirrings of rage within him, however prosperous he was, however clean the streets were swept, as he saw his police-conqueror tramping majestically past his door. He would feel as if he were in the grip of some monster. He would tell himself that law and order was a good thing, but not at this price. To live among all those pompous foreign officials would be worse than being in prison. There would be a fire in his head till he met another man with a fire in his head, and together they would form a secret society and look forward to the great day of rebellion.

It is against this spiritual conquest of England rather than against the threat of bankrupt businesses that Englishmen will fight with the fiercest inspiration. The real case against Germany is not so much that a German conquest would make England bankrupt, as that it would make England no longer England. Englishmen would shrink from German rule at its best no less than from German rule at its most atrocious. They would spurn Germany as a conqueror bringing gifts equally with Germany as a conqueror bringing poverty and destruction. Wordsworth, in a similar mood, has expressed the feelings of a "high-minded Spaniard" when in 1810 Napoleon held out to Spain the hope of peace and prosperity under his sway :

We can endure that he should waste our lands,
Despoil our temples, and by sword and flame
Return us to the dust from which we came;
Such food a tyrant's appetite demands;
And we can brook the thought that by his hands
Spain may be overpowered, and he possess
For his delight a solemn Wilderness
Where all the brave lie dead. But when of bands
Which he will break for us he dares to speak,
Of benefits and of a future day,
When our enlightened minds shall bless his sway ;
Then, the strained heart of fortitude proves weak;
Our groans, our blushes our pale cheeks declare
That he has power to inflict what we lack strength to bear.

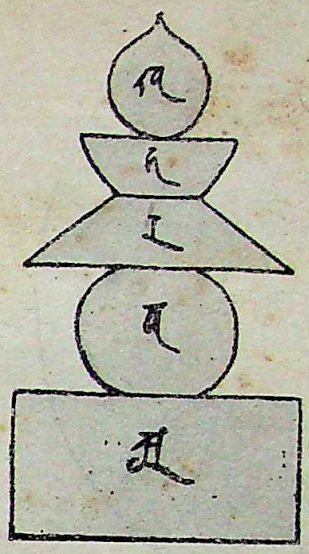
That is not one of Wordsworth's greatest sonnets, but it expresses well enough the passion which Belgium must feel at the present moment, when the Germans are trying to get them to look forward to an era of benefactions under German rule. It expresses too the passion which Englishmen would feel in the same circumstances. No man with the slightest glimmer of patriotism would consent to see his country made a nation of millionaires at the price of being a nation of slaves.—"The New Statesman."

Iconography of Dainichi Buddhism

By Noritake Tsuda

(Expert in the Tokyo Imperial Museum)

It is no easy task for the student of old Japanese Buddhist art to decipher the meaning and importance of the various symbols used and the various postures given the Buddhas. This is due largely to the fact that such meaning was esoteric and imparted by the priest alone. And he was willing to teach it only to those deemed able to receive and appreciate it. The receiver also had strict orders never to bestow the gift on any one without a proper capacity to appreciate its significance. The esoteric meaning of symbols and



Japanese Stupah. Gorinto stupah symbolizing Dainichi Nyorai of the Taizo-kai.

Japanized Sanskrit letter "bam" signifying Dainichi Nyorai of the Kongokai.

images was a kind of apostolic succession which only a worthy candidate could receive. Any violation of this condition was regarded as a sin against Buddha.

In modern times, however, there is no hesitation among scholars in making every investigation to ascertain the meaning of these ancient symbols and images. Among such studies that of the iconography of Dainichi Buddhism is the most interesting and profitable.

The Sanscrit name of Dainichi Buddha was *Maha-vairocana-tathagata*, *Maha* meaning large or great, *vairocana* shining, and *tathagata* might be translated *nyorai*, or healing. In the early days of Japanese Buddhism the name was *Birushana-nyorai*, a combination of Sanscrit and Japanese ; but later it became Dainichi-nyorai , all of which is quite interesting, because it suggests that the name Dainichi, or Great Sun, was practically indentical with the name of Amaterasu-Omikami, the sun goddess of Japanese mythology, an amalgamation, no doubt, brought about by the priesthood of the Middle Ages.

In the Shingon sect Dainichi-nyorai is the essential Buddha, the god which Buddhaizes all the laws of the universe. There are two phases of the Buddhistification of universal truth, known as *Taizo-kai* and *Kongo-kai*, the one representing the unchanging law of truth, and the other the world of true knowledge. In accordance with Buddhist philosophy the image of Dainichi-nyorai has two different representations, which are nevertheless inseparably related. The image of the *Taizo-kai* Buddha has the hands placed on the knees, the posture being known as the *hokkai-jo-in*, signifying that the essential law is common to all things. The five kinds of human knowledge are symbolized by the five fingers of the left hand, and the five kinds of Buddhist knowledge are seen in the five fingers of the right hand. For this reason the right hand is always placed over the left, signifying that the Buddhist world may come in contact with the human world.

In the image of the Kongo-kai Buddha, which is known as, *chiken-in*, the posture of the hands symbolizes the knowledge of the human world. And

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Dainichi Nyorai of the Kongo-Kai

Dainichi Nyorai of the Taizo-Kai.

so on the headdress of the Taizo-kai Buddha five small Buddhas of the Kongo-kai type are fixed; and on the head-dress of the Kongo-kai Buddha are fixed five images of the Taizo-kai; all of which signifies the harmony between law and knowledge.

The color of the body in the Taizo-kai Buddha is golden, which suggests unchangableness; while the color of the Kongo-kai Buddha is white. In both cases the Dainichi-nyorai sits on a lotus pedestal, suggesting that is immovable and sober; but the lotus of the Taizo-kai image is red, while that of the Kongo-kai image is white.

Japanized Sanscrit letter "a," signifying Dainichi Nyorai of the Taizo-kai.

There are two opinions in regard to the Dainichi-nyorai, one insisting that he is indentical with Shakamuni, and the other assuming a difference, the former opinion being held by the Tendai sect and the latter by the Shingon sect. According to the teaching of the latter, Shakamuni was an incarnation of Buddha, but the Dainichi-nyorai is the real Buddha, the law of Buddha itself; in other words, Dainichi-nyorai is the origin and author of all things, while Shakamuni is only an individual of virtue. This differentiation is said to have originated with the famous Kobodaishi. The other opinion is said never to have changed since it came from China to Japan.

These two aspects of Buddha are also symbolized by two Sanscrit letters, which are usually on the lotus pedestal of the image, and sometimes on the canopy. The Dainichi-nyorai is also symbolized by the use of a stupa, the Taizo-kai having a five storied stupa of stone: five stones laid one on another consisting of a *hoju*, a crescent, a triangle, a circle and a square. The first represents *vacancy*, the second *air*, the third *fire*, the fourth *water* and the last one *earth*. The Kongo-kai image usually has its stupa of wood, the top formed like a *gorin* stupa; it is usually set up at a grave so that Buddha may there be worshipped in relation to the departed spirit.

—JAPAN MAGAZINE.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM.

"Higher Criticism" and the Date of Sukraniti.

Machiavelli's *Prince* could not be the work of an Athenian of the Periclean Age just as *Germany and the Next War* could not have been written by a Bernhardi of Prussia before 1870. So also the Greek *Republic* and *Laws* could not be the outcome of a mediæval Russian brain under Tartar domination. Notions like these are first postulates to the modern student of Sociology unless he chooses to display ignorance of the conclusions of Biology with regard to the relations between the vital principle and the stimuli. It is very desirable that to Indologists also these should be first postulates in order that they may help themselves from the pitfall of dogmatic assertions about the dates and *locates* of anonymous and undated works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and vernaculars.

Sometime ago I heard from Mr. Vincent Smith that Prof. Panchanan Neogi has placed *Sukraniti* somewhere in the 14th Century A. D. In the February number of "The Modern Review" Mr. K. P. Jayaswal remarks while reviewing Mr. Ramanathan's *Criminal Justice in Ancient India* that Sukraniti "as we have it is a product of the 8th century of the Christian era." In the same issue Mr. Pradhan writing on *Kingship in Sukraniti* quotes a passage evidently from *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Panini Office, Allahabad), on the strength of which he concludes that the "*Sukraniti* must have been written sometime before 4th century A.D." Dr. Gustav Oppert who edited the text of *Sukraniti* for the Madras Government in 1882, is well known to have been convinced about the authenticity of fire-arms in ancient India. According to him the *Sukraniti* in which there are long passages about explosives and arms ought therefore to have been a work of the pre-Christian era. As a matter of fact distinguished orthodox Pandits having greater command over Hindu tradition as recorded in Sanskrit literature than any of our modern educated Indian or Euro-American scholars, do believe that *Sukraniti* is, like many other things in India, almost an 'eternal' work—very ancient of course—coeval, if not with the Vedas, at least with the *Mahabharata*. And undoubtedly there are sceptics too who should be disposed to look upon the section on fire arms &c., as the work of an editor of the 18th century who, according to the modern Japanese, was well up in the art of "assimilating" new ideas and thus enriching the old.

It is apparent that those who have advanced their opinions up till now have depended on single passages. Now if the values of individual verses have to be recognised, the following conclusion at least must arrest the attention of every reader of *The Positive Background*:

1. "Literary history proves the Sukra Flora to be pre-Islamic (there is evidently a printing mistake here 'pre' having been dropped) and does not prevent it from being at least as old as Charaka... The Sukra Flora may be placed at any period between the 6th century B.C. and 12th century A.D. And if the incorporation and adaptation from Varahamihira be admitted both the Sukra Flora and the Sukra author, ...have to be placed after the sixth century A.D." Pp. 160-161.

2. "The mineralogical section of Sukraniti thus yields two furthest limits of Chronology: (i) the 10th century furnished by the Doctrine of Nine Gems, and (ii) the 14th century furnished by the doctrine of seven metals." P. 115.

It seems Prof. Neogi bases his opinion on the mention of the seventh metal, zinc, the date of which was discussed by Dr. P. C. Ray in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*, which has been liberally drawn upon in *The Positive Background*.

3. "The pre-condition for fixing the precise ethnology of Yavanas, therefore, is the exact date of *Sukraniti*, which for a long time yet is sure to be 'begging the question.'" P. 23.

"As one of the most justifiable grounds for war" (casusbelli) according to the principles of International Law advocated by Sukracharyya, we read what may be compared with the cry of Sivaji the Great..... Killing of cows, women and Brahmanas..... It may be possible to find out the age of *Sukraniti* from the history of this "Doctrine of the Divinity and Inviolability of the cow" as a cornerstone of Hindu socio-religious system. The work must be attributed to a period not preceding the advent of the Mussalmans." P. 259.

The analysis of "internal evidences" in *The Positive Background* is not yet complete, for the chapters dealing with arts, morals, education, economics, constitution, finance, jurisprudence and international law as exhibited in *Sukraniti* remain yet to be published. The data available from these studies are likely to yield fresh evidences regarding the time of its composition or compilation and the place where the author or authors lived.

It need be clearly understood that the question of place* is as important as the question of time—especially with regard to works of the Niti-Sastra class which are treatises, partly descriptive-historical, and partly also "normative"-Utopian, on economics, politics, and international relations. It is obvious that a statute-book or penal code or Gazetteer compiled under the auspices of a Maratha viceroyalty could not be the same as those of Samudragupta the Indian Napoleon's Executive council at Pataliputra. The "Relativity" of the Niti Sastras whether considered as documents of actual facts or as more or less idealistic works, must in fact be the first postulate with indologists as a deduction from the notions with which this communication begins. The subject was dealt with at length in The Modern Review for 1913 and has been accorded a place in the first chapter of *The Positive Background*.

The following two conditions are being quoted from that chapter:

1. "In the first place the political history of India has to be ransacked so as to give more or less

* This has been discussed in several sections of *The Positive Background*. Pp. 21-28, 145-152, 156, 159, 160, 175, 242-245.

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complete pictures of the administrative machinery and economic organisations of the various empires and kingdoms of the Hindu world."

2. "In the second place the whole field of Indian literature, both Sanskrit and vernacular, has to be ransacked wide and deep to discover socio-political and socio-economic treatises, and their contents minutely analysed and elaborately indexed in the interest of comparative studies."

With regard to the first the following facts would indicate how miserably poor Indology is in military, political, administrative, economic, and fiscal history so far as Hindu India is concerned.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. This is one of the series "The Anna Library" published by the Christian Literature Society for India and contains 44 pages including many diagrams. The book is written for popular readers and gives short accounts of the shape of the earth, the solar system, the sun, the planets, the comets, as well as of the cause of eclipses. In contrast with the modern views regarding these, Hindu Pauranic accounts regarding them as well as the Hindu system of the universe are also given. While the achievements of European astronomers are extolled on the one hand and the pauranic legends condemned on the other, scant justice is done to the ancient Hindu Astronomers, no mention of their views being given except in two places, on pages 8 and 29. Thus on page 11, we read. "It was known to a few learned men in Europe more than 2,000 years ago that the earth goes round the sun; but until modern times it was tht common opinion that the earth was the centre of the universe." The writer does not mention that in India too, Aryabhata (b. 476 A.D.) put forward the theory of the revolution of the earth round the sun in 499 A.D., i. e., over 1,000 years before the modern theory was accepted by the European astronomers. In speaking of the solar system, phenomena due to the diurnal rotation of the earth are mentioned in connection with the theory of its annual revolution round the sun. The two ought to have been separated. The following explanation as to why the earth moves round the sun is, to say the least of it, very amusing. "What an immense circuit the sun and stars would make daily if they really moved! Why should such enormous globes travel such an immensity of space merely to prevent the earth turning round? No cook would be so stupid as make a fire move round a potato to roast it. Can we suppose that the All-wise Creator would do such a thing?" On p. 15 it is mentioned that the sun revolves once in 25 days, but whether or not this is for the purpose of being roasted by a bigger fire is not mentioned. Some explanation of the cause of this phenomenon ought to have been given, otherwise, the superstitious Hindus for whose enlightenment the book is evidently written may impute unreasonable fitfulness to the Creator in causing an "immense globe of the fiercest fire" nearly 13 lakhs times bigger than the earth to rotate apparently for serving no useful purpose. On the same page, sun-spots are said to be due to occasional openings in the blazing clouds on the sun's surface. The book concludes with a section on Astrology in which its wide influence and evil effects on the lives of Hindus are described with quotations from Sir T. Madhav Rao.

The get-up of the book is neat and we would commend it to those who would like to have some popular idea of Astronomy and Astrology, with the remark that in presenting the Hindu views on astronomical facts and phenomena the mistake has been made of taking the Puranas as the authorities. Puranas are no more authorities on Hindu Astronomy than "God's Holy Book" is on cosmogenesis.

N. M.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN *by Prof. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar, A.B. (Harvard). Printed and published at the Tara Printing Works, Benares. Price As. 6.*

At a time when Japan appears to be on the point of capturing the trade of Germany and Austria in the Indian market and the Government of India has at last waked up to a sense of its own responsibility and to the danger of the situation to the extent of appointing a Commission on Indian Industries and sending an official representative to the Land of the Rising Sun to study on the spot the causes and nature of its industrial development, a brief survey of the industrial progress of that country, such as Mr. Sarkar presents us here, is very opportune. For a number of years past Japan's great ambition has been to become the "Great Britain of the Pacific," the "workshop of the Far East," and at the rate she is proceeding—her industrial growth dates only from about 1895, the year which saw her victorious over China—she seems to be well on her way to realise this ambition. Under the fostering care of a paternal Government her trades and manufactures have gone on increasing by leaps and bounds. A few figures will prove this. In 1893, Japan had only 1,163, workshops and factories; in 1909, this number had risen to 32,228 (exclusive of Government factories). In 1895, the total value of Japan's manufactured exports was 37,195,000 yen (1 yen=about Re. 1. 9as.); in 1910, it was 137,330,000 yen. In 1896, only about 16 p.c. of the population of the country was urban; today more than 25 p.c. live in towns.

But rapid as the growth of Japan's manufactures has been, it has not been very sound. Not only are many of the industries (of which the most prominent is the shipping industry) dependent on state aid

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in the shape of protective tariffs, bounties, subsidies, Railway freight concessions, etc., but commercial morality and perfection and uniformity of execution of the goods are frequently sacrificed to rapidity of production; so that Japanese manufactures cannot generally hold their own against native manufactures in the markets of Europe and America. The main causes of Japan's rapid industrial development seem to have been (i) the climate of the country (ii) Government help. A few industries are carried on by the government itself. (iii) A cheap and efficient labour supply. Japanese labour is not only cheaper than Western labour but in some cases even cheaper than Indian labour. (iv) Predominance of female labour. 60 p.c. of the factory hands in Japan are females. In the textile industry, out of a total of 486,508 employees in 1901, 414,277 were women. And it is claimed by Japanese businessmen that Japanese women workers though extremely low paid are more efficient than their Western sisters. (v) Good relations between the employers and the employed. Militant Trade Unionism, employer's associations, strikes, lock-out, sabotage, etc., which mar the history of capitalistic production in the West and even today introduce considerable elements of friction in the smooth working of the industrial machine, are conspicuous by their absence in the land of the Mikado. (vi) The pressure of population on the soil. Of the total area of Japan proper only about 14% is cultivable. And this has to support an immense population. As Mr. Sarkar points out, 30 million farmers including women and children (5½ mil. families) cultivate only 14 mil. acres of land.

This great pressure of population on the soil, coupled with the almost entire dependence of the island kingdom on foreign countries for her minerals and raw materials of industry (Japan has only coal and raw silk; for almost every other raw material of importance—iron, steel, cotton, wool, timber for shipbuilding, she has to depend on China, India, Australia, U. S. A. and other countries), and the necessity of finding outlets for her manufactured commodities to pay for these raw materials, has compelled Japan to launch into a policy of expansion and exploitation in the neighbouring continent of Asia.

There is one noteworthy feature in the industrial development of Japan. The industrialisation of the country has not altogether ruined the domestic industries of her people. The products of these industries form not a negligible factor in the manufactured exports of Japan and for their artistic beauty and tasteful and perfect execution find a ready sale all over the world, not excluding those countries which would think nothing of keeping out the crude products of her mills and factories.

2. AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA *by the Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha. Reprinted for private circulation from the first number of the 'Indian Journal of Economics' (Allahabad).*

In this little pamphlet of 33 royal octavo pages Mr. Wacha utters a strong and cogent plea for the starting of agricultural banks in India, on the model of the Agricultural Bank of Egypt, for relieving the heavy indebtedness of Indian cultivators, estimated to range between 375 and 500 crores of rupees for the whole country. He is of opinion that palliative measures like the Government 'taccavi' loans or the co-operative credit societies with their limited resources are bound to fail to effect this object, like the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879, in spite of the very optimistic reports of the Registrars of these societies. "The indebtedness of the agriculturist is so colossal while the resources by way of capital of the societies are so extremely limited and hedged in by restriction and limitations that there never can be any emancipation of the ryot from his slough of indebtedness. Agricultural banks are their only salvation" (p. 23). Again, "My firm conviction is that neither any number of credit co-operative societies of the character now instituted nor any legion of Government resolutions for control, audit and so forth would be of any avail if it really be our aim and object, once for all, to relieve agricultural indebtedness" (p. 33). This is a timely though rather serious warning, and coming from a man of Mr. Wacha's knowledge and wide experience, deserves the close and careful attention of all concerned or interested in the co-operative credit movement. Are we really frittering away our valuable time and energies on a mere wild-goose chase, while the fetters of the poor agriculturist are being riveted the more closely year after year? A proposal for the establishment of an Agricultural bank for the Deccan on an experimental scale was made by the late lamented Sir W. Wedderburn as long ago as 1881, and though strongly supported by the government and by Indian capitalists, was pronounced to be impracticable by the Secretary of State in Council in 1883, just as Sir James Caird's excellent proposal for the redemption of the land revenue by the Indian cultivators without any loss—present or future—to the Indian Exchequer had been vetoed three years before, though one of these measures has been found to be eminently suitable to Egypt and the other to Ireland, in both of which countries the condition of agriculturists bears a close resemblance to that of their equally unfortunate brethren in India. We strongly recommend this pamphlet to the notice of all interested in the condition of the Indian ryot. It would not be at all a bad plan if some of our public-spirited zemindars would co-operate in starting an Agricultural Bank—at first on an experimental scale—in Bengal. There is no reason why with ordinary precautions and backed by the good-will of government it should not prove to be as successful and profitable in India as it has done in Egypt.

3. GOKHALE AND ECONOMIC REFORMS *by Prof. V. G. Kale. Aryabhusan Press, Poona. Price Rs. 2.*

This is "a brief account of the patient and persistent agitation for economic reforms carried on by the late Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, in the Viceroy's Legislative Council and outside" from the time when he first began to take an active part in public affairs as a member of the Deccan Education Society and as Editor of the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha almost to the day of his untimely death in 1915. And it is in the fitness of things that the account should be published on the day of the first anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death and be written by his successor in the chair of Political Economy at the Fergusson College, himself an able economist and admirer of the great patriot and publicist.

It is not perhaps too much to say that the history of financial and economic reform in India during the fist decade of the 20th century—a decade which has probably been more fruitful of results than any other period of like duration in the history of British rule in India—is to a very large extent the history of Mr. Gokhale's own agitation and achievement in

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the Imperial Legislative Council. His wonderful grasp of even the most intricate economic problems, his power of lucid exposition of his own ideals and quickly exposing the fallacies in those of his opponents, his intimate acquaintance with the financial and economic conditions of India and of other countries, his breadth of outlook, his independence and moderation, his persistent reiteration of what he believed to be the truth at all times and under all circumstances in spite of frequent official discouragements and rebuffs and refusal to accept defeat, his power of quick and happy retort so necessary to a successful political career, the soundness of his reasoning, his sense of humour, his practicability and earnestness—all these gained for him a position unique in the history of political agitation in India. He enjoyed at the same time the full confidence of the Government and of his own countrymen. It is not possible within the compass of a short review like this, to give even the barest outline of the various measures Gokhale suggested and should have liked to have seen adopted for the economic regeneration of India. With unbounded energy and force he pressed for every reform which might make for the moral and material uplifting of his countrymen. He was never tired of drawing the attention of an unwilling and impatient government to the facts that military reforms, Railway development, repayment of public debts, etc., might and ought to wait before this the first and paramount duty of every civilised government. If he did not always succeed in carrying his point, he was at least instrumental in bringing about a great change in the outlook of the Government towards pressing questions of financial reform, industrial development, popular education, sanitation, medical relief, etc. He has sown the seed, future generations will gather the harvest.

Mr. Kale has been quite successful in presenting the ideas of the great leader in a concise form. The little book is illuminating and interesting. Our only regret is that it is not more exhaustive. Those interested in the question of Indian financial and economic reforms will certainly find it helpful to get a general idea of Gokhale's views on these subjects from Mr. Kale's book before proceeding to a more thorough study of his speeches, etc.

THE PERMANENT HISTORY OF BHARATAVARSHA *by K. Narayana Iyer, B.A., Superintendent, H. H. The Maharaja's School of Arts, Trivandrum, Vol. I. Crown 8vo Pp. 519+4, full cloth, Price Rs. 3. To be had of Mr. N. Ragavier, B.A., B.L., Vakil, Vazuthycud, Trivandrum.*

The author being not satisfied, for the reasons described in his Introduction (pp 1-35), with the interpretations by the modern Pandits, the Theosophists and the Western Scholars alike of our sacred texts such as the Puranas etc. has proposed to write the volume collecting a mass of materials all in original sanskrit with their English translations made by him from the Upanishads, chiefly the minor ones and the Puranas which he has pronounced (p. 8) "to be earlier productions than the Vedas" and has attempted to bring out the true answers to the questions regarding the Religious Texts and Philosophy, and the Place, Time and Personality in those works.

It is foolish or rather childish to remark that in the Puranas in general "there is no plot, no finish, no humour, no wit, no poetry, but mere versification and combination of irrelevant and incoherent facts." This sort of unwarranted opinion may come only from those who undoubtedly did not read the works or unfortunately could not understand their contents. The importance of these sacred writings can in no way be under-estimated. It is not the Vedas, nor the Brahmanas, nor even the Upanishads, but the Puranas and the Puranas alone that have created and have preserved to a considerable degree even in the time of the present degeneration the moral and religious spirit of the Indian people. And the keys to the locks of many knotty points are to be sought not in vain in these ancient stores of informations fortunately handed down to us, without which many things would have remained obscure for ever.

Mr. Iyer's work under notice which appears to be compiled with great effort will support the above view. It will further show how owing to the want of sufficient knowledge of these Puranas, Itihasas, etc., the interpretations of the Indian geography and other similar subjects become extremely ridiculous.

So far as the Practical Religious Philosophy or the Science of Yoga is concerned Mr. Iyer's exposition is good and acceptable and the readers will have a considerable amount of intellectual food for fresh reflection and will, we believe, also find the esoteric meanings of different words clearly explained with which several curious stories have found place in those works. But we are constrained to observe that the author is on no account right to think that the Puranas and the Itihasas deal *only* with practical religious Philosophy and the system of Yoga. And in explaining esoterically or metaphysically always and everywhere in this light the places and persons, etc., he seems to be quite blind to other passages the meanings of which have nothing to do with the science of Yoga. Take for instance the *Apsarases*. On the authority of a citation from the Vayupurana (pp. 413, 421) he says "The Apsaras represent different stages of attainment in the practice of Yoga.... They are not, therefore, the common dancing girls in heaven." It is true that in passages like the above Apsaras are not the common dancing girls of heaven, but should this meaning be applied everywhere Sanskrit literature in its entirety will be thrown into the fire for in that case there will be no room even for Kalidasa's Sakuntala. Similarly in the point of Yoga the confluence of the *Triveni* or *Prayaga* according to the Padmapurana and the Yogopanishad (pp. 246, 251) may mean a certain centre in the lower extremity of the spinal column and a fine part in that region to the west of it; and again, *Mathura* may be called according to a certain authority (p. 246) what one gains by churning the world by the knowledge of Brahman. But still one must in other passages entirely different from the above understand by the very words the material towns of Prayaga and Mathura.

The author almost in every section or paragraph of his book has hurled a terrible thunderbolt of uncalled-for bitter satirical remarks which are strongly objectionable, towards the innocent Pandits uselessly covering a considerable number of pages of the book. We cannot understand why the Pandits should be taken to task so severely for their giving the material meanings where the material subject is concerned. In the spiritual one they are however expected to give the suitable exposition. And if a Pandit fails to do so the whole class does not deserve to be blamed. And how does the author know that there is no Pandit in India who can furnish him with the exposition he has brought to light in his book from the ancient

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works. Let him not suppose that they are all fools. Truly speaking only for this bitterness the book does not provide any pleasant reading.

RAMBLES IN SCRIPTURE LAND, VOL I. *"The Brihad-dharma Purana," translated by Syamacharan Banerji, B.A., The Retreat, Ram Dhara, Almora Pp. IX+334+4. Price Re. 1-4.*

It is a free and abridged English translation made in simple style and in popular way of the Brihad-dharma Purana curtailing all the tedious repetitions and dry details of the original. The sole object of the author is to create an interest in the Hindu mythological lore or the Puranas, the importance of which can in no way be denied, by popularising them among his English-educated countrymen and specially the young students. The object is good and he may rightly hope its attainment by what he has done for it.

INDIA AND MISSIONS, *Lessons for Mission Study Classes, The Christian Literature Society for India, National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations India and Ceylon, 86, College Street, Calcutta, Pp. 122. Price 4 annas.*

"The pamphlet lays no claim to originality. The lessons are largely a compilation from various sources. It is sent forth again with the prayer that it may be used as a small instrument in bringing the needs of India to the attention of the Indian Church and in creating in it a sense of its responsibility to the evangelization of the motherland." Having this object in view the author has concisely described the area, the population, and the condition of India in its various aspects, viz., Language, Occupation, Famines, Infirmities, Education and Caste, giving a number of well-designed diagrams showing at a glance what they are meant for. He has also described the condition of Indian women pointing out the manifold evils arising from their ignorance, zenana system, child marriage, enforced widowhood and moral degradation. Then having supplied the brief notes on the chief religions found in India he has reviewed the Christianity in India and the results of the Missions, and concluding by giving his opinion on what remains to be done. We see in it what we naturally expect to see in such a work. Non-Christian readers may not be satisfied with the author's observations on their respective religions or communities, but so far as the facts are concerned which are chiefly collected from the census reports we think it worth one's while to go through the pages if one really wants to do something for India.

THE HERITAGE OF INDIA, *"The Heart of Buddhism" being an Anthology of Buddhist verse, translated and edited by K. J. Saunders, M.A., Literary Secretary to the Y. M. C. A. of India, Burma, and Ceylon, Editor and Joint-Translator of the Dhammapada in the "Wisdom of the East" Series. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, etc., The Association Press, 86 College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 96. Price, 1-6 net.*

This little volume being an anthology contains a number of beautiful passages in English garb from the Buddhist sacred books; and of the series in which it is included it is said in the Editorial Preface that "while the heritage of India has been largely explored by scholars, and the results of their toil are laid out for us in their books, they cannot be said to be really available for the ordinary man. The volumes are in most cases expensive, and are often technical and difficult. Hence this series of cheap books has been planned by a group of Christian men in order that every educated Indian whether rich or poor may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past." "To every book," it is further stated, "two tests are rigidly applied: everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic." As regards the present volume it may be a sympathetic one, but whether it is scholarly we strongly doubt. The author may rightly inform us of his translation saying that it is "an honest attempt to reproduce the spirit of the originals," but he should not, as seems to us, have added that those renderings "are for the *most part literal*," (Italics are ours) for we see therein something which is not to be found in the originals. The book will, however, serve the purpose for which the series has been started.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP (*by Abdul Majid*) *pp. 109, published by T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London.*

The treatise before us is a hand-book of collective psychology, or rather that part of it which consists of a psychological analysis of the conduct of the masses as also of the methods of persuation, so largely employed by all successful leaders. The author has admirably assimilated the results of the researches of eminent European authorities on Sociology and the Psychology of the crowd, and has also supported his statements by numerous quotations from the ancient scriptures, from the history of Europe and Asia, as well as from a critical study of the present-day mass movements in India. In some cases the opinion of the writer is rather vitiated by exaggeration and one-sidedness. For instance, he has unduly strained and twisted facts of history and experience in maintaining that the human character has nothing uniform, stable and permanent about it. His assertion about the "quirks and meannesses of committees, cabinets and assemblies," which, even, when composed of respectable and intelligent men, are said to be *less moral and less national* than individuals, is another instance, and the erroneous nature of the hasty generalisation can be clearly shown by the author's own self-contradictory statement in pp. 107-8, where we are told that the conduct of a well-organised group, society or committee attains a *level far higher* than that which could be attained by individuals composing it, both *intellectually* and *morally*.

The book is written in an extremely lucid and elegant style, so that even the ordinary reader, unacquainted with the technicalities of Psychology will be able to read it with sustained interest and immense profit.

S. C. R.

PALI.

THE PALI-GRANTHA-MALA, *first gem,* THE JINA-CHARITAM *edited by Upadhyaya Chandramani Vidyalankara, Gurukul, Hardwar, published by Nandalal, Assistant Governor, Gurukul, Kangri, Shampur P. O. (Bijnour), Pp. 12+56, Price 0-8-0*

We read with interest Professor Chandramani's paper on the "Mahabhasya" of Patanjali and now we are also glad to have the above book edited by him. He was sent to Ceylon to study Pali by the Gurukul

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Vishvavidyalaya of which he is a graduate and now after his return from that land of Pali learning he holds the post of the Professor of his subject in the College and has commenced under the auspices of the Vishvavidyalaya to bring out a series of Pali works all printed in Devanagri character intending to obviate a great difficulty in the field of Pali learning which is being every day experienced by the Indian students. Pali books are generally printed in Burmese, Ceylonese or Shiamese characters which are very difficult to Indian eyes as shows our own experience and with which the Indian students at large are not practically acquainted. The publications of the Pali Text Society which are printed in Roman character are also not suitable for the same reason. It is not so very easy for us to read Pali or Sanskrit in Roman character as we read them in Devanagar one. Moreover, the publications of the said society are so highly priced that they hardly suit the purse of the Indian students who are generally very poor. We are therefore very glad to see the first number of the series which is printed in Devanagri and priced very moderately. The book under notice may be used by the students with much advantage though it has not been very accurately edited and consequently some mistakes have crept specially in the first few pages. Both the style and the language of the Jinacharitam by one Vanaratana Meghankara (1277-1288 A. D.) are very simple and charming and so very useful to beginners. The editor has done well by briefly relating in Hindi the life of the Buddha as described in the text. The get up should have been far better.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

AROGYA VISHE, SAMANYA JNAN, *by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. Pp. 138. Second edition. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1916).*

"General Hints on Health" is a small book written and published by Mr. Gandhi years ago. Like his life work, it bears the stamp of close study, thorough understanding of his subject, and fearlessly outspoken advice. He explains in language which even a child can understand, the constitution of the human body and the means of preservation. He is an out-and-out supporter of fruitarianism, and he himself has been subsisting on food (fruits and nuts), which require no cooking even. Every word in the book is well thought out, and the ideal of plain living is set out in such an easy way that one finds it difficult to resist the temptation of giving it a trial. Some of his views which border on the extreme, as for instance that every man should become his own scavenger, or that all males should live celebate lives, would have to wait for a pretty long period—perhaps for good—to be accepted in practice by the world at large, still they should not be allowed to obscure the immense good that lies in the many maxims of health he has enunciated in the book. We wish every household in Gujarat possessed a copy and studied it, and that every vernacular of India had a translation thereof.

(1) SAMRAT AKBAR, *translated by Bhimji Harjivan Parikh, printed at the above press and published by the same Society. Cloth bound pp. 535. Price Re. 1-2-0 (1916).*

(2) SHRI YOGA VASISHTHA MAHA RAMAYANA, *Part II, Printed and published as above, Cloth bound, pp. 1067. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1916).*

The first book is a translation of a Bengali Life of the Emperor Akbar by Babu Bankim Chandra Lahiri, B. A., L. L. B. Gujarati does not lack the lives of Akbar, but this one is by far the biggest and most detailed biography we have got. The second book finishes the translation of the Yoga Vasishtha Ramayana, and certainly furnishes a very cheap edition of a popular religious work.

K. M. J.

MARATHI BOOKS.

ASHRAMA HARINI *by Mr. V. M. Joshi M. A., Printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press pp. 56, Price As. 4.*

This is a short story offered by the author as a translation of a hitherto unpublished manuscript of a Purana. But of course the reader can easily look behind the device. It reminds one of similar productions in English, such as the Digit of the Moon by a well-known English Professor. The form of the story enables the author to draw a vivid picture of Gurukul life of olden days, which is delightful. But the story is more than a mere pen-picture of Gurukul life. It attempts to solve a social problem—the problem of widow-remarriage. The story is finely conceived, the plot is skilfully woven and the whole production is carefully executed.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE *(a study) by Mr. G. R. Abhyankar B. A., LL. B. Printed at the Arya Bhushan Press, Poona. Pp. 90, Price As. 4.*

This is not an exhaustive biography of the great Indian whose loss the whole of India mourned not long ago. But though a short sketch of the life of Mr. Gokhale it has special merits of its own. Mr. Abhyankar had the privilege of knowing intimately and sitting at the feet of the late Mr. Gokhale and this fact vouches for the accuracy of the description given in his book of the private and public life, the delicacy of feeling and the susceptibility of impressions, the straightforwardness and uprightness of conduct and other virtues which characterised the subject of his biographical sketch. And yet the picture cannot be said to be quite faithful, inasmuch as the author has consciously or unconsciously omitted to mention certain weak points in Mr. Gokhale's character. His irritability of temper, and impulsiveness, his proneness to be easily impressed, and readiness to open his mind, and his lack of insight into human character which were some of the special features of Mr. Gokhale's character are either omitted or are not adequately dealt with. Taken as a whole, the book is full of lessons to be learnt, and is no doubt a valuable addition to the biographical literature in Marathi.

RASHTRIYA SABHA *(The Indian National Congress): Its rise and growth, by the same author. Price As 8.*

This is much more than a mere compilation treating of the rise and growth of the great political institution, which goes under the name of the Indian National Congress. The history of the Congress movement from its inception in 1884 down to the close of the year 1915 has been faithfully and intelligently recorded, the criticism against the movement carefully noted and answered and important resolutions and their bearing on the political condition of the country fully discussed. Thus it forms a useful compendium of the history of the Congress and as such is a valuable guide to students of Indian politics. The logic or the line of argument of Mr. Abhyankar is at times faulty if not funny. For instance, while

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giving a pretty long list of achievements of the Congress in its career of 30 years Mr. Abhyankar argues that because the Congress meets only three days in a year these achievements amount to the work done by that body in 3×30 or 90 days, i. e., in three months! If this be true, the Congress must be said to be quite a unique and exceptionally fortunate institution to have achieved *multum in parvo*, and the criticism against its being a three day's show is meaningless. But is Mr. Abhyankar's statement true? If this be a three month's achievement, pray, what has the Congress been doing all the rest of its life? The truth is that Political achievements know no definite measurements of time; they are the results of incessant, active and zealous work, spread over a long period. The outside public may not be knowing the secret springs of action. But the springs must be there long before any result is brought forth. This is the secret of the political achievements of the Congress and to ignore this truth means a wrong reading of history.

This book is well got up and profusely illustrated and deserve a place on the shelf of every good library.

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SHRI VIDYARANYA SWAMI *by Mr. R. H. Manurkar. Published by Mr. V. H. Manurkar, 598 Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Price As. 4.*

This little brochure is based entirely on the life of the Swami written in Canarese by Mr. V. B. Alur of the Dharwar Bar, and gives a good estimate of the political, philosophical and literary work done by the reputed minister Madhav of the never-to-be-forgotten Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. A much more elaborate and critical estimate of the Swami's life has appeared in the pages of the *Vividha-Dnyan-Vistar* since the publication of this pamphlet. However as a nucleus of a great biography the present sketch has its value and will well repay its perusal.

V. G. Apte.

INDIAN PERIODICALS.

J. C. Swaminarayan contributes to the *Vedic Magazine* an informing article on

Ujjain

which is the corrupt form of Ujjayini the renowned capital of Vikramaditya, the monarch of Hindu India famous for his patronage of literature and learning. The great poet Kalidas belonged to his court. Vikramaditya flourished about 56 B. C. The *Samvat* era of the Hindus begins from that date.

In ancient times, the Indian astronomers had regarded उज्जयिनी as their standard meridian. Bhaskaracharya in his Goladhyay, says :—

"That meridian, which, passing through लङ्का and उज्जयिनी and touching कुरुक्षेत्र and the North Pole (मेरु) divides the earth in two equal parts, is regarded as the standard meridian of the earth by wise men."

The same author also stated the latitude of उज्जयिनी to be one-sixteenth of the circumference of the earth, that is, 22° 30'.

Ujjayini has passed through many vicissitudes and there have been various changes of Government in recent times. It is now in the possession of His Highness the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior. It is the capital of a very important and prosperous province under the sway of the Scindia Maharajah. The predecessors of the Scindia in the occupation of Ujjain were the Kings of Jeypore. One of the most renowned and distinguished rulers of Jeypore was Maharaja Jeysinhrao. Jeysinhrao himself was a mathematician and astronomer. He had many learned men under his patronage. Jagannath Samrad, who has translated Euclid's Elements of Geometry from Arabic lived at his court. This translation is named रेखागणित and has been published by the Government of Bombay in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. Being fond of observing the skies, Maharajah Jeysinhrao built observatories at Jeypore, Ujjain, Delhi and Benares. The observatory at Jeypore has been kept in very good condition and all the machines are in working order. The management of the observatory at Jeypore is in the hands of Pandit Gokuldas Bhavan, a man of vast scholarship and technical knowledge. The observatory at Ujjain has been neglected, most probably because those who came in the possession of Ujjain had very little interest in the work done by the preceding rulers. Still the principal machines are there and, with a little repair, it is possible to render them workable.

The observatory at Ujjain contains seven machines. These machines are made of stones and are immovable.

Near the observatory, there is a small suburb of the town, called Jeysinhpura named after Maharajah Jeysinhrao of Jeypore. Ujjain is a very old town and we come across various stones and monuments within a few miles of the city.

The present ruler of Ujjain, the Maharajah Madhavrao Scindia, is an enlightened monarch.

There is a High School in Ujjain teaching as far as the Matriculation standard of the University of Allahabad. It is named Madhav College after the present illustrious ruler of Ujjain.

University Reform.

Under the above heading the *Young Men of India* for May presents the views of Professor Ramalinga Reddy regarding

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the drawbacks of our Indian Universities and the way to improve them.

At the outset Professor Reddy points out that there are two types of Universities :

The one represented by Oxford and Cambridge and the universities of India, the other represented by what he calls the modern universities, such as London, Manchester, Liverpool, Toronto and other Canadian universities, Wisconsin and other American universities, the universities of Japan and the university of Manila. The essential difference between the two systems is this : the former is a union of colleges teaching the same subjects, the latter is a union of colleges specializing along certain lines.

The Professor goes on to say

The great vice of the Indian system is that it is unreal. It has no connection with life unless it be official life, whereas the first need of a truly scientific organization is that it should bring education and life into intimate correlation. How this correlation is worked out in the great democratic and nationalistic civilizations of Western countries will become clearer still when we consider certain other aspects of university organization. In almost all the modern universities not only are the matriculates who read for the degree admitted, but those who do not or cannot matriculate, and who perfer to take shorter or inferior courses, leading to lesser titles called diplomas and certificates, are also admitted. Students taking only a part of the course, partial students as they are called, are admitted. The doors of the university are kept wide open, and educational hospitality is extended to a large variety of students.

Then, in Cadada and the United states

Besides teaching their own students the universities carry on propagandist work, or extension work, as it is called. They issue small practical bulletins to the farmers and other rural peoples, who have, as we know, a great tendency to stagnate, if left to themselves. In winter, when agricultural operations cannot be carried on, men and women from the villages are brought over to the university to undergo a few weeks' training in scientific agriculture. The university sends out lecturers to holb institutes or short-period classes, in the different villages. But perhaps it will be asked, how about laboratory equipment, without which real education or education in science and technology is impossible? Well, they equip railway cars as laboratories. I have seen cars equipped for stock-judging, seed-judging, and other branches of argricultural study. Easier still it is to equip them for such elementary physics and chemistry, and sanitation and hygiene, as would be of interest and profit to the men in the street and the women in the village. These railway cars are shunted to a siding at different stations, and the population around is gathered, and short courses of lectures given with adequate laboratory demonstration. In the Philippines I saw a number of cars equipped for purposes of agricultural demonstration, agriculture being there, as it is here, the most important industry.

The Professor is quite correct when he lays down that the University should exist not for the few men of extraordinary talent but for the many of average ability and average industry. University education should not be a luxury available for the wealthy few but it should be within the reach of the humblest citizen. Professor Reddy feels strongly, and rightly so, that the study of English has been given too great prominence in the Indian colleges. Much time is wasted, he feels, in the study of English not as a language but as literature. For the purpose of conversation it is necessary perhaps, but as literature it should be on the same basis as other modern languages. "It is education *through* the vernacular and not education *in* vernaculars," which is important.

Regarding the residential problem which is so much engaging the attention of our educational authorities, Professor Reddy has to say the following which perfectly agrees with our views on the matter.

"We hear a good deal about residence being necessary for developing the character of students. May I venture to enquire in what direction it is sought to develop their character, and who the agents are who are going to be entrusted with this important function? Is it going to end in the encouragement of true manliness, strong individuality, and the virtues of public life generally, or is it going to breed selfishness and self-seeking, even at an age when idealism is natural, and the spirit of calculation most repugnant. I would warn my countrymen against accepting an arrangement which may have a tendency to reduce the freedom of the student to the servitude of the official."

A. L. Pinto makes us familiar with the

Poetry of Joseph Saldanha

in the pages of the *Indian Review* for April. About him we are told :

Mr. Saldanha was born some forty-three years ago at Honovar, North Canara District, where his father was a Sub-Judge. Carefully educated, he became proficient in three languages—English, Canarese, and Mahratti,—and it is said that he could write both poetry and prose in all these languages with facility. Although he studied Canarese up to the F. A., he took up Sanskrit for the B.A., and got through that examination without difficulty. He passed the Matriculation as well as these examinations from the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore, which is justly proud of such a distinguished alumnus.

Mr. Saldanha's knowledge of the literature of the vernaculars and of the classical Sanskrit must have infused his poetry with that undefinable element which stamped it with genius and gave him a niche in the Indian poetical firmament.

His first appearance in a Madras journal was, I believe, in the *Young Men's Miscellany* (now defunct) in which he published the poem called "Krishna Kumari." This was in June 1893.

For the benefit of our readers we quote a few lines of his poetry. We are told that his general outlook on life was sad.

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They gave him gold and made him sing, sing for
their delight,
And he sang loud and he sang low,
And many a note on his pipe did blow
Till they laughed for joy at the melody's flow,
But the joy with the song took flight.
Then they followed him in lonely ways, where he
sate and mused, apart
Alone on the side of a desolate mound,
Where wood notes wove their magic of sound,
And he sang of the grief that his soul had found,
But the song—it still sings in their heart.

I looked on her—the touch of grief
Had made her half divine,
She sought from earthly things relief,
Her heart had grown a shrine,
Where heavenly thoughts like pilgrims pure
Their constant vigils kept;
Whilst like a saint in death serene,
Her passions slept.
But as the bow that hangs on high,
When rain and sunshine meet,
A brief bright wonder in the sky,
For loving gaze too sweet,
So in her heart where sorrow dwelt,
With bliss of dreams divine,
At times the earthly thrill she felt,
As pure as fine.

Here are a couple of stanzas from his *Song of the Journals*:

North and South and East and West,
Speed we over land and sea,
Nurslings curst and nurslings blest,
Thought and Type's prompt progeny.
Man alive! Read and thrive,
Clear the chaff and store the grain,
While through time, in prose and rhyme,
Sounds the world its marching strain.
Dead behind us lies the Past,
Still his secrets we declare,
Oft the horoscope we cast,
Of the Future dark or fair,
Wisdom's cheer and Folly's sneer,
Poet's fit and Patriot's rage,
Statesman's right and soldier's might,
All are printed in our page.

Museums and Education.

Under the above heading M. Srinivasa Rao contributes to the *Mysore Economic Journal* a short and useful article. The writer is quite right when he says that

It is absurd to spend time, money and trouble in producing an attractive exhibition or museum and then leave the public to find out the fact for themselves. Official guides should be appointed in all well-managed museums. The guide should of course be an educated man with a wide scientific knowledge and it must be made worth his while to specialise in his work to instruct and amuse the public at the same time.

The following lines will show how museums may be made useful in helping the cause of education.

In this respect the American museums have led the way. There is co-operation between museums and public schools. Children are brought in batches by their teachers for regular instruction by the museum staff. This is given partly in the form of tours round the galleries and partly by lectures and demonstrations given in classrooms set apart for the purpose. For more advanced scholars the professors themselves give the necessary instruction. In some places as in Philadelphia, to obviate loss of time in taking large classes to the museums it is now usual to send travelling exhibits from the museums to the schools. In certain museums a special feature consists of children's sections. Collections of birds and beasts likely to interest children are arranged so as to convey some definite and easily assimilated ideas such as, the significance of animal colouration, or the shapes of animals, or the modifications of structure to suit special functions.

To make museums educationally useful, the "showman element" should be eliminated and the collections should be so arranged as to have a special meaning and purpose. The groups of mammals, birds etc., should be so mounted as to reproduce as faithfully as possible the exact environment in which animals live and breed. This illusion may be further heightened by skilfully painted backgrounds executed by artists familiar with the natural surroundings of the animals dealt with. As a means of awakening the intelligence and powers of observation of children and even of grown up boys and girls, there is no more efficient aid than the study of Natural History, using that term in its widest sense.

In addition to lectures to children and teachers, special rooms may be set apart in the museum for children's collections. This is actually done in some American museums and the children are trained to take a pride in contributing to the contents of the museum. This work is supplemented by travelling museums sent round from school to school by means of motor-vans.

The writer goes on to say:

In the museum much work may be done in Economic Zoology and Economic Botany. Collections of local agricultural pests both animal and vegetable may be made available for pupils in rural areas in rotation. Collections of birds useful and harmful to agriculturists may serve a similar purpose. Varieties of grains and other local produce may likewise be dealt with. Demonstrations of all these and of new agricultural implements in rural schools will be the means of spreading useful knowledge among boys as well as adults.

The Coolie Question.

Writing about the miserable lot of the Indian coolie the *People's Magazine* of Colombo observes:

The poor Indian coolie contributes to the building up of the Empire. But he never develops into a colonist,—with or without inverted commas, or manners. No fortune ever comes his way, and he has no voice in the management of his own concerns, let alone arranging matters for the State or giving it a bit of seasonable advice. The only institutions he helps to raise after long years of toil and moil, are the House of Detention, the Vagrants' Home and the Home for Incurables. His existence is cribbed, cabined, and bounded by Mundapam at one end, and the morgue

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at the other. He arrives with the best of good characters, and leaves usually with the hookworm disease, or with vaccination on the brain. Peculiarly applicable to his tribe is the sorrowful reflection that men must work and women must weep. His career on any plantation is one long travail, and between weeping and weeding he consumes his days, becoming as much a part of the estate as the loam under the trees or the lichen on the hill-side. Lured from his village with specious promises of a bee line to fortune, the first thing he realises on yielding to the temptation is his being dumped down in the middle of some dismal camp, with a tin-ticket round his neck, and a sleek Kangany on his back.

Tarachand D. Gajra contributes to the *Educational Review* for April an interesting article on

The Gurukula System of Education.

In his introductory remarks he tells us that

The word *Gurukula* is a Sanskrit word, meaning the 'home of the guide.' The system of education known as the '*Gurukula* system of education' is otherwise known as the 'Domestic system of education' or the '*Acharya-Brahmachari* system of education.' When we speak of the Domestic system of education we have in view the home-like character of the system and when we speak of the *Acharya-Brahmachari* system, we think more of the personal tie between the teacher and the taught than of any other factor of the system. This system is *par excellence* the system of the ancient world. It developed to its perfection in ancient India.

As regards its aims we are told that

The system of Gurukula primarily refers to the pupil. It starts with the object of changing a raw, ignorant and uneducated boy into a fully and harmoniously developed man. It takes into consideration "the pupils' aptitudes and tendencies," tests them "through the habits of service, devotion and self-sacrifice, develops his capacities as 'menial, clerk, nurse, scholar, organiser, educationist' and a hundred other characters; it supplies 'those educational forces' and creates that 'environment and atmosphere' which are adjusted to inner cravings of the soul and can evoke, the real spirit of self-control and renunciation. It does not satisfy itself with a superficial study of the outer man. It dives deep into the inmost recesses of the human heart; it fully and completely recognises that persistent craving of the human heart for the good, the beautiful, the sublime and the supernatural. It notes that man is not a mere animal, that his life is not a manifestation of a mere play of complex chemical and physical changes and interactions."

In this system there is more of observation than reading. The surroundings are highly educative. Attempts are made to develop the will of the student.

The life of *Brahmacharya* with its accessories like coarse, single, hard bed, its severe discipline dispensing with the use of sunshades and umbrellas, of shoes and head-dresses, its austerity and physical labour like cleaning, sweeping, etc., its spare and *satvic* diet, its simple, clean and flowing dress would serve as an extremely potent factor in training the will of the student.

Here is a picture of the Hardwar Gurukula :

"Amid the inspiring grandeur of nature and these saving surroundings, the Brahmacharis live under the impartial, equal and all-fostering paternal care of Mahatma Munshi Rama.....Bells toll all hours and periods of the day and night, the students, going a happy round of duties, everything in its own good time. Prayer, study, food, school work, milk, school-work, play, food, prayer, study and sleep, thus goes the merry routine, with not a moment left to mope, moan, fret, abuse or fight. All neatly yellow clad, sandled, bare-headed, issue in cheerful groups, be it from or to the school, college, quarters, *bhandar* or play-ground. The lower gross tendencies are thus automatically starved out amid this controllable, blessed environment and studious well-kept continuous discipline.

"Liberal, varied, unstimulating, pure, vegetarian diet is provided for all equally.....Just the best for life and growth and no more is the practical guiding motto. The Doctor sets the diet table and keeps the health record of each student.

"Behold the *Brahmacharis* at play. Bare-footed, bare-legged almost up to their knees, see how they run and field, bowl and hit in cricket.....Practice has perfected their limbs. Straight chubby natural toes are theirs, not crooked and corned, twisted and tortured.....Morning and evening every one of them has to take exercise.....A superintendent is always there to see that every *Brahmachari* is present and takes part in play and manly games.

"What about their teachers and professors? Why, they too live in Spartan simplicity.....

"No silly distraction does the place offer. The professors, therefore, take to some line of research or another...The students and their teachers and professors mix freely being so near. Their educational duty, their sincere sympathy, their very social instincts throw them into more or less intimate contact with the *Brahmacharis*, who have thus all the advantages of the society of the select.....Thus is insured fraternal guidance by and living contact with the professors—such valuable and vital factors in all true education. ...Strict discipline, unstimulating diet, moral suggestiveness of everything around, render the accomplishment of the elevating and necessary ideal of *Brahmacharya* a practical possibility.....The son of a rich man and the son of a poor man fare absolutely alike.....No silly apishness can breed in such atmosphere, no insolence, no envy, jealousy or enmity between student and student."

Says the writer in conclusion :

The Hardwar Gurukula is a great source of inspiration for all. It has proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the system which it represents is sound in principle. Its inmates certainly possess better physique than other graduates. Having lived a life of hard discipline, they show that they have got a fairly well-developed will. They smoke not, they drink not, they use absolutely no intoxicating drugs. They play not at cards and they kill not time in useless pursuits. In heart they are simple and warm. They can on occasions sacrifice their personal interests for public good. They can curtail their dishes to save money for helping a good cause. So far as their intellectual development is concerned, they will not suffer when compared with

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graduates elsewhere. Certainly they possess a vast amount of information and show a surprising versatility. They can easily hold conversation on the "burning questions" of the times as well as on the historical and antiquarian questions. They talk Sanskrit—that so-called dead language—as if it were their own mother-tongue.

Besides the above, the Gurukula has also proved that Hindi (Arya Bhasha) can be used successfully as a medium of instruction, that there is no subject historical, scientific or philosophical that cannot be taught through it. As a matter of fact the amount of work turned out is much greater. Thus has the Gurukula solved the question 'Vernaculars *vs.* English.' It has also been proved that the Indian surroundings, Indian folklore, Indian birds and beasts and Indian scenes afford effective means of education.

The system is much cheaper than the ordinary one. Attempts are being made to make it yet cheaper. This cheapness does not take away anything from the efficiency of the work. Thus a system of education is being evolved which might solve the educational problem of the poverty-stricken Indian.

In the pages of the *Educational Review* E. R. Sankara Aiyar puts up a plea for the introduction of

Gardening in Public Schools

and points out in the course of the article the "effect of gardening upon the child, the school and society at large."

The writer is not wrong when he lays down that

In a sound system of juvenile education, 'gardening' should hold an important place, and should form a part of the school curriculum.

His reasons for saying so will be perfectly made clear by the following :

Gardening is an outdoor occupation. The child is, therefore, continually in the fresh air, and one has only to watch him when engaged in the work to see how to his best advantage he enjoys it. His whole heart and soul are involuntarily thrown into it.

The child's labour in the garden involves a variety of movements, and affords a natural outlet for much of that spontaneous energy which if left unprovided for, leads to rough play and unruly practices.

Again, the child is unconsciously impressed by the sight of the pretty flowers, the graceful insects, and other wonderful little creatures which share the life of the garden ; by the fragrance of the flowers and the smell of the ground after a shower of rain, and by the beauty of the heavens. He listens to songs of birds ; to the sound of the wind, now soft, now shrill or loud. He tastes the fruits of some of his labours. And so, by means of his eyes, his nose, his ears, his mouth, and his hands, he receives an all-round training in a natural way, without any effort, and a host of delightful experiences are gathered the while, as a basis for further development. It is mind acting through ultimates and creating the next step above. The same process goes on through life.

Loving contact with, and care for, some of the wonderful things of nature around him awakens in the child a strong feeling for the *wonderful* and *the beautiful*. This feeling reacts upon the child, and refines him. No child who has ever tended and watched the tiny seeds which he has put into the earth develop and put forth leaves, flowers, fruit, and seed will ever afterwards ruthlessly tear any flowers to pieces. Similarly, no child who has ever followed the wonderful life history of some of the lowly creatures which he meets with in the garden will ever trample purposely upon a worm or a snail still less will he have any pleasure in catching butterflies and sticking them on pieces of cork, merely to make a collection. He will rather protect the lives of such marvellous creatures. From a love and care for the things of *Nature* the child rises to a deeper love and respect for his comrades.

For the cultivation of the power of observation there is no better field than the school garden, where the minutest fact observed leads to the desire on the part of the observer, to know the "why," "wherefore," and "how," of things.

School Gardens in Ceylon.

From an article contributed to the *Mysore Economic Journal* by C. Drieberg we come to learn that the Ceylon schools are ahead of the Indian schools, at least in one respect, and that is gardening. We are told that

The scheme for establishing school gardens in connection with Government village schools wherever conditions permitted came into operation in Ceylon in 1901. Since then the number has year by year increased from the original half dozen to no less than 287.

The following account of the way in which the gardens are worked would be found interesting :

Originally our school compounds were bare and uninviting. Later a feeble attempt at introducing some distinctive feature and local colour into the school was made by planting a front hedge of croton (*Codiœum variegatum*). Now the change that has come over the scene is such as could never have been dreamt of.

The garden is generally divided into three sections. The front part is given to flowering and foliage plants—trim hedges, graceful bowers, and prettily designed beds full of life and colour.

Round about the school-house are cultivated economic plants, chiefly those used for food, the produce of which is divided between the teacher and his workers.

At the back lies the fruit garden where plants suited to the different districts, according to temperature, elevation, soil, and rainfall, are grown.

In these sections the principles of good agriculture and horticulture are illustrated and the best results aimed at by careful and intelligent treatment of the soil and nursing of the plants.

All the work is done by teachers, their assistants, monitors, and the boys, and no paid labour is permitted.

The District School Committee provides the land, water-supply and fencing. The School Garden Division of the Agricultural Department supplies the necessary tools and arranges for the inspection of the gardens by officers competent to advise and

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instruct the teachers. In this way, without any previous training, teachers who have an aptitude for the work have been able to produce almost incredible results with the material available in remote parts of the Island.

In the dry zone one meets with gardens which by the adoption of dry farming methods are being maintained in a high state of efficiency.

The Department offers prizes for competition among teachers, while the latter organize competition among their scholars; and there is thus a healthy rivalry which tends to raise the standard of work.

Within the last few years school gardening has been included in the Government Education Code as a subject for a grant to aided schools. As a result the movement is spreading, and without being aware of it the village boy is assimilating the principles of agricultural science, which to him, as a unit of a rural community is of the highest value.

The following pregnant

Thoughts and Glimpses

are taken from the "Arya" for May, which will stand us in good stead if remembered and acted upon.

The delight of victory is sometimes less than the attraction of struggle and suffering; nevertheless the laurel and not the cross should be the aim of the conquering human soul.

Souls that do not aspire are God's failures: but Nature is pleased and loves to multiply them because they assure her of stability and prolong her empire.

Those who are poor, ignorant, ill-born or ill-bred are not the common herd; the common herd are all who are satisfied with pettiness and an average humanity.

Help men but do not pauperise them of their energy; lead and instruct men, but see that their initiative and originality remain intact; take others into thyself but give them in return the full godhead of their nature. He who can do this is the leader and the guru.

God has made the world a field of battle and filled it with the trampling of combatants and the cries of a great wrestle and struggle. Would you filch His peace without paying the price He has fixed for it?

Distrust a perfect-seeming success, but when having succeeded thou findest still much to do, rejoice and go forward, for the labour is long before the real perfection.

There is no more benumbing error than to mistake a stage for the goal or to linger too long in a resting-place.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Heart of Helen Keller.

We take the following from the *Crisis* for April which shows the sorrows of a great soul for an oppressed people. And the wonder of it all is that the golden heart revealed here belongs to a blind woman, herself born in a country where the lynching of Negroes by American mobs is a common occurence.

In enclosing a check for one hundred dollars for the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Helen Keller, the wonderful blind girl, herself born in Alabama, writes us as follows:

"It has been my intention to write to you every day since I received your letter—an appeal which smote me to the depths of my soul. In fact I have started several letters while traveling from place to place, but was interrupted so frequently that I lost the thread of thought between lectures. We are speaking every night, and changing trains constantly. These conditions are not favorable for correspondence.

"I am indeed whole-heartedly with you and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I warmly endorse your efforts to bring before the country the facts about the unfair treatment of the colored people in some parts of the United States. What a comment upon our social justice is the need of an association like yours! It should bring the blush of shame to the face of every true American to know that ten millions of his countrymen are denied the equal protection of the laws. Truly no nation can live and not challenge such discrimination and violence against innocent members of society as your letter describes. Nay, let me say it, this great republic of ours is a mockery when citizens in any section are denied the rights which the Constitution guarantees them, when they are openly evicted, terrorized and lynched by prejudiced mobs, and their persecutors and murderers are allowed to walk abroad unpunished. The United States stands shamed before the world whilst ten millions of the people remain victims of a most blind, stupid, inhuman prejudice. How dare we call ourselves Christians? The outrages against the colored people are a denial of Christ. The central fire of His teaching is equality. His gospel proclaims in unequivocal words that the souls of all men are alike before God. Yet there are persons calling themselves Christians who profit from the economic degradation of their colored fellow-countrymen.

"Ashamed in my very soul I behold in my own beloved southland the tears of those who are oppressed, those who must bring up their sons and daughters in bondage, to be servants because others have their fields and vineyards, and on the side of the oppressor

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is power. I feel with those suffering, toiling millions. I am thwarted with them. Every attempt to keep them down and crush their spirit is a betrayal of my faith that good is stronger than evil, and light stronger than darkness. I declare this faith every day to large audiences, and in my heart I pray that God may open the eyes of the blind and bring them by away they know not to understanding and righteousness. My spirit groans with all the deaf and blind of the world. I feel their chains chafing my limbs. I am disenfranchised with every wage-slave. I am overthrown, hurt, oppressed, beaten to the earth by the strong, ruthless ones who have taken away their inheritance. The wrongs the poor endure ring fiercely in my soul, and I shall never rest until they are lifted into the light, and given their fair share in the blessings of life that God meant for us all alike.

"Let all lovers of justice unite; let us stand together and fight every custom, every law, every institution that breeds or masks violence and prejudice, and permits one class to prosper at the cost of the well-being and happiness of another class. Let us hurl our strength against the iron gates of prejudice until they fall, and their bars are sundered, and we all advance gladly towards our common heritage of life, liberty and light, undivided by race or color or creed, united by the same human heart that beats in the bosom of all."

Self-Government in the Tropics.

The following controversy among several American papers regarding the fitness or otherwise of Tropical countries for Self-Government is taken from the *Crisis*:

Samuel L. Parrish, in a pamphlet entitled "Self-Government in the Tropics," declares that if one girdles the world with the parallel lines of the thirtieth degrees of North and South latitude one will embrace the populations unfit for self-government because of their inefficiency, etc. Mr. Horace White points out in the New York *Evening Post* that in the first place, most of this region consists of water and desert; that in the second place it includes the birth place of Simon Bolivar, and St. Augustine, and comes very near including Moses, the Prophets, and Jesus Christ. It also includes the great Republic of Brazil.

Mr. White is much too modest in his claims. This part of the world is responsible for the whole Egyptian civilization with its mightiest Pharaohs, and its culture extending over four thousand years; for the Ethiopian and Sudanese Empires, for the main part of Chinese civilization, and for the civilization of India. Mr. Parrish lays down the rule that stable civilizations must have "an incorruptible judiciary" to impartially administer the law. Mr. White points to the mob murders in Georgia, and says: "Instead of vaunting our superiority over tropical countries in this self-satisfied way we might better call upon the mountains and rocks to cover us."

The new *Herald*, published in the Danish West Indies, declares that laborers are lured to the Islands by false pretences as to the kinds of work and the amount of pay, and says: "That the field laborer in Santa Cruz, if the truth in all its fulness be told, is no better treated than the laborers in the rubber districts in the Congo, or even in the Putamayo regions in South America, over which so many protests arose."

The *Herald* is being violently attacked for its disclosures of the "misery, the filth, and the dreadful conditions under which these poor laborers live."

C. R. Enock, in his book on the Tropics, shows how the small and beautiful native industries of the colored races have been systematically driven out by debt bondage, the culture of one staple, and forced or contract labor. Says the New York *Evening Post*:

"Nothing but the enrichment of estate owners has dictated the establishment of monoculture of coffee, cocoa, cotton, rubber, and so on. Mr. Enock points out that in nearly all the African colonies and territories, whether Negro or Mohammedan, the natives carry on small manufacturing operations. The same fact is true of India, Mexico, South America, and almost every tropical land. In Africa and India, for example, clever native smelters have never owed anything of their knowledge of the working of iron to Europe; nor have the expert makers of textiles, Wood-carving, gold and silver working, stone masonry, are as far advanced. Yet the almost indefensible operations of wholesale manufacturers and traders are tending to drive out these native arts. Even travellers and students appear to regard them as instances of curious savagery and native cunning, rather than as the nucleus of a possible economic culture."

Writing in the *London Quarterly Review* Mary Frances Billington shows that

Woman's Share in the War's Work

has not been small. In the Railways and Post Offices, in Agricultural work, in horticulture and in many other industrial work the women are filling up the vacancies created by men who have gone to the war. And this has been possible because the women were familiar with the outside world, they were educated and not cribbed and cabined in the *Zenana*, groping in ignorance, as is the case in many backward countries. From the amount of work the women of the warring nations are doing, we can easily imagine what an amount of national energy is wasted in many an oriental country.

We read

We had quite eight months of war before the Government recognized that women would have to take a much greater share in the organized industry of the country and the provision of war munitions than had hitherto been admitted. Let it be conceded to the leaders of the Suffragist movement, both Militant and Constitutional, that they had foreseen a much greater scope for women's collaboration than the heads of either Government departments or those in direction of Trades Unions. Within a very few days of the commencement of hostilities we had Women's Emergency Corps offering to supply women as lift attendants or ticket-collectors; as tram and omnibus conductors, or to take charge of delivery vans; as assistants in trades like that of grocery,

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hitherto reserved by men for themselves, or to act as porters, commissionaires, and so forth.

Such proposals were received at first with good-natured smiles of mild interest. But all these claims have been made good.

Regarding the noble and heroic work of nursing and succouring the wounded and sick the writer says :

We have heard of Violetta Thurston calmly going on with her almost hopeless task of mitigating the wretchedness in the Warsaw hospital with the shells dropping in the street below ; we have read of the wonderful exertions by which Sister Kiddle, from Guy's Hospital, and her co-workers, transformed and made ready in a few hours a great chateau near Versailles for the reception of the wounded ; we have gained a glimpse of Miss Muriel Benington and the other nurses who endured the wretchedness of that wild night in October, 1914, when the hospital ship *Rohilla* went to pieces on the coast near Whitby, and who volunteered after a few days' rest to resume similar work on another hospital ship rather than accept less dangerous posts in a Naval hospital ashore ; and we have bent our heads in humble tribute to Mrs. Percy Dearmer and those other noble women who succumbed to the epidemic of typhus in Serbia last spring.

Humor and War.

J. Edward Mercer tries to trace in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, the how and why of the combination of humor with war.

Says the writer :

One of the chief theories of the origin of laughter traces it back to certain expressions of feeling connected with fighting. Primitive man was always fighting—incidentally against the forces of Nature, but mostly against his fellows. When a primitive warrior came off the victor, he was wont to relieve his muscular and mental tension by venting a whoop of triumph. This whoop, we are assured, was an embryo laugh. In Homer's time it had assumed a more definite form, and the most magnanimous of his heroes, before and after a combat, taunted each other with naive and remorseless irony. At a still later stage, Leonidas, from whom the Persian monarch had demanded a surrender of the Spartan arms, sent back the bitingly curt reply, "Tell him to come and fetch them." One of his soldiers being told that the Persian host was so enormous that their arrows would conceal the sun, replied, "So much the better, we shall then fight in the shade." And thus one could adduce a series of instances, coming down to our own times, of the combination of grim humor with the serious business of warfare.

Why presentations of the grievous or the terrible should give rise to feeling of positive pleasure is a difficult problem. Aristotle held that the pleasurable emotion arises from the thrill of vicarious pity or fear; and if we add to this the satisfaction born of a secret sense of personal safety, we may take it as not being far wide of the mark. Whether or no we be satisfied with such an explanation, the fact remains of the long-standing alliance of comedy with tragedy. The supreme skill with which Shakespeare has enhanced his greatest tragedies by interludes of humor is too familiar to require emphasis or quotation.

A blending of humor with the horrors of war rests chiefly, though not exclusively, on what may fairly be called the philosophical theory of genuinely wholesome laughter.

We may be quite assured that the great bulk of the laughter among our soldiers is the response to good-natured chaff or harmless exaggeration ; that it springs from a keenness in seizing on the comic possibilities of the varied situations that arise; and that it manifests a soldierly disposition to make the best of the worst of them.

"Taxation in India."

The *Asiatic Review* for April contains an article under the above heading from the pen of J. B. Pennington, I.C.S. (Retired), in which the writer falls foul of Mrs. Annie Besant for having seconded a resolution in the last Bombay session of the Indian National Congress, "the effect of which would be to create a belief about taxation in India for which there is really no foundation whatever in fact."

However the writer acknowledges that

She is right, no doubt, in saying that the margin for any increase of taxation in India was some time ago (and is still to some extent) comparatively narrow; but, after all, this margin is more ample in these days than might at first sight appear.

The writer takes as his authority a book entitled *Truths About India* from which he draws freely in the course of his article.

Mr. Pennington boldly declares that

The great bulk of the people in British India pay practically no taxes at all, and so far from India being the most heavily taxed country in the world, as she insists it is, "in proportion to the production of the masses of the people," it is still probably the most lightly taxed of all civilized countries, considering what the Government does for the people ; because the "masses" pay *nothing*.

It is a thousand pities that Mr. Pennington has failed to see the humor of the whole thing. The fact of the matter is—the bulk of the people of India pay no taxes because they have practically no income worth the name, living on the verge of starvation as they do, with scarcely a full meal in twenty-four hours !

The following remarks of the writer will no doubt be taken for what they are worth :

My objection has never been to the weight of the salt tax which is now negligible, but to the monopoly of a necessary of life and the consequent often cruel prosecutions for infringement of that monopoly.

Her remarks on famine and the poverty of India are true enough as far as they go, but they are not the whole truth. Much the same proportion of people in wealthy England suffer from want of sufficient food as in India in ordinary non-famine years, and perhaps suffer more on account of the

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NOTES

"Shake the Bottle."

Phials and bottles containing mixtures prescribed by physicians are sometimes labelled "Shake the Bottle." The reason is, as some of the drugs prescribed settle at the bottom, unless the bottle is shaken and the mixture stirred, the patient cannot get the full benefit of all the ingredients.

For producing and conserving racial, national, communal or social efficiency, a similar process of periodical or occasional shaking is necessary. The classes of men who in any country occupy the lower or lowest strata of society, are not necessarily unimportant or negligible. In most countries the producers of food and other labourers occupy an inferior position. But they are inherently not less intelligent, not less important, not less strong, not less gifted with virility, stamina and endurance than other classes; perhaps the reverse is the case. That they are less cultured may be admitted; but bodily labour is not incompatible with mental strength and culture. It is not unthinkable that, if proper opportunities were given, peasants, farmers and workingmen should be the intellectual equals of other and wealthier classes of men.

Moreover, it is not true that the idle rich are necessarily more intelligent or more cultured than those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. As regards character, labourers are certainly not inferior to the idle.

In India the stratification of classes is very rigid. A shaking of the bottle is necessary. Without it we cannot attain and exert our full possible collective efficiency.

History is full of examples of such shaking accompanied and followed by national rejuvenescence. The stirring has on different occasions been brought about by different causes, either acting singly, or in combination with another or several others. And they have been of a religious, religio-social, social, educational, political or economic character. But whatever the cause or causes, and whatever their character, a shaking, though attended with temporary inconveniences, or even a set-back, has in the long run always made for national strength and prosperity. Even literature and education, for which a secluded and serene atmosphere is said to be indispensably necessary, have always, felt the beneficial influence of what advocates of the *status quo* may call topsyturvydom.

Civilized Beast and Uncivilized Man in Bengal.

In the annual progress report on Forest Administration in the Presidency of Bengal for the year 1914-15 it is stated that in the Sunderbans forests the number of persons reported as killed by tigers was 79 and the number of tigers accounted for was 40, of which 36 full-grown tigers and 3 cubs were killed and one was trapped and sent to the Zoological Gardens in Calcutta. The other casualties from wild animals recorded in divisional reports were 8 persons killed by wild elephants in Tista; 2 persons killed by wild elephants and 1 person killed by a tiger in Kurseong; 3 persons killed by wild elephants and 1 person killed by a rhinoceros in Jalpaiguri; 3 persons killed by wild elephants, 1 person killed by a tiger and 1 person killed by a bear in Buxa. Three elephants were proscribed as 'rogues' in Tista and 2 of these were shot at and wounded, but were not killed.

A Japanese writer remarked at the conclusion of Japan's war with Russia that the Japanese were recognised by occidental people as civilized only after they had succeeded in killing large numbers of Russians. It follows logically that superiority in the power to kill is a prominent mark of civilization. According to this test, the wild animals of Bengal can claim to be civilized and may be justified in speaking (if they could speak) contemptuously of men and cattle as "the lower animals"; for in the killing contest the former has defeated the latter.

The figures quoted above relate to forest areas. Considering that the total number of the wild animals which kill men, cattle and other lower animals, is certainly smaller than the total number of human beings, inhabiting Bengal, the figures relating

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to the whole country given in the following official summary do not weaken the claim of the wild animals to consider themselves more civilized :—

Persons killed by wild animals.—There was an increase in the total number of persons killed by wild animals, the figure for the year under report being 423 as compared with 332 in the preceding year. The increase is shared by all the divisions, except Chittagong. There was a considerable increase in the total number of deaths caused by elephants, tigers, leopards and bears, the figures for the year under report being 28, 87, 78 and 12 against 16, 60, 46 and 6, respectively, in the previous year. There was also a small increase in the number of deaths caused by "other wild animals," the figure being 216 in 1915 against 201 in 1914. This increase was due mainly to deaths caused by wild boars, the figure for the year under report being 60 against 39 in the preceding year.

Persons killed by snakes.—There was an increase in the number of persons reported to have died from snake-bite during 1915, the number being 4,709 against 4,356 in 1914. The increase occurred in the Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions, where the figures rose from 581, 992 and 127 in 1914 to 816, 1,279 and 170 respectively, in 1915. The large increase is due to excessive cold which drove the snakes to take shelter in human habitations. In the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions there was a slight decrease.

Cattle killed by wild animals.—It is reported that 4,185 head of cattle were killed by wild animals and 188 by snakes during 1915 against 4,750 and 117, respectively, in 1914. The decrease under the former head occurred in all the divisions. In the case of deaths from snake-bite the increase was most noticeable in the Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions, where the figures rose from 4 and 68 in 1914 to 40 and 115 respectively in 1915.

Wild animals destroyed.—There was a small decrease in the total number of wild animals reported to have been destroyed during the year under review, the number being 2,769 against 2,824 for 1914. The total number of tigers and leopards destroyed, however, increased from 205 and 439 in 1914 to 275 and 496 in 1915.

There was an increase in the number of snakes reported to have been destroyed during the year under report, the number being 11,893 against 10,215 in the preceding year. The increase was most noticeable in the Burdwan, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions where the figures rose from 4,892, 559 and 1,504 in 1914 to 6,178, 648 and 1,905 respectively in 1915.

Public Life in Madras.

The Madras Presidency has been holding not only its provincial conference year after year regularly, but district conferences, too, with the same regularity. This is a record of public spirit which is unequalled and unapproached by the other provinces of India. The activity of the elected members of the Madras Legislative Council is also worthy of emulation. True, the mere number of resolutions moved or of questions asked is no safe criterion of the value of a member's work but these undoubtedly show his industry and his willingness and zeal to serve the public. In no field of work are men of genius plentiful in any country. We ought to be satisfied if our representatives possess intelligence and judgment and diligently use these gifts for the public good.

Prospects of a United Congress.

In the Deccan and in the Central Provinces and Berars, too, the Nationalist or Non-conventionists or Extremists, as they are variously called, are inclined to enter the Congress through the partial opening made for them at the last Bombay session. This is a matter for rejoicing. It is to be regretted that some Bombay papers are not disposed to let bygones be bygones. They are indulging in criticism of an undesirable kind. There are times when it is best to refrain from even reasonable and justifiable criticism.

The Home Rule League.

Mr. B. G. Tilak and his associates have done well to establish a Home Rule League. When last year efforts were made to found such a league, it was contended that such a body was unnecessary, as the Congress and the Moslem League could do all that was necessary to bring self-rule within the reach of Indians. Five months have passed since the last session of the Congress when the birth of the Home Rule League was expected. During this period Madras has shown a little activity, and the Indian Association of Calcutta has turned itself into a debating club on two occasions and has published one or two pamphlets. Perhaps this cannot be called an excess of activity. As regards Hindu-Moslem rapprochement, Sir J. Meston has shown consummate astuteness in making it much more difficult than before by throwing an apple of discord between the two so-called parties in the shape of separate and excessive representation for the Musalmans in the municipalities of the United Provinces. The occasion demands the exercise of self-control by the Hindus in the highest degree that they are capable of. Love of the motherland requires that they should do so.

It is to be hoped that the founders of the Home Rule League will not rest content with simply bringing it into existence.

"The Stake-in-the-country" argument.

The bureaucracy and aristocracy in this country have no doubt that the wealthy

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landowners are the only people who have a real stake in the country. and that accordingly it is the views of these people which ought to count most in the counsels of the Government. But here is what Lord Acton, who stood 'at the very summit of historical scholarship and profound political knowledge' in England, has got to say on the subject:—

"The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain and degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's." *History of Freedom and other Essays* by Lord Acton, Introduction, xxix.

French Idealism.

The valour, the buoyancy, the stubbornness, the intellectual and mechanical resourcefulness and the firm faith in the destiny of their country with which French statesmen, generals and privates are fighting Germany are the admiration of the whole world *minus* Germany and her friends. The secret of France's power is not to be found in her material wealth or her military organisation. It lies in her idealism, in the supreme value which she has attached to thought, to the power of the human mind, to truth, for more than a century. It is this idealism which Guizot has eloquently described in the following passage:—

"For sometime past a confirmed taste, I might say a sort of predilection, has mainfested itself among us, for facts, for practical views, for the positive aspect of human affairs. We have been to such an extent a prey to the despotism of general ideas, of theories; they have, in some respects cost us so dear, that they are become the objects of a certain degree of distrust.....This is not to be regretted.....provided always that we do not allow ourselves to be prejudiced and carried away by this disposition; that we do not forget that truth alone has a right to reign in the world; that facts have no value except as they tend to explain, and to assimilate themselves more and more to the truth, that all true greatness is of thought; and that all fruitfulness belongs to it. The civilisation of our country has this peculiar character, that it has never wanted intellectual greatness; it has always been rich in ideas; the power of the human mind has always been great in French society; greater, perhaps, than in any other. We must not lose this high privilege; we must not fall into the somewhat subordinate and material state which characterises other societies. Intelligence and doctrines must occupy in the France of the present day at least the place which they have occupied there hitherto."—Francois Guizot, *The History of Civilisation in Europe* (1822) Fourth Lecture.

Liberty *versus* Good Government.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's dictum that good government can never be a substitute for self-government, is well-known. The object of good government is human welfare. But human welfare has for its highest connotation the highest development of human personality, which is impossible without freedom. Self-rule alone can, therefore, be the breeding-ground of the highest manhood,—not for a few exceptional men, but for the generality of mankind.

Lord Acton has correctly estimated the value of liberty in the following passage:

"Now liberty and good government do not exclude each other; and there are excellent reasons why they should go together. Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is not for the sake of a good public administration that it is required, but for security in the pursuit of the highest objects of civil society, and of private life. Increase of freedom in the state may sometimes promote mediocrity, and give vitality to prejudice; it may even retard useful legislation, diminish the capacity for war, and restrict the boundaries of Empire. It might be plausibly argued that, if many things would be worse in England or Ireland under an intelligent despotism, some things would be managed better; that the Roman Government was more enlightened under Augustus and Antoninus than under the senate, in the days of Marius or of Pompey. A generous spirit prefers that his country should be poor, and weak, and of no account, but free, rather than powerful, prosperous and enslaved. It is better to be the citizen of a humble commonwealth in the Alps, without a prospect of influence beyond the narrow frontier, than a subject of the superb autocracy that overshadows half of Asia and of Europe.—Lord Acton, *History of Freedom and other Essays*, pages 22-3.

Co-ercion and Moral Methods.

British journalists in India are for the most part advocates of strong rule—for Indians, of course. By strong rule they understand coercive and repressive legislation and methods. Their journalistic effusions find ready response in the minds of many a British official in India. Coercion would seem, however, to have a very limited scope in any wise and statesmanlike scheme of government, as Guizot explains in his *History of Civilization in Europe*.

"It is, I conceive, a very rude and petty idea of Government in general, to suppose that it resides solely, or even principally, in the force which it exerts to make itself obeyed in its coercive element..... Coercion comes then only when the resistance of individual will occurs, when the idea, the proceeding which the government has adopted, does not obtain the approbation and voluntary submission of all. The Government then employs force to make itself obeyed; this is the necessary result of human imper-

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fection, an imperfection which resides at once in the Governing power and in the society. There will never be any way of completely avoiding it; civil Governments will ever be compelled to have recourse, to a certain extent, to coercion. But Governments are evidently not constituted by coercion; whenever they can dispense with it, they do, and to the great profit of all; indeed their highest perfection is to dispense with it, and to confine themselves to methods purely moral, to the action which they exert upon the understanding; so that *the more the Government dispenses with coercion, the more faithful it is to its true nature, the better it fulfils its missions.* It is not thereby reduced in power or contracted, as is vulgarly supposed; it acts only in another manner, and in a manner which is infinitely more general and powerful. *Those Governments which make the greatest use of coercion, succeed not nearly so well as those which employ it scarcely at all.* In addressing itself to the understanding, in determining the will, in acting by purely intellectual means, the government, instead of reducing, extends and elevates itself: it is then that it accomplishes the most and the greatist things. On the contrary, *when it is obliged incessantly to employ coercion, it contracts and lessens itself, and effects very little, and that very little ill.*—Guizot, *Civilisation in Europe* Fifth Lecture (The italics are ours).

The Price of Success.

Sentimental, impulsive and short-sighted persons, not possessed of faith in the high destiny of all races if they will only be themselves faithful, generally grow despondent if their first efforts fail. They do not know the high price which has to be paid for the triumph of a good cause.

".....in all great events, how many unhappy and unknown efforts occur, before the one which succeeds. In all things, to accomplish its designs, Providence lavishly expends courage, virtues, sacrifices,—in a word, man himself; and it is only after an unknown number of unrecorded labours, after a host of noble hearts have succumbed in discouragement, convinced that their cause is lost, it is only then that the cause triumphs."—Guizot, *Civilisation in Europe*, Seventh Lecture.

Sources of Political Ability.

Guizot says:

"There are but two sources in the sphere of politics from which greatness of ambition or firmness of thought can arise. It is necessary to have either the feeling of immense importance, of great power exercised upon the destiny of others, and in a vast extent,—or else it is necessary to bear within oneself a feeling of complete individual independence, a confidence in one's own liberty, a conviction of a destiny foreign to all will but that of the man himself. To one or other of these two conditions seem to belong boldness of thought, greatness of ambition, the desire of acting in an enlarged sphere, and of obtaining great results."—*Civilization in Europe.*

We should not mistake self-importance for "the feeling of immense importance, of great power exercised upon the destiny of others, and in a vast extent" of which the great French thinker speaks. In an independent country it is natural for men in high authority to have this kind of feeling. In a country like India consciousness of the possession of great mental gifts with the sense of the responsibility for their right, unselfish and fearless use which their possession entails, may give one this feeling of immense importance. The feeling spoken of as the second source is much rarer than the first in all countries. But it may be present anywhere, and therefore in India, too. It may come from the realisation of the Self in each and all and transcending all. As, however, it has been found in men who are not known to have gone through any *sadhana* or process of spiritual endeavour for self-realization, its origin is not easily explicable. But whatever its origin, it is the most important factor in political dynamics. When a man feels that his will is in unison with the supreme will, he has a reserve of unlimited courage and hope and strength.

Famine in Bankura.

There is famine in Kathiawad, Rajputana, and the districts of Tippera, Mymensingh, Noakhali, Bankura, and Manbhum. But we confine our attention to Bankura, because it is only by concentration that we can render some little service.

The latest published Government report on famine in Bankura is for the week ending May 13, 1916. It says: "In the Bankura district the distress in the affected areas is generally unchanged." "Scarcity of fodder continues." Our private information is that the distress is deepening and widening, and people are leaving the district in thousands in search of work elsewhere. But even without going beyond the Government report, it is clear that there has been no improvement in the situation. Therefore help is needed as before, and will be needed most probably till the end of October. For, the monsoon having practically failed to make its appearance yet, there is no hope of the early rice crop or vegetables of the season for the market. High winds and hail-storm have demaged huts and the sheds in which the betel (*pan*) creeper was cultivated for its leaves. The number of recipients of help has considerably increased. Fire has destroyed several villages and parts of villages. Cholera and small-pox having broken out in many villages, medical help is needed. Water

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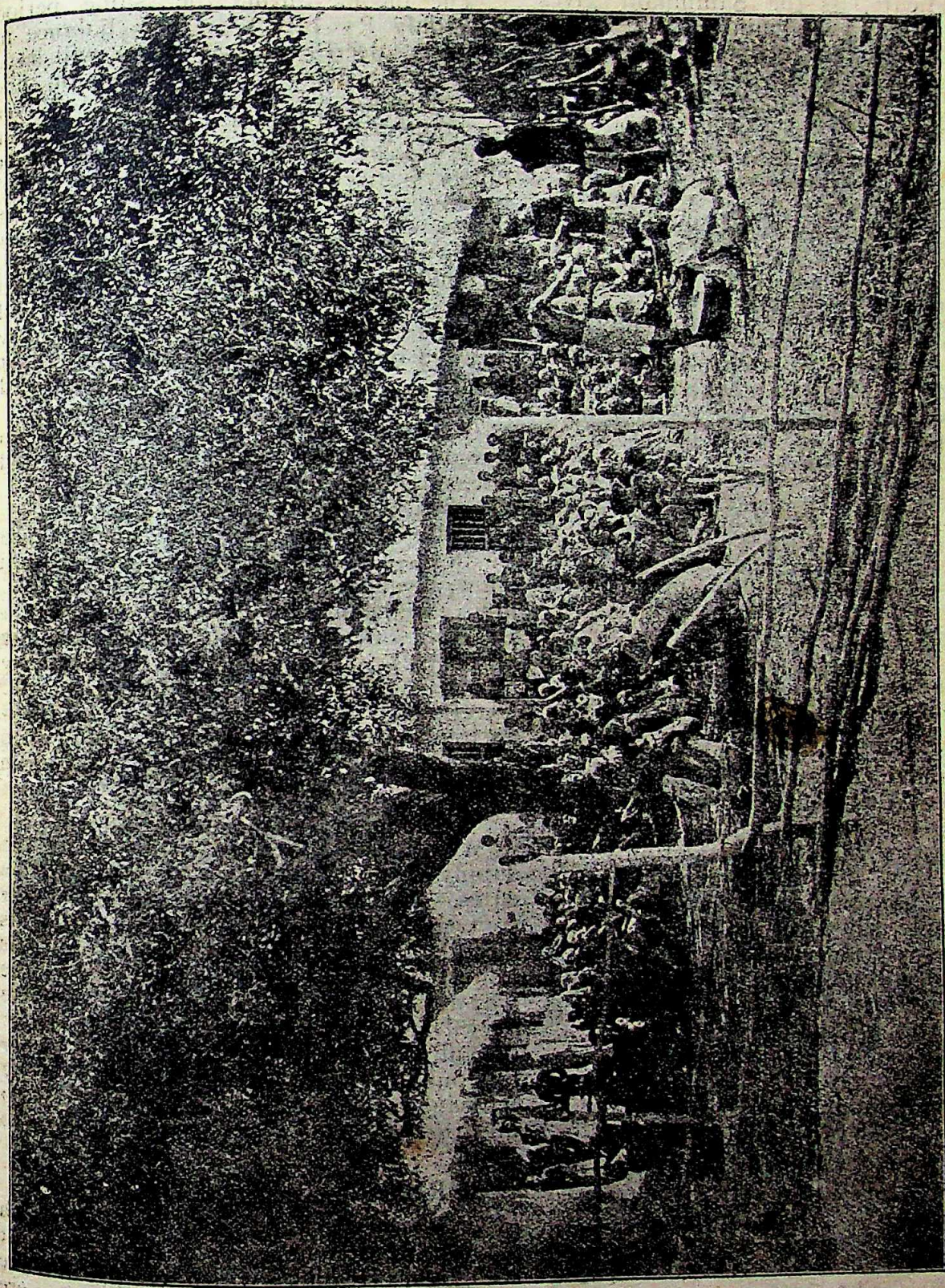

Famine-stricken people receiving doles from the Bankura Sammilani Relief Centre at Harmasra.
[Photograph by Bankura Sammilani]

famine continues to cause great distress. Middle class people can borrow, but the monsoon not having burst, lenders are shy. Requests for loans continue to be received by the honorary secretary to the Bankura Sammilani.

During the last week (ending May 21) for which reports have been received the Bankura Sammilani gave gratuitous relief to 1807 persons and remunerative work to 200 persons. The number of persons actually relieved is much larger than these

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figures indicate, as the Sammilani gives doles on larger than famine scales. The Hon'ble Mr. N. D. Beatson-Bell has been pleased to make the following remarks on the work of the Sammilani in the Ambicanagar centre :—

"I visited the Ambicanagar Relief-centre to-day along with the Commissioner and the Collector. The Relief is in the hands of the Bankura Sammilani."

'The rice which is distributed here is local rice. The scale is—

10 chhataks daily per man.
6 chhataks daily per woman.
4 chhataks daily per chiidren under 10,

Clothes are also being distributed. The arrangements are good and I congratulate the workers."

(Sd) N. D. Beatson-Bell : 23-4-16.

The Deputy Magistrate who is in charge of the local relief-work has been pleased to write as follows as regards the work of the Harmasra centre :—

"I visited Union No. I, police-station Taldangra. In this connection, I inspected the work of the Bankura Sammilani. They are re-excavating a tank for the public. The dole they are distributing is 3½ seers of rice and 1¾ seers per week to persons above 10 years and below 10 years, respectively. This is, I think, quite sufficient. Last week, the number of heads to whom the dole was distributed was 777. This shows they are dictributing liberally. I am told cloths will be given to the indigent very soon. It is satisfactory to note that the workers of the Sammilani are discharging their duties properly." 24-4-16.

The Sammilani has done something to remove the want of drinking water. Five small wells have been sunk, and three large ones are nearing completion. One tank has been and another is being re-excavated. More work in the direction of water-supply is in contemplation.

People are being helped with small advances of capital to make ropes, chairs, &c. It is in contemplation to start some small schools for the teaching of some village crafts.

The following table shows the expenditure of the Sammilani for the month of April :—

Expenditure		Rs.	As.	P.
Rice distributed	..	1,900	0	0
Cloth "	...	32	0	0
Establishment	...	5	14	0
Inspection of Work	...	7	12	0
Money Order Commission	...	27	2	0
Advance to Middle-Class families	...	325	0	0
Excavation of tanks and wells	...	415	0	0
Help to the Villagers in Maliara suffering loss from fire	...	50	0	0
Cost of Collection	...	4	14	0
Repayment of loan	...	26	0	6
Total	...	2,794	2	0

The income during the same period was only Rs 1483-6-3. The balance in hand is decreasing. As help will have to be given most probably for five months more, we appeal to friends all over the country and outside to continue their generous contributions. Those who have not yet given anything are requested kindly to give something now. It is gratifying to find that Indian friends have sent their contributions from America, Ireland, South Africa, East Africa and Burma. Friends in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies have responded very generously. Sums received during the last month are thankfully acknowledged elsewhere.

Contributions are to be sent to Babu Ramananda Chatterjee Vice-president and Treasurer, Bankura Sammilani, 210-3-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

As we are going to press, a letter signed by all the leading men of a village named Tiluri reaches us reporting that 1064 houses of the village were reduced to ashes by conflagration at 1 o'clock at mid-day on May 24. More than 5000 persons have been rendered homeless and lost their all. Rs. 100 has been sent to the local head-master, and an honorary worker will soon visit the place. More help will be given on receipt of his report.

Request for Concession Rates

We continue to receive requests for the supply of the *Modern Review* at concession rates. We beg to say that before the war we were able somehow to make both ends meet. At present, the price of paper is almost three times what it was before the war and other articles have also become very dear. We are working under great difficulties, which could be minimised either by doubling the price of the *Review* or by reducing its size by half. We are loth to do either, so long as we can manage to go on.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore at Rangoon.

On his way to Japan, Sir Rabindranath Tagore went ashore for a short time at Rangoon. He had a warm reception there and Bengali and English addresses were presented to him.

An incident in the Presidency College Strike.

The Presidency College Enquiry Committee describe the origin of the students'

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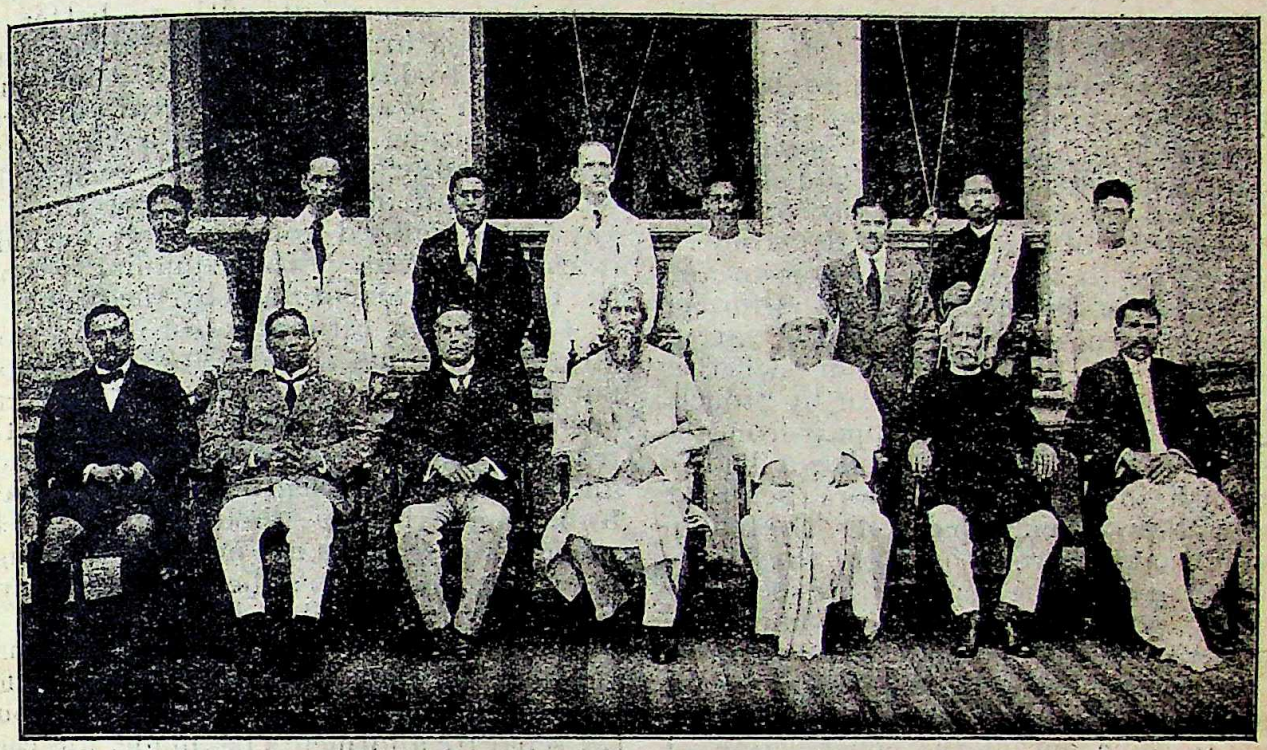

Reception to Sir Rabindranath Tagore at Rangoon.

strike in their report in the following paragraphs :

The first of the two incidents mentioned took place on the 10th January last. On that date prizes were distributed to the students of the Hindu and Hare Schools by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. Some of the professors of the Presidency College as also some of the students who were ex-students of these schools were invited to the function. The result was that some of the classes in the college were not held at the appointed hour. There was, besides, one professor who was late and did not take his class in time. Many of the students of the third year class appear in these circumstances to have been present in one of the corridors contrary to the rule prescribed by the college authorities in this behalf. The particular rule which appears in a book of instructions supplied to each student may be here set out in full :—

"To guard against disturbances to classes while lectures are going on, it is a rule of the college that students must not enter the corridors outside the lecture rooms on the first and second storeys of the college building, unfil the hour for the lectures they have to attend has struck. No student, therefore, should be in the corridors between the sounding of the second gong for lectures and the next hour ; nor may students enter unoccupied lecture-rooms, except in accordance with the first part of this rule."

Mr. Oaten was at the time lecturing in one of the rooms adjoining the corridors and felt himself seriously disturbed by the noise outside ; he accordingly asked the students several times to go back to their class-rooms. They did so, but, later on, in the course of the same hour, the professor in charge of the class called the rolls and dismissed the students. The boys then left the class-room and came into the corridor again with the professor amongst them. Mr. Oaten was disturbed, came out of his lecture-room, ordered the students back to their class-rooms and pushed some of them. *The evidence also shows that he stopped the professor, but the latter established his identity and was allowed to pass through.* It is neither necessary for our present purpose nor possible on the evidence to determine with accuracy the exact amount of force used by Mr. Oaten, but the fact remains that the students whose bodies had been "touched" by Mr. Oaten with "an impulsive gesture," as he says, felt aggrieved and lodged a complaint with the Principal; one of these students was Subhas Chandra Bose, the representative of the class on the Students' Consultative Committee. Here it may be observed in passing that the rule in question does not appear to have been always strictly enforced by every professor of the college, especially when classes were dismissed before the prescribed hour. This is not a matter for surprise when we remember that as many as 80 lectures are delivered in the college in the course of a single day. It should be noted, besides, that on both the occasions which have been brought to our notice the presence of students in the corridor was due to exceptional circumstances. To continue the narrative, the Principal asked the students to see Mr. Oaten and advised them to make up the difference with him. This apparently dissatisfied them and the impression rapidly got abroad amongst them, that Mr. James lacked sympathy with them and was reluctant to listen to their complaint against Mr. Oaten. This, as we shall presently see, was entirely unfounded and the aggrieved students wholly misjudged the real attitude of Mr. James towards them. It now transpires that while on the one hand Mr. James referred the students to Mr. Oaten, on the other hand he privately wrote to Mr. Oaten and hinted that it would be the wise and gentlemanly thing to make it up with the students. Mr. Oaten has not preserved the original letter, but this is the impression we gather from his statement of its contents. The next day Mr. Oaten could not come to the college as he was on guard duty at

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Government House. On that day no classes could be held as the students went on strike.

We wish to draw attention to the sentence we have italicised above. It shows that Mr. Oaten could not even recognise the Indian professor whom he had stopped. He did not know him to be a professor. It is an evidence of the excellent camaraderie that exists between the European and Indian professors that one of the former could not even recognise one of the latter, and even rudely stopped him,—whether with "an impulsive gesture" or by "touching" his body, does not appear from the Report. The poor Indian professor had to establish his identity before sergeant Oaten allowed him to pass. Do the Indian and European professors of Presidency College never come together for social or business purposes? Do they not know one another's faces? And yet the Report speaks of the possibility of the growth of an *esprit de corps* in such a college and expects good to come out of the construction of residential quarters for the European professors near the college and the hostels; because, forsooth, then there would be *free* intercourse between students and professors! What intercourse, pray, is there now between professor and professor, when their complexions differ? As one crow is like unto another in human eyes, so perhaps all Indians, whether students or professors, appear indistinguishable to some European professorial eyes.

It would serve no useful purpose to speculate what would have happened if the Indian professor had pushed aside Mr. Oaten and gone his way, as he had the legal right to do and would have been justified in doing.

Water Scarcity in Bengal.

Water-scarcity is one of the endemic scourges of rural Bengal and it seems as though things were becoming worse every year. At the beginning of Lord Carmichael's administration high hopes were entertained by people that this stigma on the reputation of Government would be removed. A survey of the then existing sources of water supply was carried out with a view to take up the problem scientifically, but the question has evidently been allowed to rest there and we have heard nothing further about the matter. Recently we heard a great deal also about the access of the District Boards to new sources of revenue, but with no better result. People are where they were 5 years ago and to-day hundreds of thousands of human beings are in great distress, having nothing to eat and having little or no good water to drink even. This would be an abnormal state of thing in any other civilised country, but in India it can be faced with equanimity both by the Government and by the people.

The Budget estimates of late show large provisions made for sanitation. But most of the money lapses at the end of the year as unspent, and what is the reason? Because schemes are not ready and preliminary scientific enquiries have to be made before good money can be spent! Yes, schemes are not ready, though the whole country is afflicted with malaria and have to drink diluted sewage.

Let the whole country rise as one man and demand that the money granted for sanitary purposes be spent by them alone. Let separate allotments be made for each district and let each village have its quota. The village committees should have power to spend this money on such objects as they chose. It is only when we get this that there can be any remedy for this distressing and discreditable state of things.

B.

Wanted more Exhibitions of Indian Art abroad.

A friend in China has sent us the following extract from a letter which he has received from an Italian artist and art-critic of New York who is also a journalist and author:—

"This winter there have been quite a few exhibitions and sales of Chinese and Japanese works of art, ancient as well as modern. This week there is going to be a sale of original but old Persian miniatures and colored drawings and paintings. They are on exhibition. They remind me very much of the Indian miniatures of the same period. Why don't you try to get up an exhibition of works by modern Hindoo artists like the one which took place in Paris and London a few years ago and which had such a success? I mean an exhibition of Hindoo artists, not imitation European art, but *real native* art. If you could organize such an exhibition I would help you in finding a place to exhibit the

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works of art and I am quite sure it would be quite a success."

We guess the Indian Society of Oriental Art must have received such invitations from various sources in America. Probably it is now good time that our national works should be on view at New York, Boston, Chicago and other centres of progressive and serious art-interest in the United States of America.

India as seen by a progressive British journal.

The New Statesman thus concludes an article on the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge and the policy which ought to be followed by Lord Chelmsford:

Newspaper summaries of the Viceroyalty just ended are apt to close with a statement to the effect that India is quiet, and the prospect generally cheerful. It is true that so far as the available evidence allows us to judge, the country is free from serious disturbance—although the recent conspiracy trials—especially those of Lahore and Benares—and the large corps of dacoit (gang robbery) cases furnish proof of distressing deviations from the normal. The power of the Governor-General, it must be remembered, is, after all, limited. His influence modifies, but it cannot transform, the bureaucracy, and a cardinal fact of recent Indian history is that ever since the Curzon period, a supreme direction comparatively liberal in tendency has gone along with an increasingly rigid and repressive executive control. The war conditions have, inevitably, intensified that control. Press Acts and Seditious Meetings Acts had almost made an end before the war of public criticism and discussion. India to-day is a country without public meetings, and with almost no outlet for debate or the expression of public feeling. There is no right of association. Indian editors live in such terror of the Executive that they seldom dare to reveal their opinion of Government policy or administrative action. The journalistic mortality during the past two years has been very heavy; the independent Moslem press has ceased to exist. It is dangerous for either speaker or writer to discuss political theories or even historical events. District officers and superintendents of police come down swiftly and severely upon every man suspected of nationalist leanings. We have no means of guessing at the number of deportations and internments, though there can be no doubt of their being numerous. We do know that the searching of private houses is common form and that to all intents and purposes the police are in command.

Without immediate and detailed knowledge of the state of affairs it is obviously impossible for anyone to say how much of the repression now prevailing in India has been made necessary by circumstances. But one conclusion seems unavoidable. Our imperial polity will be profoundly affected by the war, and the relation of India to the rest of the Empire cannot remain unaltered. It must become more and more a relation of mutual trust and of expanding responsibility on the part of the Indian people. We cannot go back; it is certain that irresistible forces will drive us forward. A suppressed, sullen, resentful India, either during or after the war, is something that we cannot and dare not contemplate. And yet it is indisputable that, unless the new Viceroy is wise and strong enough so to moderate the administration as to turn the currents of feeling once again in favour of the ruling power, the immediate future will be full of peril. For Lord Chelmsford, a man of large experience and fine character, the task of governing India at this time is a great challenge and a still greater opportunity.

India's Fighting Resources.

We have repeatedly urged that the recruitment of sepoys ought not to be confined to some provinces, races, castes or tribes of India. *The Review of Reviews* for April takes the same view. It says:

The French, in asking "the non-recontant Hindus" to "contract a voluntary engagement during the war under the same conditions as the people of Frence," have recently set the right-precedent for the British and Portuguese to follow in the matter of securing the full co-operation of Indians to win the war. We continue to deny Indians the rank of lieutenant and above, even in regiments composed entirely of Indians, and refuse to permit Indians in general to become volunteers. We have not begun to tap the military resources of India, which are almost inexhaustible. Even without going outside the castes and claus that are quite arbitrarily classed as martial by the Government of India, which shuts large bodies of capable Indians out of the Army, there are millions of men of fighting quality and military age, who would willingly take up the sword of justice for us if we would only let them do so. Lord Chelmsford may signalise his assumption of office by creating a great citizen army and officering it largely with Indians. We are quite prepared to wait for reforms until he finds his feet, but he is assuming the Viceroyalty of India at a most critical time, and decisive action is imperative. Meanwhile the decision of the Government to abolish, in course of time, Indian indentured labour in certain British Colonies, and the appointment of a Commission on Indian Resources, are steps in the right direction. Questions pertaining to Indian immigration in the Dominions and Colonies need speedy and equitable adjustments, and we cannot be too quick in concerting measures to build up Indian industries and thereby relieve Indian poverty.

Of all Indians Bengalis have been supposed to be the most timid. Possibly that is not a correct view. The latest fact which throws doubt on its correctness comes from Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Nott, I.M.S., officer commanding the Bengal Stationary Hospital in Mesopotamia. In an official communication to the Joint-Secretary and Treasurer of the Bengal Ambulance Corps he says among other things:—

At the end of October the request of the men of the Ambulance Corps to take part in the anticipated forward movements was acceded to by the military authorities and it was found practicable to form a detachment and to satisfactorily carry on the hos-

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pital work with the purely medical and surgical staff. The detachment proceeded to the front under the charge of Havildar A. C. Champati and was attached to No. 2 Field Ambulance 6th Division. It joined the advanced forces a day or two after the battle at Kut-el-Amara and afterwards remained with the 6th Division throughout its advance and was present at the battle of Ctesiphon where the men came under severe fire and from all accounts did valuable work in succouring the wounded. The men worked with the greatest gallantry under heavy shell fire and afterwards rendered valuable assistance in removing the wounded to the river bank. They took their full share of the hardship of the actions at the end of November and in reduced numbers owing to sickness due to exposure have been at the front up till now.

The New Editor of the Review of Reviews.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes to us:—

"Since the beginning of the present year the Review of Reviews (London) has been conducted by Miss Estelle W. Stead, the eldest daugher of W. T. Stead. My intimate relationship with Mr. Stead, extending over several years prior to his leaving this field of action in 1912, gave me many opportunities to learn that he and his daughter view life from much the same angle, and that a tie of intellectual and spiritual sympathy bound them together. No one can read Miss Stead's memoir of her father, published by William Heinemann in 1913, without being impressed by this fact. In view of this affinity, Miss Stead's assumption of the editorship of the *Review of Reviews* implies that this eminent organ will be conducted in the spirit of her father.

"The three numbers that she has edited —those for February, March and April— fully justify this expectation. The notes entitled 'The Progress of the World' show the same breadth of view and staunch liberalism that characterized Mr. Stead's monthly survey of the world. The reviews of Reviews, Magazines and Books cover a very wide field and are judiciously done. The selection of special articles and cartoons displays good judgment.

"Mr. Stead always took great interest in India, and championed the cause of her children month after month. Miss Stead is closely following her father in this respect. Her notes in the March and April issues very wisely urge upon the new Viceroy of India the necessity of sympathizing with the Indian aspirations, which formed the key-note of Lord Hardinge's policy, and which was the secret of his popularity. She does not like to see millions of eligible Indians being shut out of the army by the arbitrary decision of the authorities that only certain clans and castes are capable of being made into good soldiers. She is raising her voice against Indians not being given the higher military rank, and is inviting the attention of her countrymen to what India wants from the British at the end of the war."

The Irish Revolt.

From information which has been gradually reaching India it seems pretty clear that the British Government at "home" had been for some time past in possession of facts which tended to show that there might be a revolt in Ireland. There is some confusion as to the reasons why men known to be dangerous were not arrested and deported. The different men in authority at the time of the revolt are apparently indulging in mutual recrimination, each blaming some one else.

New India (Madras) prints a note, appended below, which would seem to suggest that there were others to blame besides the Irish malcontents.

We have received through a correspondent a copy of an Irish paper devoted to Social Reform, and edited by a man whose reputation for truth and frankness has passed into a proverb. The postmark shows the date 18 AP 16, that is the eighteenth of last month. The paper contains the following paragraph:

"WAR IN IRELAND

"Meanwhile, however, a danger threatens us at home. There is much reason to believe that the military authorities in Ireland are planning a pogrom of those who are opposed to them—are deliberately meditating such action as they know, in the present state of the popular temper, must provoke resistance and lead to bloodshed. To avert this militarist plot, which would deliver Ireland up to a regime of unchecked and undisguised martial law, is the duty of all Irish pacifists."

A week later the "revolt" took place. Mr. Birrell, the resigned Chief Secretary for Ireland, said in the House of Commons: "This is no Irish Revolution." He knew more, evidently, than his words disclosed.

Whatever the causes, the event is much to be deplored.

The following cutting from the *Empire* will give some idea of the seriousness of the rising:—

Dublin, we read, has become impossible for business purposes for years. Many other towns have been partially destroyed through the fighting that has taken place; the farmers of the

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west who had begun to taste prosperity, have lost their homesteads and their herds. The loss of life on both sides has been serious. The forces of the garrison and the Irish Constabulary have had numerous casualties; but these have been exceeded by the slaughter among the rebels and increased by the murders by the revolutionaries among the population who refused to join them. Priests who attempted to stay the rising were shot in cold blood, officers of the army were murdered as they rode through the streets, even the wounded military were killed, unarmed reservists were slaughtered as they marched, and women and children were shot down in the indiscriminate massacre with which the outbreak seems to have begun in Dublin.

Anglo-Indian extremist papers are not breathing vengeance as they did during the Komagata Maru affair and the Lahore Conspiracy trials, in which the men implicated did not cause even a hundredth part of the loss of human lives and property which the Irish rebellion has done. British statesmen also are taking a more sober and statesmanlike view of the situation in Ireland than the authorities immediately concerned with dealing with the Komagata Maru incidents and the Lahore Conspiracy. While dealing out punishment to the offenders, Mr. Asquith and his colleagues are also thinking of conciliating Ireland by the introduction of Home Rule as early as practicable and the immediate remodelling and modification of the Irish administration. Considering the seriousness and proportions of the Irish rising the punishments have not been as drastic as those originally inflicted on the Lahore conspirators and Indian political offenders generally. It is pleasing to note the calm, humane and wise temper of the authorities, though the scene is Ireland, not India.

British Press comments on the Irish Troubles.

British press comments on the Irish rising are many and various. The lawlessness of the Carson party in Ulster is believed by many to be one of the indirect causes of the Sinn Fein rising. Thus *The Star* says:—

The root of it is the tolerance which was extended to the lawlessness of the Carson party in Ulster. How can a Government permit one section to import arms from Germany and to equip and organise rebellion without weakening its power to suppress another section? Equality of tolerance is the doctrine which flowed directly from the rise of Carsonism, backed as it was by the whole Unionist Party in Great Britain and Ireland. Sauce for the Carson goose became sauce for the Sinn Fein gander.

The confusion between the "Nationalist Volunteers" and the "Irish Volunteers" puzzles the uninstructed English public, which is apt to imagine that all Catholic Irishmen are "rebels." This grotesque blunder ought not to be allowed to prevail. The truth is that the Sinn Feiners are a destestable faction who have fattened on Carsonism. Their recent growth is due directly to the appointment of Carson as Attorney-General in the Coalition Government, and to the attempt to make Mr. J. H. Campbell Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The Sinn Fein hotheads came to the conclusion that rebellion is the only thing that pays in Ireland. They took a leaf out of the Carson book; the German agents financed them; and the Dublin disorders are the result. As usual it is Ireland that pays.

The Daily News writes:

The revival of the physical force movement in Ireland cannot, of course, be dissociated from the Ulster rebel movement organised by Sir Edward Carson. That movement had fatal reactions on the other extremists. It revived in them an idea which had long been dead, the idea of physical force. It was the great triumph of Parnell that he turned the thought of Irish Nationalists from violent methods to constitutional methods. He did this because he was essentially a constitutionalist, but he had also in view the fact that the physical structure of Ireland made violent methods an impossibility. The mountains were in the wrong places. But the rebel movement in Ulster in 1913-14 revived the old schemes of the physical force party. It seemed to show that violent resistance was still a conceivable policy in Ireland. The expectations that had been raised by the Ulster rising were transferred to the Separatist faction. They will be shortlived in the one case as in the other.

The situation in Ireland has its lessons for the remnants of the physical force party in India, and for others, too.

The Manchester Guardian observes:—

There are in Ireland—and must be so long as her national life is thwarted and suppressed—elements of discontent ready to break out in times of excitement, or at the instigation of those who know how to play on bitter memories and the sense of ancient wrong. The Sinn Fein movement by itself may be formidable neither in numbers nor in leadership, but it is always possible for an extreme party to decry the efforts of those who work by the slower and patient methods of constitutional action, and in Ireland the fighting spirit of the people is ever keen, and among the young and heady there are always some whom wild counsels and the call of adventure can mislead. It was on this kind of appeal, no doubt, that the hopes of those who organised the slender forces of rebellion were based.

These observations ought to be borne in mind by administrators in all countries which are not self-ruling.

A "religious" riot in U. S. A.

The Christian Register tells the story of a "religious" riot in the United States of America in the following words:

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The recent riot in Haverhill, Mass., which prevented an anti-Catholic speaker from being heard and destroyed a considerable amount of property, making it necessary to call out the militia, is a discreditable event on both sides. The lecturer was advertised as an ex-Catholic, the American Luther of the New Reformation, with references to bachelor priests, mixed marriages, and Romish opposition to the public schools, together with notices of his book exposing Romanism. It was just the sort of notice to suggest scurrility. How much, however, he might have uttered will never be known, as he was not permitted to be heard. On two previous occasions he had attempted to give a lecture, but was prevented by the uproar of the crowd in attendance. The third time came the riot, before he had completed his first sentence or said a word to which objection could be made. The disturbance was not unpremeditated, but organized in advance. Cardinal O' Connel was reported recently to have said that the time had come for the Catholic Church to speak out. It was a welcome word ; but apparently it is not a rule that is expected to work both ways. It is difficult to believe that the clergy could not have prevented these disturbances if they had been so minded, for they had ample warning. It would appear, then, that they are not prepared to stand for the principle of open discussion. It will not be surprising if, among many, an exaggerated idea of things that will not bear the light of day should be the result.

The occasional occurrence of "religious" riots is said to be one of the reasons why the people of India ought not to have self-government, the strong hand of a third party being necessary to settle the disputes of the contending parties and maintain order. Our Boston contemporary, however, does not say that the United States of America has already ceased to be self-governing, and that Japanese overlordship has been established there to preserve order. Perhaps it is an omission.

Government and the Depressed Classes.

The Government of India have addressed a very important circular letter to the Local Governments on the question of the amelioration of the moral, material and educational conditions of the depressed classes. As regards the definition of the term "depressed classes," the Government of India limit the scope of (*a*) the enquiry to the requirements of the depressed classes known as untouchables, (*b*) aboriginal and hill tribes, and (*c*) criminal tribes. The letter then dwells on the directions in which progress is possible.

Obviously anything which assists the advance of the country at large assists to some extent the elevation of the depressed classes as part of the community, but these wider considerations should be excluded and attention directed to the special measures which are primarily designed to help the depressed classes as such. It will be seen from the speeches delivered in the Legislative Council that social questions enter largely into the whole problem. Into these it is only now desired to enter to the extent to which any such disabilities exist as are within the power of Government to remove. The rest must be left to the good sense of the community and to the gradual disappearance of ancient habits of thought. Otherwise it was upon education, either literary or industrial that stress was mostly laid in the Council debate referred to, and this naturally is the main line of advance so far as Government is concerned. Secondly comes material improvement and thirdly regulation, meaning in particular the measures of control designed to facilitate the helping of a particular class (ordinarily a criminal class) while at the same time preventing them from doing injury to their neighbours.

Taking these three main heads and any others which suggest themselves, the Government of India would be glad to be informed of what has been achieved in the past and what more (if anything) is possible in the future. In such description the two cases of official and non-official aid might be discriminated and any account of non-official agencies already working showing the nature and success of their activities would be of interest.

Sir J. G. Woodroffe on and to our Students.

The Honourable Mr. Justice Sir J. G. Woodroffe presided on Saturday the 27th May last at the sixth anniversary meeting of the Friends' Sunrise Literary Club, and made an inspiriting speech. The report given below is taken from *The Bengalee*.

He thanked the meeting for the honour they had done him and said he had not hitherto generally presided at meetings as he had other work to do. This was doubtless social service : but one could not render it in all kinds. However, the solicitation of a friend and interest in the students had brought him there that day,—the more readily that the students had lately been severely spoken of. He felt more happy when in the company of students than in most places; for youth, with its "balabuddhi," to which their Sanskrit address referred was both sincere and hopeful—the two qualities which a large number of people lost as they grew up through their ambitions and disillusions. Only a week ago an Indian friend (perhaps under the influence of the abnormal heat) had said to him :—"This is a dead country," to which he replied that only those who are dead believe themselves to be so and asked "Is the Indian student dead ?" His friend had to admit that his hopes were there. But he (Sir John Woodroffe) said, his confidence was there. The students had been much criticised, of late; but if he judged them right, they would not be depressed over it. For himself he was not alarmed at their condition. Nothing in the world was perfect nor wholly worthless, as the Sanskrit proverb ran. Every good quality carries with it the liability to certain defects. The broad way of looking at matters was to see whether the qualities outweighed the defects. The students had faults (no doubt), but these were connected

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with certain qualities of energy and self-respect which they had acquired and which are in themselves praiseworthy. Of course all wished the defects away but speaking for himself he would rather they had these faults than that they should be torpid, servile and lacking in self-respect. For himself he saw in the students the commencements of a future of great worth. He was glad to hear that the students had got up the Club themselves. This showed activity and independence and that it was not merely one of those ponds which well-meaning persons had made in order that they might more easily angle for the young idea. They should, however, have a definite notion of what they intended to do. This and other Indian clubs should be centres of Indian life and thought and generators of Indian power. The world was a manifestation of Divine Power (Shakti) and each man was himself a centre of it, being a fragment (Angsha) of that Great Power. They must be true to the lines on which by the Divine imagining "Kalpana" they had been laid. That is, they must also, as human artists do, work to type. This meant they must not imitate any foreign people but be Indian, and shape themselves as such by the study of the literature, art, philosophy and religion of their ancestors. As they knew, they owed a debt to the "Pitris" who would not give their aid if ignored. Each must be true to himself and his type. But as they asked respect for themselves they must give it to others, who might rightly incite them to develop new qualities in themselves in forms conformable to their own type and nature. But this was a different thing to putting on second-hand clothes borrowed from the shop of servile imitation. He had recently read a prospectus of studies for an Indian school, in which there was not a single item which showed that the boys were Indian. By all means, let them learn about and be helped by the example of other countries, but do not forget their own. If they took what others could give, let them assimilate it so that it became not others' but their own. In this way the fire of the Indian spirit would burn all the more intensely by the fuel it fed on. There would then be an Indian "Homa" fed with what was of worth gathered elsewhere. Each should thus realise himself as a centre of Power and firmly will their own good and that of their country. What India wanted at present was a religion of Power. The other side of the Spirit she knew better than any. By Power he did not mean merely physical forces. He was glad to say that every day such advice as he had to give became less necessary. Much progress had been made towards self-realisation during the quarter of a century in which it had been his privilege to live in this sacred country. He was always endeavouring to read the future of it and nowhere could it be with more certainty read than in the minds and bodies of the Indian students. In the world-play let theirs be a truly Indian part. He concluded with the Sanskrit "Mantra" said by Teacher and disciple before the study of the "Vedas" which, he said, was a fit prayer for all students and was moreover their very own; "May God protect us both. May He grant to us both aid. May we two work with all our strength. May our study be with understanding. May there be no dissension between us."

Sir J. G. Woodroffe has spoken as befits a free-born man who values power and self-respect for himself and wants everyone else, too, to be strong and self-respecting. Our students, and their critics, too, ought to be able to profit by his advice.

President Wilson on Peace.

On the 28th of May last President Wilson delivered his eagerly expected speech to the League to Enforce Peace. He said the causes of the European war were at present immaterial. The great nations of the world must reach an agreement on what was fundamental in their common interests, namely, firstly, every people was entitled to choose its own sovereignty. Secondly, small states were entitled to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and integrity as great states. Thirdly, the world was entitled to be freed from every disturbance to peace originating in aggression. President Wilson said the United States was willing to become a partner in any association of nations formed to realise these objects and to secure them against violation.

President Wilson continued:—"If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the warring nations, I am sure the people of the United States will wish the Government to move on the following lines. Firstly, settlement beween the belligerents regarding their own immediate interests. We have nothing material to ask for ourselves and are nowise parties to the quarrel. Secondly, an universal association of nations to maintain inviolate the security of the high way of the seas for the common unhindered use of all nations and to prevent any war being begun either contrary to treaties or without warning or without full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world. This would be a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence."

The political ideals for which President Wilson stands are such as international morality would demand if it were in practice as high as are the moral ideals of men in their dealings with one another as individuals. What a blessing it would be if some means could be found to prevent fresh aggression. The harm done by ancient aggression might then be gradually remedied.

Security demanded from "New India."

The following notice has been served on Mrs. Annie Besant as editor of *New India*:

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NOTICE.

In the Presidency Magistrate's Court,
Egmore, Madras.

To

Mrs. Annie Besant,
Keeper of the New India Printing Works,
Nos. 13 & 14, Second Line Beach,
Madras.

Take notice that under Sec. 3 (1) of Act I of 1910, I hereby cancel my order dated 2nd December 1914, dispensing with security in respect of the New India Printing Works, at Nos. 13 and 14 Second Line Beach, Madras, and require you under Sec. 3 (1) of Act I of 1910 to deposit security for Rs. 2000 before me within 14 days from the date of this notice.

Dated this 22nd day of May 1916
(Initials Illegible) Pelly

22-5-16
Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate.

New India for May 27 contains an article by Mrs. Besant on this notice. She says, "I have nothing to apologise for, nothing to regret in all that I have written in *New India*."

Mrs. Besant has written and spoken vigorously and with arguments, against methods of violence. She has been an eloquent advocate of the British connection. She has, no doubt, written and spoken strongly against abuses of authority and official blunders and against the bureaucratic system of administration, not suiting her words to the present-day environment created in India by the officials. But criticism of mistakes, and attacks on abuses and on wrong and out-of-date methods and systems of administration are not attacks on Government and the Empire. Hence the demand of security from *New India*, as from certain other journals, seems to us to militate against the modern and British principle of liberty of the press. By tolerating even strong and misguided criticism a government only enhances the respect which all reasonable men ought to feel for it. No criticism can bring such a government into contempt. We are, therefore, unable to endorse the remark made by the *Madras Times* on Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings that "No self-respecting government which has the welfare of the country and good order of the people at heart would permit such effusions to go unchecked." Nor can we say that the Home Rule agitation started by her "undoubtedly does harm," "at this particular time," for it is an entirely constitutional agitation making for better government.

ERRATA.

Page 635 Column 1 Read *possible* for *probable*.
" 638 line 2 for the denominator 68786 read 6876.
" 638 Column 1 line 30 read $\frac{22}{7}$ for $\frac{23}{7}$.

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INDEX

Page

Addendum ... 360
Ahalya (a poem)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore, D. Litt. ... 175
Ancient Hindu's Knowledge of Mathematics—Prof. Nalinbihari Mitra, M.A. 633
Andhra Movement, The—K. S. Ramchandra Row ... 433
Applied History—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D. ... 432
Badagas: A Tribe of the Nilgiris, The (Illustrated)—M. Turner ... 403
Beginning of Hindu Culture as World-Power, The—Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, M. A. ... 321
Browning and Bergson—Prof. Surendranath Das Gupta, M. A. 510
Civics in Secondary Schools—C. Rajagopalachar ... 539
Co-operative Credit and Taccavi—Krishnadas 22
Co-operative Movement in India, The—Raicharan Mukerjea ... 106
Cost of Administrations in India, Japan and the United States of America, The—Lala Lajpat Rai ... 19
Curious North Indian Superstition and its Persian and African Analogues, A—Saratchandra Mitra, M. A., B. L., 171
Cycle of Spring, The—Sir Rabindranath Tagore, D. Litt. ... 204
Dabhoi or the City of the Darbha Grass (illustrated)—M. Ruthnaswamy ... 539
Danish Peasant Schools—Nagendranath Gangulee, B.Sc. (Illinois) ... 507
Evening (a poem)—C. F. Andrews, M.A. and W. W. Pearson, M. A., B. Sc. ... 260
Evolution of Japan, The—Lala Lajpat Rai ... 37
Facts about Indentured Labour—Manilal M. Doctor, M.A., LL. B., Barrister-at-Law ... 197
First Three Gospels, The—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A. 644
Foreign Periodicals ... 96, 222,350,449,550,686
Gems of Indian Architecture (Illustrated) —Dr. E. Watts, M.B., B.S. (London) 639
Gleanings (illustrated) 88,182,339,449,532,671
Great Age in which Shakespeare Lived, The—Dr. J. T. Sunderland, M. A., D. D. ... 499
Guru Govind Singh—Sarala Devi, B.A., 181
Higher Criticism and the Date of Sukraniti—Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A. 675
Hindu Concept of Government, The—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer, State University of Iowa, U. S. A. ... 142
Hindu Professor of an American University, A (illustrated)— ... 438
Hindu Purohit Act, The—Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B.A, LL. B. ... 406
Home Rule among Savages in the British Empire— ... 195
How to fight Malaria in our Villages—Dakshinaranjan Ghosh, B.A., Provincial Civil Service ... 199
Ideal in History Teaching, The—Prof. K. A. Nilakantan, M.A. ... 232
Ideals of Domestic Felicity—John Owen Surrao ... 311
India in America (illustrated)—Lala Lajpat Rai ... 525
Indian Financial Reform and Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co.'s Anti-Gold Crusade—S. V. Doraiswami, B.A. ... 502
Indian Industries and the War—Narain Das, B.A. ... 24
Indian National Congress: A New Chapter, The—Prithwis Chandra Ray, late editor, The Indian World 207
Indian Periodicals 90,213,346,443,545,681
Indian Students and Western Teachers —Sir Rabindranath Tagore ... 416
Indian Theistic Movement and its Problems, The—Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D. ... 57
Irish Renaissance, The—James H. Cousins ... 423
Intermarriage Between Hindu Castes and Subcastes—Chimanlal Maganlal Doctor, M.A., LL.B., Assistant Legal Remembrancer, Baroda State ... 293
Invincible (a poem)—Sarojini Naidu ... 346
Japanese on some English Poets, A—Yone Noguchi 229

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Page

Juvenile Offenders—B. Chatterji, M.A., LL.B. ... 148
Kalidas, The Spirit of Asia—Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A. ... 291
Life's Functions—Wilfred Wellock ... 39
London Money-market and the War, The—K. M. Panikkar ... 298
Maiden's Smile, The (a poem)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Devendranath Sen, M.A., B.L. ... 345
Mashi (short story—Sir Rabindranath Tagore and W. W. Pearson ... 377
Meaning of Certain Words used by Brahmagupta, The—F. J. Western 233
Midday (a poem)—C. F. Andrews, M.A., and W. W. Pearson, M.A., B. Sc. 260
My Offence (a poem)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Devendranath Sen, M.A., B.L. ... 345
My Reminiscences (illustrated)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore, D. Litt and Surendranath Tagore B.A. 1,137,285,361, 475,583
Notes (illustrated) 111,233,261,456,566,689
Notion of Kingship in the Sukraniti, The—R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL. B., M.R. A. S. ... 152
Origin of the Vajrayana Devatas—Arthur Avalon 660
Outsiders as Public Servants in British India—The Editor 611
Pandit Tattvabhushan on the Arya Samaj—"Narayan" ... 230
Paper-pulp from the Bamboo—Dhruva Sumanas ... 302
Phalguni: A musical Play by Sir Rabindranath Tagore—K. T. Paul 342
Pincushion, The (short story)—William Le Queux ... 46
Place of Indians in the World's Athletics, The (illustrated)—Sachindranath Mazumdar, Member of the *Health and Strength League* and *the British Amateur Weight lifter's Association*, London; Hony. Instructor and Secretary, Physical Culture Branch, *Allahabad Sporting Club, Allahabad* ... 162
Political Ideals—Politicus ... 190
Prayer, A (poem)—Sir Rabindranath Tagore ... 582
Progressive Ruler of Nabha, The (illustrated)—Saint Nihal Singh ... 367

Page

Quiver-Adorning Plum Blossom, The—Yone Noguchi ... 480
Rajgir or Rajagriha (illustrated)—Lady Mabel Holmwood ... 8
Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official—Politicus ... 482
Religion of Humanity and Sir Henry Cotton, The—W. F. Westbrook ... 51
Report of the Presidency College Enquiry Committee—The Editor 601
Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji—C. F. Andrews, M.A., and W. W. Pearson, M.A., B. Sc. 333,392,514,615
Reviews and Notices of Books—Prof. Niranjan Niyogi, M. A.; Pandit Sitanath Datta Tattwabhushan; G. S. Mongia, M.A., LL. B., Barister-at-Law; D. V. Kirtane; K. M. Jhaveri, M. A., LL. B.; M. S; K. P. Jayaswal, M. A., (Oxon), Barrister-at-law; Dhirendranath Chaudhury, M. A.; Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, B. A. B. T.; Jnanendra Narayan Bagchi, L.M.S.; Vidhushekhara Shastri; V.G. Apte; N. K. Vaidya; S. V. Puntambekar, B. A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law; Professor Nalinbihari Mitra, M.A.; Prasad Chandra Banerji, B. Sc. (Lond); Principal Satish Chandra Roy, M. A. (Lond) and others, 69,227,326,426,559,676
Round the World with my Master (illustrated)—By a Disciple of Prof. J.C. Bose, Basiswar Sen 81,187,356,552,590
Satnamis and Sikhs: 17th century—Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., P. R. S. ... 383
Similarities between Indian and Chinese Religions—Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A., 652
Shadow on the Path, The (short story)—Annie O. Tibbits ... 175
Snake Worship in Eastern Bengal, and Western and Southern India—Saratchandra Mitra, M. A., B.L. ... 26
Song—Sarojini Naidu 671
Stray Thoughts on the Baroda Exhibition of Periodicals—Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B. A., LL. B. ... 535
Struggle, The (short story)—J. J. Bell 306
Syed Mazhar-al-Haq (illustrated)—X ... 86
Teachers as Researchers—Manilal Dev, M. SC. ... 414

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Teaching of History in the Indian Colleges—P. S. Ramakrishna Iyer, Lecturer in History, Ernaculam College, Cochin State ... 231
Two Panjabi Plays (illustrated)—Mrs. Norah Richards ... 76
Unnamed Child, The (poem)—Devendranath Sen, M. A., and Sir Rabindranath Tagore ... 498
U. Ray, The Late Mr. ... 103
Visit to the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, A—Prof. Satis Chandra Mukherji, M. A., B. SC. ... 324
Visit to the Hospice of the Great St Bernard, A (Illustrated)—C. C. Das 409
Wedding of Sister Clothilde, The (short story,—Norah Richards 624
Woodman's Battle-Axe, The (A poem)—Florence and Agnes Barker ... 376
Zeb-un-Nissa's Love-affairs—Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., P. R. S. ... 33
Zoroastrian Period of Indian History, The—Nimrod 372,490,597

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Ahmad Bux	165
"Alas ! That Banyan Tree is no more !"—Gaganendranath Tagore ...	4
A little waterfall—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ...	476
Ammonia Still and Epsom salts reaction Drums, B. C. P. W. ...	324
Amphibious Auto ...	186
Artificial Arms ...	89
Avalanche of the Grand St. Bernard in winter ...	413
Badaga Burning Ground ...	405
Badaga Temple ...	403
Badaga village ...	406
Badaga village temple ...	404
Badaga with six fingers and six toes ...	405
Belur Temple ...	642
Bhawani ...	166
Bust of H. E. Lord Hardinge by V. V. Wagh ...	248
Bust of Sir Rabindranath Tagore by V. V. Wagh ...	248
Carvings ...	643
Centrifugal Machine for drying Crystals, —B. C. P. W. ...	325
Chandernagore Volunteers ...	568
Cherpilod and Delaloye ...	167
Chin as the critical factor in human Character	441,442
Crow Messenger (in colors)—From an old painting ...	37
Crystals of Epsom salts, B. C. P. W. ...	324
Dainichi Niyorai ...	674
Dabee Choudhary ...	165
Dabhoi sights	540—544
Desmodium Gyrans (বন চাঁড়াল) which toured round the world with Prof. J. C. Bose ...	85
Dilapidated huts in Bankura ...	456
Dramatis Personæ in Vairagya-sadhan	344
Dramatis Personæ in Vairagya-sadhan and Phalguni ...	345
Dr. H. Barington Cox and his walking wireless ...	183
Dr. J, C. Bose at the Royal Institution 1897 ...	356
Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1914 ...	357
Dr. J. C. Bose's laboratory at Maida Vale, London ...	85
Dried-up tank in Bankura ...	457
Dwijendranath Tagore—Gaganendranath Tagore ...	586
Eye-strain at the Movies ...	89
Famine-stricken people of Bankura	456,457
Famine-Stricken People of Bankura Receiving Relief	
Famine-stricken people of the District of Bankura ...	121
Fascination (in colors)—Samarendra nath Gupta, Asst. Principal, Mayo School of Art, Lahore ...	137

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	Page
Festival Car ...	642
Frank Gotch ...	163
Filipino Chief ...	273
Filipino Constabulary soldiers ...	273
Filipino House ...	273
Filipino Police ...	273
Filipino Warriors	272,273
Filipino Woman ...	273
Gama ...	164
Georges Carpentier ...	163
Geo. Hackenschmidt ...	163
George Hackenschmidt and Dr. B. F. Roller ...	165
Gobar ...	163
"Grapes"—by Shamrao G. Mhatre ...	460
Hairy Frog ...	88
Halebid Temple ...	643
Helpmates (in colors)—Saradacharan Ukil ...	261
Hindu Kunds below Vaibharak, Rajgir	9
Historic Apparatus of Davy in the Royal Institution ...	341
Historic Apparatus of Faraday in the Royal Institution ...	341
Hospice of the Great St. Bernard ...	410
How the Lightning Rod saves the House	325
Hoysaleswar Temple ...	643
Installation Ceremany of H. H. Maharaja of Nabha ...	371
Interior of Sonbhandar Cave, Rajgir ...	15
"In the evening father would sit in the veranda in front of the garden. I would sing to him the hymn"—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ...	366
"In this patch of light the maids have gathered"—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ...	478
Jain Temples at Nanan Kund, Rajgir...	14
Japanese Stupah ...	673
Japanised Sanskrit Letters	673,674
J. C. Bose ...	188
Jibraj N. Mehta, M. D. ...	123
Jimmy Esson ...	168
Jnan Chandra Ghosh, M. SC ...	247
Jnanendranath Mukerji, M. SC. ...	247
John Lemm ...	163
John Tyndall ...	356
Ladder of Civilisation ...	245
Lord Rayleigh ...	356
Louis Raemaekers ...	186
Maharaja Hira Singh Malvendar Bahadur ...	369
Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, Malvendar Bahadur ...	369
Maniyar Math, Rajgir ...	8
Maurice Deriaz ...	167
Maurice Deriaz and Ahmad Bux ...	168
Mazhar-ul-Haq ...	87
Mimicry in War	533—535
Mimosa Plant which toured round the World with Prof. J. C. Bose ...	82
Mothers—by Louis Raemaekers ...	185
Mukdum Kund, Rajgir ...	12
"My Grandfather"—by Shamrao G. Mhatre ...	461
Nilratan Sarkar, Hon. Dr. ..	111
Old Fortification walls on Udayagiri and Banganga Pass, Rajgir ...	13
Old Walls on Sonagiri, Rajgir ...	10
Orphans—by Louis Raemaekers ...	185
'Our inner garden was my Paradise; it was enough for me."—Gaganendranath Tagore ...	6
Panjabi Play	76—80
Pat Connolly ...	163
Picturesque Corner ...	640
Pippala Stone House, Rajgir ...	11
Pitiable condition of the Cattle and the huts in Bankura ...	456
Prof. D. K. Karve ...	131
Rabindranath Tagore in his Boyhood—Jyotirindranath Tagore ...	584
Raja Bir Singh (in colors)—from an old Painting ...	475
Ramamurti and a group of Indian Wrestlers ...	168
Reception to Sir Rabindranath Tagore at Rangoon ...	
Satyaprasad—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ...	288
Shamrao's Grandfather ...	461
Signing of the Articles ...	167
Sir Dorab Tata ...	114
Sir Fazoolbhoy Currimbhoy ...	117
Sir Rabindranath Tagore	2
Sita in Captivity Under the Asoka tree (in colors)—Saradacharan Ukil ..	583
Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Ancestral House ...	5
Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha ...	126
Sita and Lakshmana (coloured)—Saradacharan Ukil ...	1
Spring (in colors)—By Charuchandra Roy ...	361

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Page

Statue of Michael Faraday at the Royal Institution ... 356
Statue of the St. Bernard ... 411
Sudhindra Bose ... 439
Supposed Site of Wrestling Ground, Rajgir ... 16
Test for Alcoholism ... 340
"The familiar black umbrella"—Gaganendranath Tagore ... 141
"The Old Man (Srikantha Babu)"—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ... 287
"Though the Beyond was thus shut out from Behind"—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ... 286
Tracing of a Record-breaking Respiration Experiment ... 90
University of Vienna ... 555
U. Ray ... 104
Vedanta Bhawan, Boston ... 527
"We arrived at Bolpur in the evening"—by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore ... 364
Why a Saw Cuts ... 340
Widows—by Louis Raemaekers ... 184
Wonderful Doorway ... 641

Contributors and their Contributions

Page

Annie O Tibbits—
The Shadow on the Path (short story) 175
Basiswar Sen—
Round the World with my Master (Illustrated) 81,187,356,552,590
Arthur Avalon—
Origin of the Vajrayana Devatas 660
B. Chatterjee, M. A., LL. B.—
Juvenile Offenders 148
Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A.—
Kalidasa, The Spirit of Asia 291
The Beginning of Hindu Culture as World Power 321
Similarities Between Indian and Chinese Religions 652
Higher Criticism and the Date of Sukraniti 675
C. C. Das—
A Visit to the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard (illustrated) 409
C. F. Andrews, M. A.—
Evening (A Poem) 260
Midday (A Poem) 260
Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji 333,392,514,615
Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B.A., LL. B.—
The Hindu Purohit Act 406
Stray Thoughts on the Baroda Exhibition of Periodicals 535
Chimanlal Maganlal Doctor, M. A., LL. B., Assistant Legal Remembrancer, Baroda State—
Intermarriage between Hindu Castes and Sub-Castes 263
C. Rajagopalachar—
Civics in Secondary Schools 539
Dakshina Ranjan Ghosh, B. A., Provincial Civil Service—
How to fight Malaria in our villages 199
Dhirendranath Chaudhury, M.A.—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Dhruva Sumanas—
Paper Pulp from the Bamboo 302
D. V. Kirtane—
Reviews and Notices of Pooks
E. Watts, M.B., B.S. (Lon)—
Gems of Indian Architecture (Illustrated) 639
F. J. Western—
The Meaning of certain words used by Brahmagupta 233
Florence and Agnes Barker—
The Woodman's Battle Axe (A Poem) 376
Gurmukh Singh Mongia, Bar-at-Law—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Homersham Cox, M.A.—
The First Three Gospels 644
Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., P. R. S.—
Zeb-un-Nissa's Love Affairs 33
Satnamis and Sikhs : 17th century 383
James H. Cousins—
The Irish Renaissance 423
J. J. Bell—
The Struggle (short story) 306
Jnanendra Narayan Bagchi, L. M. S.—
Reviews and Notices of Books
John Owen Surrao—
Knots of Domestic Felicity 311

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Page

J. T. Sunderland, M. A., D. D.—
The Great Age in which Shakespeare Lived 499
K. A. Nilakanthan, M. A.—
The Ideal in History Teaching 232
Kashiprasad Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.) Bar-at-Law—
Reviews and Notices of Books
K. M. Panikkar—
The London Money-market and the War 298
Krishna Das—
Co-operative Credit and Taccavi 22
Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M. A., LL. B.
Reviews and Notices of Books
K. S. Ramchandra Row—
The Andhra Movement 433
K. T. Paul—
Phalgooni : A Musical Play by Sir Rabindranath Tagore 342
Lala Lajpat Rai—
The Cost of Administration in India, Japan and the United States of America 19
The Evolution of Japan 37
India in America 525
Lady Mabel Holmwood—
Rajgir or Rajagriha (Illustrated) 8
Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, B. A., B. T.—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Manicklal De, M. Sc.—
Teachers as Researchers 414
Manilal M. Doctor, M. A., LL. B., Bar at-Law—
Facts about Indentured Labor 197
M. Ruthnaswamy—
Dabhoi or the City of the Darbha Grass 539
M. Turner—
The Badagas : a tribe of the Nilgiris (Illustrated) 403
Nagendranath Gangulee, B.Sc. (Illinois)—
Danish Peasant Schools— 507
Nalinbihari Mitra, M.A.—
The Ancient Hindu's Knowledge of Mathematics 633
Reviews and Notices of Books
Narain Das, B. A.—
Indian Industries and the War 24
Nilratan Sarkar, M. A., M. D., Hon. Dr.—
The Indian Theistic Movement and Its Problems 57

Page

Niranjan Niyogi, M. A.—
Reviews and Notices of Books
N. K. Vaidya—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Norah Richards—
Two Panjabee Plays (Illustrated) 76
The Wedding of Sister Clothilde (short story) 62
Prasadchandra Banerji, B.Sc. (Lond)—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Prithwis Chandra Ray, Late Editor, The Indian World—
The Indian National Congress : A New Chapter 207
P. S. Ramakrishna Iyer, Lecturer in History, Ernaculam College, Cochin State—
Teaching of History in the Indian Colleges 231
Rai Charan Mukerjea—
The Co-operative Movement in India 106
R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL. B., M. R. A. S.—
The Notion of Kingship in the Sukraniti 152
Sachindranath Majumdar—
The Place of Indians in the World's Athletics (Illustrated) 162
Saint Nihal Singh—
The Progressive Ruler of Nabha 367
Sarala Devi, B. A.
Guru Gobind Singh 181
Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.—
Snake Worship in Eastern Bengal and Western and Southern India 26
A curious north Indian Superstition and its Persian and African Analogues 171
Sarojini Naidu—
Invincible (A Poem)— 346
Song 671
Satish Chandra Mukherji, M. A., B. Sc.—
A Visit to the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works 324
Satish Chandra Roy, M.A. (London)—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Sitanath Dutta Tattvabhusan—
Reviews and Notices of Books
Sir Rabindranath Tagore, D. Litt—
My Reminiscences (Illustrated) 1, 137, 285, 361, 475, 583
Ahalya (A Poem) 175
The Cycle of Spring 204
The Maiden's Smile (A Poem) 345
My Offence (A Poem) 345

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Page

Mashi (short story) 377
Indian Students and Western Teachers 416
The Unnamed Child (A Poem) 498
A Prayer (a Poem) 582

Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D.—
The Hindu Concept of Government 142
Applied History 432

Surendranath Das Gupta, M. A.—
Browning and Bergson 510

Surendranath Tagore, B. A.—
Sir Rabindranath's Reminiscences— 1,137,285,361,475,583

S. V. Doraiswamy, B. A.—
Indian Financial Reform and Messrs Samuel Montagu & Co's Anti-gold Crusade 502

S. V. Puntambekar, B. A. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law—
Reviews and Notices of Books

V. G. Apte—
Reviews and Notices of Books

Vidhushekhara Shastri—
Reviews and Notices of Books

W. F. Westbrook—
The Religion of Humanity and Sir Henry Cotton 51

Wilfred Wellock—
Life's Functions 39

William Le Queux—
The Pincushion (short story) 46

W. W. Pearson, M. A., B. SC.—
Evening (a poem) 260
Midday (a poem) 260
Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji 333.392,514,615
Mashi (short story) 377

Yone Noguchi—
The Quiver-Adorning Plum-blossom 480
A Japanese on some English Poets 229

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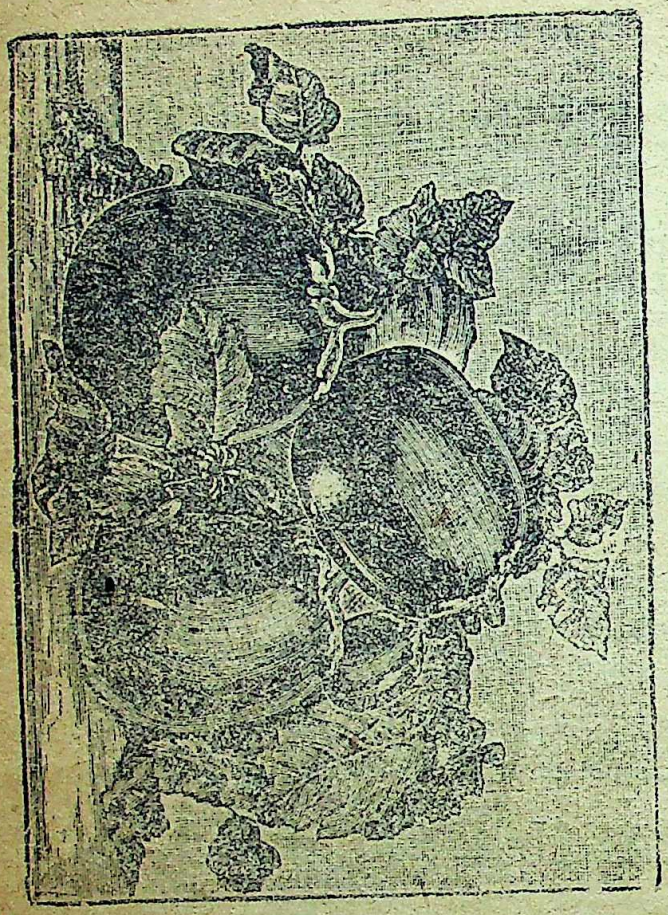

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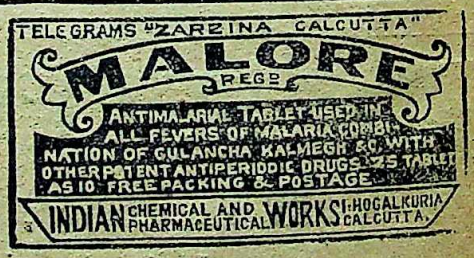

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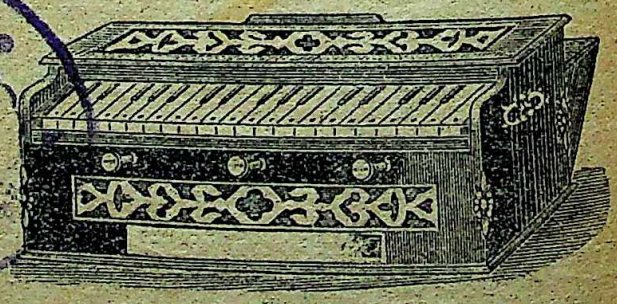

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